Early Christian Scripture and the Samaritan Pentateuch:

A Study in Hexaplaric Manuscript Activity

Bradley John Marsh, Jr.

St. Cross College

University of Oxford

A thesis submitted to the

Faculty of Theology and Religion

in fulfilment towards the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Hilary (February) 2016

EARLY CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURE AND THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH: A STUDY IN HEXAPLARIC MANUSCRIPT ACTIVITY

Bradley John Marsh, Jr.
St. Cross College

Doctor of Philosophy
Hilary 2016

ABSTRACT

EARLY CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURE AND THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH is a study exploring Christian interaction with the Samaritan Pentateuch as evinced by hexaplaric sources. Despite the claims of some previous scholarship, the manuscript evidence for the Samaritan Pentateuch in Greek attests two distinct, textually unrelated groups of readings: a σαμ΄-type (i.e., the Samareitikon) and a μονον-type. Only the latter, the subject of the present study, is hexaplarically derived and predates, considerably, any attributed attestation of the former. The extant hexaplaric colophons and scholia found in the books of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy reveal that at some point the Caesarean Library acquired a copy of the Samaritan Hebrew Pentateuch. This copy was then collated, quantitatively, against the hexaplaric Septuagint. As the Samaritan text is often longer than the Septuagint due to a number of 'expansions', taken from various pre-existing passages of the Pentateuch, the Caesarean critics 'translated' these expansions into Greek with the aid of the Septuagint (as opposed to the *recentiores*). No evidence was found that the so-called Samareitikon (i.e., Greek Samaritan Pentateuch) was either known to or used by the Caesarean critics; no evidence was found indicating Samaritans, or native Hebrew speakers, had created these 'translations'. The 'translations' bear no trace of Samaritan exegesis. Instead, the translator(s) cribbed the Septuagint, something evident not only from certain *scholia* supplied by the translator(s) themselves, but also the remnants of the 'translation' which betray specific, septuagintal linguistic features vis-à-vis the translated Hebrew base. It is hypothesized here, that the collation and 'translation' process was made possible through the use of the multi-columned *Hexapla*. Taking the results of this effort, the Christian critic(s) added these data to the margins of the Caesarean Septuagint edition. It is posited that Eusebius—not Origen, as is commonly supposed—was the one responsible for this work.

EARLY CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURE AND THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH: A STUDY IN HEXAPLARIC MANUSCRIPT ACTIVITY

Bradley John Marsh, Jr.
St. Cross College

Doctor of Philosophy
Hilary 2016

ABSTRACT (Faculty Required version)

EARLY CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURE AND THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH is a study exploring Christian interaction with the Samaritan Pentateuch as evinced by hexaplaric sources.

CHAPTER ONE outlines much of the previous research into the matter of the Samaritan Pentateuch in Greek, from the SIXTINE edition of the Septuagint (1587) until today. Many scholars, starting with Bernard de Montfaucon's edition of hexaplaric fragments (1713), have assumed that Origen himself had taken two sets of readings derived from the Samaritan Pentateuch and incorporated them into the hexaplaric tradition: 1) those from a pre-existing Greek translation, the so-called σαμαρειτικον, and 2) those which he had 'translated' himself specifically from an Hebrew Samaritan exemplar. Frederick Field adopted this position (without much explanation) in the *Prolegomena* to his own, influential edition (1875) of hexaplaric fragments. As a result of Field's endorsement, Montfaucon's ideas influenced much successive scholarship, though researchers often disagreed upon whether or not Origen constructed the second set or if they possibly represented a *second* Greek Samaritan version (*e.g.*, Kahle). Nevertheless, despite the claims of previous studies on Greek Samaritan Pentateuch readings, the wider manuscript tradition clearly transmits two distinct and *completely unrelated* groups of readings: a σαμ΄-type (i.e., the Samareitikon) and a μονον-type. Only the latter type is hexaplarically derived and antedates any known attestation of the former in Christian sources by several hundred years. In contrast to most previous scholarship which focused largely on the σαμ΄-type (i.e., the Samareitikon), it is this μονον-class of passages, comprised of the marginal readings and attendant scholia transmitted in the Syrohexapla and related Greek hexaplaric sources, which is the subject of the present thesis.

CHAPTERS TWO and THREE examine a good deal of the evidence from Exodus and Numbers, respectively, as it is found Syriac and Greek hexaplaric sources. Particularly, the Syrohexapla (and derived textual traditions such as Jacob of Edessa's biblical revision) transmits the vast majority of these readings within its margins, accompanied by attribution notes stating that the marginal passage is found "only [i.e., μονον] in the Hebrew εκδοσις/αντιγραφον of the Samaritans". There are also a few collation annotations, and, most notably, several cross-references (the latter of which were not included in Wevers' critical edition of the Deuteronomy) which state a given passage in Deuteronomy is found in the Samaritan version of Numbers. Of the utmost importance,

however, the syrohexaplaric subscriptions to Exodus and Numbers, themselves translations of Greek scribal epitomes précised from the original Eusebian colophons, relate the origins of these readings. Together, the sum of the extant hexaplaric colophons and scholia found in the books of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy reveal that at some point the Library of Caesarea came to acquire a copy of the *Hebrew* Samaritan Pentateuch. This copy was then collated, quantitatively, against the hexaplaric recension of the Septuagint. This was the work of Greek scribes, not the Syrohexaplaric translators.

As the Samaritan text is often longer than the Septuagint due to a number of repetitious 'expansions' taken from other, pre-existing parts of the Pentateuch, the Christian critics 'translated' these expansions into Greek with the aid of the Septuagint (as opposed to the *recentiores*). This process is directly attested to by the attribution *scholion* transmitted in certain s-group manuscripts at the μονον-passage at Num 13.1. It is also witnessed by the first-person cross-reference *scholion* found in SH Deuteronomy 1.6-8. These two *scholia*, related though not identical, are discussed at length, specifically their relationship to both the original Caesarean collation and each other. It is determined that the former was probably taken by Athos-based Greek scribes working ca. 1000 CE from another context, most likely the end of the hexaplaric subscription to Numbers. The latter, however, is transmitted in its original location and thus unaltered by successive scribal activity.

Importantly, no evidence whatsoever was found showing the so-called Samareitikon (i.e., a Greek Samaritan Pentateuch or readings from the σαμ΄-type) was either known to or used by the Caesarean critics who executed the original collation. Neither was any evidence found indicating the Samaritans themselves had created these 'translations'; the translated passages bear no trace of Samaritan exegesis. Even the so-called 'Samaritan Tenth Commandment' (i.e., the command to build the altar on Mt. Gerizim) was not labelled as the 'Tenth' nor was it even presented as a commandment. Rather, the translator(s) cribbed (or adapted) the Septuagint, something which is evident not only from the above-mentioned *scholia* but also the remnants of the 'translation', which betray specific, septuagintal linguistic features vis-à-vis the translated Hebrew base. This 'septuagintization', a process discovered first by Montfaucon (based on his somewhat ingenuous acceptance of the s-group's *scholion* at Numbers 13.1) is so thoroughgoing that these readings could hardly have been created by a native Hebrew speaker, certainly not one working after the turn of the COMMON ERA. The influence of the parallels is so dominant that every aspect of the resultant Greek translation illustrates this process: Greek lexical equivalencies, preposition selection, presumed vocalization of the Hebrew base-text, interpretation of ambiguous Hebrew words, et al.

At the end of CHAPTER THREE, it is hypothesized that this hexaplaric Samaritan endeavour was made possible through the use of the multi-columned work known as the *Hexapla*, which Origen (d. ca. 254 CE) had previously constructed from various ancient Greek translations which were aligned on a grid with the 'original' Hebrew text. This permitted the Caesarean critic(s), who most likely had at least a crude knowledge of Hebrew, to collate the Samaritan text with the Septuagint. As the Hexapla was laid out on a grid, this also permitted the 'translator' to connect the Samaritan Hebrew words with the corresponding Greek parallel. Then, taking the results of this collation and 'translation', the Christian critic(s) added these data to the margins of the Caesarean critical edition of the Septuagint.

It is revealed that aside from the Greek exemplars underlying the Syrohexapla, certain specifically *hexaplaric* manuscripts at some point integrated particular μονον-passages into their own running text (*e.g.*, manuscripts 58, 767, 15, 707). (The manuscript tradition is now better understood due to the modern collations undertaken by the *Septuaginta-Unternehmen* in Göttingen and published in J.W. Wevers' editions.) These are valuable witnesses as many (though not all) of these passages represent readings which had fallen out of the syrohexaplaric tradition. Musings on the motive(s) behind this exceptional post-hexaplaric integration are provided at the end of CHAPTER THREE.

CHAPTER FOUR deals with the historical circumstances of the μονον-collation, principally 1) whether or not there was ever a Samaritan column in the larger, synoptic Hexapla, and 2) who was responsible for the inclusion of the Samaritan readings into the hexaplaric manuscript tradition. With respect to the first, the theories of Kohn and Ceriani are considered. Ultimately their hypotheses, while attractive, are rejected. There is simply no evidence a Samaritan 'column' (or marginalia approaching the size and scope of such a column) ever existed. With respect to the second, those most associated with the editing of hexaplaric manuscripts, Origen, Pamphilus, and Eusebius, are considered in turn weighing what is known about the Samaritan collation against their literary remains and known historical circumstances. Regarding Origen, there is but one, lone *scholion* mentioning a single word from the Samaritan Pentateuch (i.e., the ⸀οκ *scholion*). However, this *scholion* was derived from Origen's *Commentary on Galatians* and was most likely something he had learned anecdotally. Further, Origen's textual praxis reveals no knowledge of the Samaritan Pentateuch as such, vis-à-vis the Septuagint and the Jewish Hebrew text. Further, Origen's comments on Hebrew scripts do not include reference to the striking Samaritan letters. Lastly, Origen appears to have believed that the Samaritans, despite striving to observe Torah, did not truly receive divine revelation. All of this suggests it is unlikely Origen would have investigated the Samaritan Pentateuch. Next Pamphilus' potential role in the μονον-collation is considered. While the documentary evidence on Pamphilus is fragmentary, his headship of the Caesarean library, particularly his attempts to augment the Library's collections, appears to provide for the most likely setting in which the Caesarean Academy would have acquired a Samaritan Hebrew Pentateuch. Specifically, Pamphilus' willingness to obtain non-Greek works (what Jerome calls the "Hebrew text" of the *Gospel of Matthew*) indicates he tried to acquire Semitic texts. Also important is Eusebius' use of the Samaritan Pentateuch in his *Chronicon*, something which most likely antedated Pamphilus' martyrdom. Lastly, Eusebius is considered. His use of the Samaritan Pentateuch in the *Chronicon*, including mention of the unique Samaritan Hebrew script, and his obsession with biblical parallels and cross-references (e.g., the *Eusebian Canons*), all very much support his candidacy as the one responsible for the μονον-collation. Crucially, his adopted patronym "Eusebius *of Pamphilus*" is the only name attached to the μονον-bearing exemplars (according to the Syrohexapla subscriptions in Exodus and Numbers). As he presumably took Pamphilus' name after his death (i.e., 310 CE), it is logical to assume the original colophons attached to the Eusebian master copies were written only after his martyrdom. This, among other things, leads to the rejection of the centuries-old assumption of Origen's having introduced the Samaritan Pentateuch into the hexaplaric manuscript tradition.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I: PROLEGOMENA 1

1.1 – The Samaritan Pentateuch in the (Syro)hexapla 1

1.2 – The Samaritan Pentateuch in Greek 17

1.3 – The σαμ΄ and μονον-Type Readings: A Typological Comparison 43

1.4 – The Impetus of the Present Study 54

CHAPTER II: THE SP IN THE (SYRO)HEXAPLA OF EXODUS 58

2.1 – Introduction to Previous Scholarship 58

2.2 – The Colophon to SH Exodus 62

2.3 – Syriac Readings with Greek Reconstruction and Commentary 78

2.4 – Syriac Collation Notations with Commentary 116

2.5 – Greek Only μονον-Type Evidence 126

2.6 – Conclusions 141

Excursus A: SH^{V} Peculiarities and the Later Syrian Textual Tradition 146

Excursus B: The κατα cαμαρειτων Annotations from CODEX M 148

CHAPTER III: THE SP IN THE (SYRO)HEXAPLA OF NUMBERS 154

3.1 – Introduction to Previous Scholarship 154

3.2 – The Colophon to SH Numbers 157

3.3 – Syriac and Greek Readings with Commentary 164

3.4 – The μονον-Type Passages and the S-Group 232

3.5 – Conclusions 236

CHAPTER IV:WHO PUT SP INTO THE HEXAPLARIC STREAM? 248

4.1 – Was There Ever a Samaritan Column? 248

4.2 – Considerations: Who Put the SP into the Hexaplaric Stream? 252

4.3 – Samaritan Considerations 275

4.4 – Summary 280

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following is a list of abbreviations used in this specific thesis. Note that commonly used textual abbreviations, including those for biblical books, as well as those derived from Latin (*e.g.*, et al) are observed. Bibliographic abbreviations (including primary sources) may be found in the **BIBLIOGRAPHY**.

::	'As opposed to'
→	'For/On which see …'
∩	indicates a parablepsis/haplography of some kind occurred (i.e., homoioarchton or homoioteleuton)
= / ≈ / ≠	'equals' / 'roughly equal to' / 'not equal to'
App	Apparatus. Often specified as App^{I} or App^{II}, meant to identify which register of a given critical edition's apparatus is being referenced.
AG	'according to the Greeks', *viz.*, the ancient Greek chronological scheme based on the reign of Seleucus I Nicator (corresponds to 312-11 BCE)
BCE / CE	before / the Common Era
BM ADD	The shelf mark used for the old British Museum MSS cataloguing
BnF	*Bibliothèque nationale de France*
cent.	century
CG	A Hebrew or Aramaic document from the Cairo Genizah
Comm.	Commentary
editio princeps	(Latin) the first (critical) edition of a given ancient text
εκδοσις	(Greek) edition, or the issued form of a text
ex	(Latin) derived from; ex par = 'from the parallel'
fol.(s)	folio(s), the pages of an ancient MS
G / LXX	The Septuagint, or 'the Seventy', the ancient Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. Note the following adjustments: GGen = The same of Genesis, GExod = the same of Exodus, etc.

**** N.B. All G MSS are referred to by the designation assigned to each as found in the editions issued by the Göttingen *Septuaginta Unternehmen***

Hark(lean)	Thomas of Harkel's Syriac revision of the Philoxenian revision of the Peshitta NT.
Hexapla	For a description of this ancient work, see the provided description (→ **§1.1.1**). 'Hexaplaric' is to be understood as anything deriving from the work therein described.
ind	'indexed at/to'; also used for the index symbol the scribe used to anchor a marginal reading to the running text
JPent	Jacob of Edessa's (d. 708 CE) revision of the Pent. JGen = The same of Genesis, JExod = the same of Exodus, etc.
lacuna(e)	(Latin) 'gap(s)', a missing portion of text; often due to leaf loss or other damage
mg	Margin(al); meant to indicate the margin of a given MS
μονον-type	Also μονον-translation, μονον-collation, μονον-passages, etc. A second group of SP readings in Greek (in contradistinction to those of the σαμ-type) resulting from the efforts of Greek, Caesarea-based, hexaplaric scribes (→ **§1.3.2**).
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MT	The Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible preserved by the Jewish community
NT	New Testament
OL	Old Latin; the Latin translation of G
P	The Syriac Peshitta translation of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament or New Testament. Note the following: PGen = the same of Genesis, PExod = that of Exodus, etc.
recentiores	The term commonly applied to the later Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible, especially Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. These are largely known only from extant hexaplaric works.
SA	The Samaritan Arabic translation of SP
το σαμ΄(-type)	The so-called Samareitikon, το Σαμαρειτικον, the Greek translation of SP. In the present work, this is discussed primarily as a type or group of readings preserved in later Christian MS source, hence the σαμ-type, etc (→ **§1.3.1**).
scholi-on(*-a*)	(Latin) a note of varying content(s) found in the margins of an ancient MS

SH	Syrohexapla, the Syriac translation of the hexaplaric recension. Note the following: SH Gen = SH's translation of Genesis, SH Exod = SH's translation of Exodus, etc.
SP	The Samaritan Pentateuch
ST	The Samaritan Targum, the Aramaic translation of SP
Tendenz	(German) 'bias', usually theological and/or religious bias
Textgeschichte	(German) 'text story' or 'text history'
Tg	The Jewish Aramaic Targums. Note the following: Tg^{O} = Targum Onkelos, Tg^{PJ} = Targum Pseudo-Jonathon, etc.
The Three	The moniker commonly used meaning to describe Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion as a group. See *recentiores*.
Torah	= Pentateuch, the first five books of the Hebrew Scriptures, namely Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy
txt	in-text; in distinction to being marginal
Vorlage(*n*)	(German) αντιγραφ-ον(-α) = exemplar(s), or master copy
V	Jerome's Latin Vulgate
v / vv	Verse / verses of an ancient work (contextually indicated)

Errata Minora

Main Text

Page 4, n. 20: read "…; also Vööbus …"

Page 19, n 127: read "…166[v]) for a French summary."

Page 40: read "… the rendering of זקנים …"

Page 44: read "…consciously following Montfaucon (and to some extent, Joosten's recent observations), …"

Page 98, n. 450: read "In short, the Samaritans reckoned vv 4-7 as the first two commandments with vv 1-3 serving as a preamble …"

Page 102: read "…based on the joint witness of JDeut 27.4 (fol. 389ב), …"

Page 131: read "those in Num," without the comma

Page 132, n. 587: read "… *ʿāši* = עֹשֶׂה" [the vocalization]

Page 159, n. 695: read "Cp. Jenkins, 1991: 263"

Page 161: read "… see the above philological notes …"

Page 176, n. 748: read "The translation of Procopius … was made …"

Page 206: read "… for the SP = G (≠ MT) category …"

Page 227: read "…both SH[V] and 344 (neither had been available to either scholar) after …"

Page 231: read "Both verbs, being functionally synonymous, were …"

Appendix

Page 9, n. 57: Field's reconstruction with the infinitive is technically possible.

Page 18: In the ET for the Moabites passage: read "For I will not give [e]to you[be] …"

Page 24: read "…the tribes of Simeon, Levi, Judah, …"

Page 46: read "*Textual Criticism of the Hebrew* …" [capitalization]

CHAPTER I: PROLEGOMENA

1.1 – The Samaritan Pentateuch in the (Syro)hexapla: A Very Short Introduction

Andreas Masius (1514-1573) was the first to publish Syrohexapla (SH) materials in Europe.[1] After his education at Louvain, he studied Syriac in Rome with the Syrian Orthodox scholar Moses of Mardin (d. ca. 1592) and John Sullaqa (d. 1555) of the Church of the East (Uniat). Among his many Syriac-based endeavours, Masius claimed in the "Dedicatory Epistle" to his *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia* (1574, posthumously) that he possessed a certain MS containing the Syriac translation of the Greek hexaplaric εκδοσις widely disseminated by **Pamphilus** (ca. 240-310 CE) and **Eusebius of Caesarea** (ca. 260-ca. 340 CE), which was in turn based on the text-critical work of **Origen** (ca. 185-ca. 254 CE).[2] In his description thereof, Masius mentioned that this MS contained, among other biblical books, "the better part of Deut".[3]

For reasons unknown Masius never published the complete volume. Unfortunately, in what is perhaps one of the greater losses in the history of Syriac biblical MSS, the codex vanished after his death.[4] He had, however, published substantial excerpts from the MS (SH^{M}), not only in his *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia*, but also in the Syriac lexicon he prepared for the Antwerp Polyglot (*Syrorum Peculium* [1571]) and, posthumously, in the collaborative *Critici Sacri* (Amsterdam, 1698).[5] It was in this latter publication where Masius recorded a couple of peculiar readings transmitted in his copy of SH Deut—

[1] On Masius's life and works, see W. François, 2009, with substantial bibliography. For Masius' effect on Syriac studies, see van Rompay's "Masius, Andreas", *GEDSH*, 275-6, as well as A. van Roey, 1978.

[2] 1574: 6. See also his letter dated June 1554 to Latinius (Lossen, 1886: 173 [# 140]); see van Roey, 1978: 149-50.

[3] There is some uncertainty as to which books Masius' MS contained (Baars, 1968: 2-4, with literature).

[4] Research into Masius' private papers (also now lost) has not uncovered its whereabouts (Baars, 1968: 3, n. 4).

[5] A collection of these citations was published by **Alfred Rahlfs** (1892: 21-32[f]) in **Paul Anton de Lagarde**'s revised edition of SH MSS (SH^{L}; see Baars, 1968: 3-4, n. 3).

marginalia supplying large-scale variants from the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP). Although SH^M was defective in Deut, itself beginning with 15.7 (with significant lacuna in 26.9-28.29),[6] his exemplar contained two such readings, namely Deut 34.1b-1א-2 (→ **APPENDIX**)[7] and **Deut 5.21א-ח** (→ **§2.3.3** at **Exod 20.17[13]א-ו**).[8] This latter reading, which was most likely recorded in Deut's colophon,[9] is as follows:

SH Deut 5.21(17)א-ח (→ **§2.3.3**)[10]	SH^M Deut (in the subscription?), ind to Deut 5[11]
[21א] ומשם נסעו ויבאו אל הר נבו ראש הפסגה אשר על פני הירדן ויעמדו על ההר הגבוה אשר מול הר גריזים ויקימו שם את האבנים הגדולות אשר הקימו בני ישראל בעבר הירדן ויכתבו עליהם את כל דברי התורה הזאת [21ב] בלשון ברורה ויטיבו את הכתב ויחקקו את האבנים בסיד ויעברו כל בני ישראל ונשיהם וטפם ומקניהם ויעמדו איש על מקומו ויברכו את העם [21ג] ברכה אחת ויקללו את העם קללה אחת ויענו כל העם ואמרו אמן אמן. [21ד] ומשם נסעו ויבאו אל הר עיבל ויבנו שם מזבח אבנים שלמות אשר לא הניף עליהן ברזל ויעלו עליו עולות ויזבחו זבחי שלמים ויאכלו שם לפני יהוה אלהיהם. [21ה] וכתבו את כל דברי התורה הזאת בלשון ברורה ויטיבו את הכתב. ויקחו משם אבנים גדולות ויקימו אותם בהר גריזים. [21ו] ויכתבו את כל דברי התורה הזאת בלשון ברורה ויטיבו את הכתב. ויעברו משם ויבאו אל המקום אשר בחר יהוה אלהיהם בו. [21ז] ויעמדו שם איש על מקומו ויברכו את העם ברכה אחת ויקללו את העם קללה אחת ויענו כל העם ואמרו אמן אמן. [21ח] ויכתבו שם את כל דברי התורה הזאת בלשון ברורה. ויעברו משם ויבאו אל המקום אשר בחר יהוה אלהיהם בו. ויעמדו שם איש על מקומו ויברכו את העם ברכה אחת ויקללו את העם קללה אחת ויענו כל העם ואמרו אמן אמן.	

Masius' transcription of this lengthy variant reading, in which SP exhibits a large textual 'plus' derived from another pentateuchal passage (traditionally called an 'expansion'), represents at the time of his death only the second such encounter by any western scholar with the otherwise foreign, unknown Samaritan text.[12] Given that European scholars had yet to learn about this *Samaritan* Pentateuch, and perhaps also because his contact with SP was very brief, Masius provided no analysis for these

[6] See Rahlfs' discussion (1892: 32[h]).

[7] This reading is (accidently?) missing in Rahlfs' collation of the Masian materials (1892: 27).

[8] Presently, the text and versification of SP adheres to the 2010 edition of *Shechem 6* by **Abraham Tal** and **Moshe Florentin** (T-F). Variants are taken from von Gall. T-F's versification is adjusted as necessary.

[9] This may be inferred from Masius' describing the reading as "after the end of Deut" (*CS* col. 286). He also similarly reported another passage transmitted "after" SH Josh (1574: 117 [text]). Though SH^M disappeared, Josh survived in another copy, BM ADD. 12133 (8th cent. CE; Wright, *CSMBM*, 1:31-32), which produced this same reading *within* the MS' colophon (fol. 169b, sub ÷; see Lagarde, 1892: 160-61, n. 33). Thus, it is logical to deduce the Samaritan passage was transmitted within the Deut colophon—a point germane to the discussion below (→ **§§2.2**; **3.2**).

[10] For translation, → **APPENDIX** (at Exod 20).

[11] *CS* col. 286. Rahlfs' emendations (1892: 27) are adopted here.

[12] The first European to see SP first-hand was **Guillaume Postel** (1510-1582). While travelling in the Middle East in 1549-50, the Samaritans in Shechem granted him access to a Hebrew SP; he was also allowed to purchase a copy of an Arabic translation while in Damascus (J-P Rothschild, 1989a: 771-72 and n. 3; also, P. de Robert, "Postel, Guillaume", *CSS*, 189). Determining who first laid eyes on a Samaritan 'expansion' depends on when Masius first read SH Deut, which cannot be confirmed.

readings, their origins or meaning, or what their place was within the hexaplaric tradition. Nevertheless, Masius' excerpts naturally prompt such questions: From where did these texts derive? For what purpose were they included in the Caesarean εκδοσις? And what place did they have in the *Textgeschichte* of the hexaplaric tradition?

As ensuing MS discoveries would confirm, Masius' Samaritan readings were but two of many such passages—possibly as many as 40—originally placed within the hexaplaric recension's busy, marginal textual apparatus. Before addressing the issues prompted by these readings, a short introduction to the SH itself will first be sketched, providing for a proper historical framework through which to view the chief source of these marginalia. After which, further textual context will be provided by means of a brief history of scholarship concerning SP in Hebrew (**§1.1.2**) and in Greek (**§§1.2**; **1.3**), with special focus on these 'expansions'.

1.1.1 – The Syrohexapla: Paul of Tella's Translation Project

Personnel, Historical Context, and Impetus

Following Masius' death additional Syriac historical sources, including many SH MSS, would come to light providing details about this peculiar Syriac biblical version. The Syrian Orthodox bishop-in-exile **Paul of Tella** (fl. first half of the 7th century CE)[13] is the one named responsible for the work.[14] Having fled the westward advances of the Persian armies under the command of Khosrau II (d. 628 CE),[15] he and a handful of his co-religionists sojourned in the famous monastic region known as the 'Enaton' (i.e., the 9th

[13] On Paul and SH in general, see L. van Rompay, "Pawlos of Tella", *GEDSH*, 325-26; Law, 2011: 18-24; Hiebert, 2001: 178-86; Vööbus, 1971: 33-65; and J. Gwynn, "Paulus (48) Tellensis", *DCB* 4: 266-71. For older scholarship, see Baars, 1968: 1-25.

[14] See Vööbus, 1971: 34-35. The ancient sources naming Paul of Tella include **Barhebraeus** (d. 1286 CE) and **Moses bar Kepha** (d. 903 CE); compare also the 7th century CE patristic catena found in BM ADD. 12168. This latter source (see Vööbus, 1971: 35) often quotes SH and designates its translator as *Paul Bishop of the Faithful* ܦܘܠܘܣ ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܗܝܡܢܐ ,ܚܙ (fol. 161bܒ; *CSMBM*, 2:907), the same title provided in the colophon for SH 4 Kgdm (BnF. Syr. 27, fol. 87a).

[15] See Law, 2011: 19, n. 21; Vööbus, 1971: 35 and 39-40.

mile marker SW from Alexandria).[16] It was there, under the auspices of both the newly reconciled Syrian and Coptic Monophysite patriarchs[17] that a project commenced resulting in the first Syriac translation of the complete Greek Bible.[18] Paul was responsible for the OT portion of the work, while **Thomas of Harkel** (ca. 570-640 CE) oversaw the NT.[19] Paul, of course, did not labour alone; and the physical execution of the translation for each individual biblical book should not reasonably be attributed to a single person. However, as Gwynn stated long ago, the translation's "unity of style [...] marks it as the work of one mind".[20] The 4 Kgdm colophon mentions two further individuals, the Patriarch Athanasius and a certain 'Thomas', among 'others' ([...] ܡܢ ܚܒܪ ܗܘ ܕܫܠܝ ܥܡ ܗܘ [...]) who 'toiled and laboured with him' on the work.[21] It has been widely conjectured that this Thomas was Thomas of Harkel himself, who completed the NT by 615-16 CE.[22] Whether or not the colophon meant to indicate this particular Thomas, the common approach of the two works has persuaded most scholars to the opinion that the two projects shared workers.[23] Some SH colophons (3 and 4 Kgdm, Daniel, the Twelve) explicitly mention the date 927-28 AG (616-17 CE),[24] though as early as 613 has been suggested as a possible

[16] See A. Juckel, "The Enaton (Ennaton)", *GEDSH*, 144-45.

[17] The leaders involved were **Athanasius I Gamala** (d. 631 CE) Patriarch of Antioch and **Anastasius Apozygatius** (Monophysite) Patriarch of Alexandria (d. 616 CE). See J. Tannous, "Athanasios I Gamolo", *GEDSH*, 45-46; Vööbus, 1971: 42-44; and A. Juckel, "Tumo of Ḥarqel", *GEDSH*, 418.

[18] So van Rompay, "Pawlos of Tella", *GEDSH*, 325. For an overview of previous translations, see Brock, "Syriac Versions" *ABD* 6: 794-99; also ter Haar Romeny, 1999: 21-31. For the correct notion that the SH and Harklean were two halves of the same project, see Vööbus, 1971: 41, and Gwynn, *DCB* 4: 267. G. Zuntz designated the SH-Harklean effort as the "Enaton Bible" (1945: 31), a most appropriate moniker recently endorsed by Hiebert (2001: 181-82).

[19] See Juckel, "Ḥarqlean Version", *GEDSH*, for the latest research on his work, including its textual procedure.

[20] Gwynn, *DCB* 4: 270; cp. Vööbus, 1971: 43.

[21] BnF 27, fol. 87a.

[22] The Harklean colophons for the Gospels, the Pauline corpus (with Heb), and Rev all mention 927 AG.

[23] A connection also apparent in their common renderings for words infrequently occurring in biblical Greek. On Thomas, see Law, who seems open to the idea the Thomas mentioned was Harkel (2011:20-21). Vööbus doubted the named Thomas was Harkel, but argued Patriarch Athanasius himself actively helped translate (1971: 40-44).

[24] *E.g.*, SH 3 Kgdm col.: ܡܫܬܥܐ ܫܪܐ ܒܟܪ ܡܢܝܢ ܡܢܗܢ ܡܢ ܒܥܐ ܠܡ ܗܝ (sic rd ܡܦܫܩ) ܡܦܫܩ [...] ❖ ܒܫܠܝܡܝ ܡܫܬܥܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܡܢܗܢ ܒܥܐ ܠܡ ܗܝ ܕܟܬܒ ܡܢ ܠܫܢ ܝܘܢܝ ܠܠܫܢ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ ܒܫܢ ܫܢܬ ܡܐܬ (BM ADD. 14437, fol. 122a). *Now,* [this book] *was translated from the Greek language into Syriac in the month of*

starting point.[25] The Persian conquest continued into Egypt, and the Alexandrian environs specifically, ca. 619/20, suggesting the translation had to have been finished by then.[26]

Character of the Translation

The nature of the Syriac translation represented in SH (and the Harklean) has been well documented and need not be explained anew. In short, the translators sought to represent their Greek *Vorlage*(*n*) as closely as possible, often at the expense of the traditional idiom of the target language. The techniques used by the SH's translators stood at the end of a gradually evolving approach in translation, centuries in the making, which strove for greater formal equivalency from the 5th century CE onwards.[27] Thus, the Syriac of SH resulted in the frequent use of calques and strict adherence to Greek word order, amongst other grammatical irregularities, all in an effort to "mirror" the source language.[28] The most immediately recognizable technique of this phenomenon was the ever-present use of the separated Syriac possessive particle -ܕܠ (normally meant to reflect added prominence,[29] *e.g.*, ܕܠܝ 'my own') to render the similarly separated Greek possessive pronoun (μου, etc.).[30] The net result of this more servile attitude towards the source language is that SH can be greatly relied upon to reconstruct the Greek it was translating.[31]

Text-Critical Nature and Sources

The MSS serving as Paul of Tella's *Vorlagen* have been consistently described in septuagintal literature as copies "of the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla".[32] Origen's

---

Sebaṭ [= Feb-March], *in the year 927 A.G., the fourth indiction, in the Enaton of Alexandria, in the holy monastery of the Antonian[s]* (translation mine).

[25] See Gwynn, *DCB* 4: 267-68; favoured by both Baars (1968: 1) and Vööbus (1971: 39).

[26] Vööbus, 1971: 39-40; Gwynn, *DCB* 4: 267-68.

[27] See Brock's diachronic study (1983: 1-14). He notes this policy applied to *all* Syriac translations, whether of biblical, patristic, or philosophical literature.

[28] "Mirror translation" is Brock's jargon ("Syriac Versions" *ABD* 6: 798 [re: Harklean]; 1983: 12-14).

[29] See Nöldeke: "With substantives, [-ܕܠ gives] more prominence to the possessor" (*Grammar*, §225a).

[30] Law, 2011: 22-23.

[31] Perkins, 1980: 7. Complete consistency was naturally not achieved as Field observed (2005: 130-31 [1: lxix]); also Weitzman, 1998: 321-23.

[32] Fernández Marcos, 2000: 353; Dines, 2004: 99; Jellicoe, 1968: 125; cp. Swete, 1914: 112.

work, known as the '*hexapla*', was a massive, multi-columned synopsis of the Greek Old Testament which included **1)** a Hebrew column, **2)** a column of the Hebrew in Greek transliteration, **3)** Aquila's wooden Greek translation of the Hebrew, **4)** Symmachus' more target-language oriented rendition, **5)** the old Septuagint translation (i.e., the Seventy, or G), and **6)** Theodotion's translation, which while revising towards (proto-)MT still remained close to LXX.[33] These were aligned on a grid, more or less word-for-word (→ **§4.1**), permitting a reader to find the various Greek renditions of a given Hebrew word or phrase. It was through the use of these Greek translations, on the basis of the Hebrew column, that Origen 'healed' the translation of the Seventy (LXX), which he emended to correct, or rather display, the differences between it and the 'original' Hebrew.[34] At some point during this process, Origen adopted some of the traditional sigla developed by Alexandrian text-critics (*e.g.*, Aristarchus)[35] in order to mark the discrepancies between the Hebrew and LXX. Those parts which LXX had but were lacking in Origen's Hebrew exemplar(s) were marked with the obelus ÷/⨪, though when the reverse obtained, he interpolated LXX with the corresponding reading taken from one of the other columns, often Theodotion, marked with the asterisk ※.[36] This entire process is reflected in SH, whose text displays both the in-text sigla (÷/⨪ and ※, among others) and marginal readings from the other columns, i.e., the Three (Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion), as

[33] On these, see Fernández Marcos, 2000. Ancient sources describing the 'hexapla', its columns, and their contents include Eusebius' *H.E.*, 6.16 and **Epiphanius of Salamis**' (ca. 315-403 CE) *De Mens. et Pond.* §§9-18; see also **Jerome**'s (ca. 345-420 CE) Vulgate Prologues: *in Libro Paralip.* (= *Adv. Ruf.* 2.27), *in Libro Ezrae*, *in Pent*, and *in Libro Iosue* (among others). For other sources, see the respective chapters on each reviser in Fernández Marcos.

[34] See Swete, 1914: 69-73, Fernández Marcos, 2000: 208-210, and Dines, 2004: 99-102. On the Hebrew column (and its relationship with the Septuagint column), see the studies by Schaper (1998), Norton (1991 and 1998), and Jenkins (1998).

[35] See Schironi, 2012.

[36] See his *Comm. in Matt* 15.14 and *Ep. ad Africanum* (SC 302: §7 [PG 11.55-58]). Scattered scholia in Greek MSS attesting to these were collected by Devreesse (1954: 133-34). Note there is debate amongst experts as to whether these sigla were placed in the LXX column itself or a separately issued text (→ **§4.1**).

well as less common versions (the 'Hebrew', Quinta, Sexta).[37] At times, the physiognomy of SH has led some to even suggest that Origen's columned '*hexapla*'—the *Hexapla Maior*[38]—was thus at the disposal of the Syriac translators (→ **§4.1**).[39]

More carefully, however, recent scholarship has, through detailed study of both the SH's text and marginalia,[40] in combination with careful analysis of the SH colophons,[41] come to a more precise understanding of SH's witness to the hexaplaric tradition. Instead of a product which would reflect only the shape and form of the "fifth column", the SH's *Vorlagen* are better collectively described as a "witness *to what is preserved from the Hexapla* [*Maior*]".[42] This distinction is important, for it emphasizes both the complicated nature of the MSS translated and the respective roles of Eusebius and Pamphilus as both editors and promotors of the hexaplaric εκδοσις derived from Origen's laborious synopsis. For example, when the SH's colophons are viewed as a whole, the claim that their base was a copy of the 'fifth column *of the Hexapla*' or the work of Origen's *only* is misleading. As such, Origen is not often specifically mentioned by name nor is the 'hexapla' the sole source mentioned in the (syro)hexaplaric colophons:

ܬܐܦܠܐ *tetraplon* = '*four columns*'	ܐܪܒܥ ܩܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ	ܗܟܣܐ(ܠ-)ܗܟܣ *hexapla, -plon* = '*six columns*'	ܫܬ(ܫ)ܩܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ	ܫܒܥ ܩܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ / ܫܒܥܬܐ *heptapla* = '*seven columns*'
Gen		**Gen**		
		Exod	Exod	
			Num	
	Josh		**Josh**	
	Ruth			
		3 Kgdm	3 Kgdm	
				4 Kgdm (twice)
		Lam		

[37] On these, consult Field ([1875] 2005), Swete (1914), Jellicoe (1968), and Fernández Marcos (2000), with their cumulative bibliographies.

[38] In order to underscore this important distinction, when the columned 'hexapla' is specifically referred to in the present study, the term '*Hexapla Maior*' is used. With Jenkins (1991: 265), the words 'hexapla' or 'tetrapla' will not be capitalized in an effort to reflect the uncertainty as to what these precisely are (→ **§2.2**).

[39] *E.g.*, Jellicoe, 1968: 125-26. While probably circumstantial, the fact the Syrians did not use the *Hexapla Maior* for the Pss—something which survived *in Egypt* (*e.g.*, MSS 1098 and 2005)—suggests otherwise.

[40] See Law, 2008b: 101-20 (esp. 113-15); 2011: 19, 316, and 364. Also Gentry, 2003: 23-28.

[41] Mercati, 1941; Jenkins, 1991; also Devreesse, 1954: 122-24.

[42] Law, 2011: 1 (*emphasis* his). See also his footnote: "While it cannot be proven that they did not have the Hexapla [*Maior*] at hand, it is credulous to suggest they did […]" (1, n. 1).

	Dan (twice)			
	Twelve			
			Prov	
			[Eccles][43]	
			Cant	
	Job			
N.B.: "SH" Pss are not hexaplaric[44]				

Table 1.1.1.1: 'hexapla' or 'tetrapla' in the SH Colophons[45]

Similarly, references to Origen, Pamphilus, and Eusebius are prevalent throughout the extant colophons, though perhaps in unexpected ways (→ **§2.2**):

	Gen	**Exod**	**Num**	**3 Kgdm**	**4 Kgdm**	**Isa**	**Twelve**	**Prov**
Eusebius	x (library)	x	x (library)	x	x	x	x	xx
('of Pam.')	x	x	x					
Pamphilus					x	x	x	xx
Origen						x (library)		x
1st per. cit.[46]				x	x			
	Eccl	**Cant**	*Isa (Q)*[47]	*Ezek (Q)*	*2 Ezra (א)*	*Esther (א)*[48]	*Prov (Tisch)*[49]	
Eusebius	x	x	x (comm.)	xx			x	
('of Pam.')								
Pamphilus	xx	x		x	xx	x(x)x	x	
Origen	x (via Cant?)[50]	x	x (exeg.)	x	x	x	[x? cp. SH]	
1st per. cit.	x	xx		x	x	x		

Table 1.1.1.2 – Origen, Pamphilus, and Eusebius in the Extant Hexaplaric Colophons[51]

Thus, to claim that SH was a translation of the '*fifth column of the Hexapla* [*Maior*]' or that it reflected the work of Origen *alone* is unsubstantiated. Rather the SH colophons plainly testify to having translated copies of the Eusebian-Pamphilan *edition*[52] ultimately

[43] The Solomonic books may have derived from the same codex, implying Eccles also came from the 'hexapla' (see Mercati, 1941: 43).

[44] See Hiebert, 1989.

[45] Jenkins has argued SH should be understood primarily as the Syro*tetrapla* (1991: 267). While his point is well stated for the books to which it applies, the colophons as a whole do not support his assertion. Nor would it strictly apply to those which were from both, i.e., Gen and Josh. Hexaplarists continue to debate the nature of this 'tetrapla' (see Hiebert, 2001: 183-85, with n. 21). SH Exod and Num are not tetraplaric.

[46] That is, a first person citation from the original MS of Origen/Pamphilus/Eusebius.

[47] On the interpretation of this colophon, see Ceulemans, 2008.

[48] T. Skeat seems to interpret the Esther subscription as indicating that Pamphilus and Antoninus were responsible for the total contents of the codex in question, *viz.*, 1-4 Kgdm, 1-2 Chron, 1-2 Esd, and Est ([1999] 2004: 229). If so, then both Pamphilus' and Antoninus' roles would extend to each of those books. However, the SH 3-4 Kgdm colophons do not mention Pamphilus in 3 Kgdm and lack Antoninus altogether.

[49] The partial subscription is related to that in SH Prov; note Field, 2005: 185 (1: c), and Zuntz, 1945: 21.

[50] On this, see above note.

[51] **Bold** = SH; *italics* = Greek colophons.

[52] Compare Jerome's description in his *Prolog. in Libro Paralip.* (= *Adv. Ruf.* 2.27): […] *mediae inter has provinciae palestinos codices legunt, quos ab Origen elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilis vulgaverunt* […]. See Law, 2011: 17-18, and Hiebert, 2001: 182-86.

based upon—though not necessarily identical with—the hexaplaric work of Origen,[53] which were selectively glossed with various marginalia and other para-textual materials (scholia, etc.). Irrespective of the precise roles each individual played in the construction of the running text and marginal apparatus of a given book, the *final editorial hand* to which many of the colophons testify is not necessarily Origen's (→ **§§2.2**; **3.2**; **4.2**).[54]

Contemporary research on the SH's marginalia has moved the discussion further still, beyond the reach of Origen and his immediate successors. Studies by Law[55] and Gentry,[56] in particular, have revealed that the presence of some marginal readings may be attributed to post-hexaplaric, scribal cross-collation activity. While many of these readings (i.e., the Three) probably do go back to the original hexaplaric materials from the Caesarean library,[57] some are indeed indicative of a secondary layer of material not native to the initial hexaplaric tradition.[58] Law goes as far to suggest that perhaps it was Paul of Tella who added various marginal materials, from the Three or others, taken from "the media of bible manuscripts, homilies, and […] catenae".[59]

---

[53] Given the collective witness of the (SH) colophons concerning to whom editorial activities are attributed (or from whose 'library' the original *Vorlage* was taken), it is interesting to compare the SH 'colophons' as described by **Timothy I** (d. 823 CE), Catholicos of the Church of the East. (On whom, see Bundy, "Timotheos I", *GEDSH*, 414-15.) In a letter to one Sergius (*Ep*. 47), in which Timothy described the copying out of SH he sponsored, he wrote: ܟܝ ܒܟܠ ܣܦܪ ܕܐܝܣܒܝܣ ܘܕܦܡܦܝܠ ܘܕܐܘܪܝܓܢܣ ܗܘ ܟܬܒ ܘܐܬܩܢ ܥܡ ܣܦܪ ܗܟܠܐ ܕܐܝܣܒܝܣ ܕܩܣܪܝܐ ܘܦܡܦܝܠ ܘ

The exact procedure of Paul with respect to his exemplars is an interesting question. It should be pointed out, however, that unlike the Harklean colophons, the SH subscriptions do not explicitly attribute either collation or marginal annotation duties to the Syrian translators. In fact, the majority of instances of the terms 'collate' (ܣܡܟ), 'annotate' (ܣܡܟܗ), or 'correct' (ܐܝ) occur *after* the introductory formula immediately preceding the translation of the exemplar's colophon.[60] It would therefore appear unsafe to assume that Paul had performed any such activity.[61] It is more probable that Paul's exemplars had already been cross-collated—a prospect Law admits.[62]

However complicated the history of SH's marginalia may be, the Samaritan passages, i.e., the 'expansions' such as those recorded by Masius, were explicitly mentioned in the SH colophons to Exod (→ **§2.2**) and Num (→ **§3.2**); and the descriptions given therein make it clear that Paul of Tella was not responsible for them. Rather the subscriptions explain that they were part of the old Eusebian layer—or what might more neutrally be called the 'basic Caesarean layer'[63]—of the Greek, hexaplaric εκδοσις Paul translated.

1.1.2 – The Samaritan Pentateuch's 'Expansions': A Brief History of Scholarship

The SP's many 'expansion' passages Masius' excerpts represented were immediately noticed when SP arrived in the West in 1623.[64] These long, often repetitive blocks of text, at first elicited different responses from the various scholars who studied

[60] The only exceptions are the SH 3 and 4 Kgdm subscriptions (though the latter is ambiguous, cp. also that for the Twelve), which may have contributed to Law's opinion.

[61] Correction of obvious errors should be assumed.

[62] See Law, 2008b: 115, 2011: 316 and especially 364. His hypothesis, in part, derives from Fernández Marcos' observations (1998: 411-12; 2005: 154).

[63] Namely, those hexaplaric materials (textual or para-textual) directly resulting from the work (collectively or individually) of Origen, Pamphilus, and/or Eusebius.

[64] See, P. de Robert, "Sancy, Achille Harlay de", *CSS*, 211; Tal, 1989: 434. For the 'discovery' and acquisition of the West's first SP MS, see the translated excerpt from della Valle's travel journal (Jun 1616) in Gaster, 1925: 181-84.

them. The first was the French Oratorian **Jean Morin** (1591-1659), who edited SP for the *Paris Polyglot* (ed. G.M. Le Jay; 1629-45).[65] Taken in by the ostensible agreements between the GPent and SP against MT,[66] Morin used any and all argumentation to prop up the textual newcomer in support of the Catholic cause, beginning with his *Exercitationes Ecclesiasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum* […] in 1631.[67] Morin argued for the supposedly more pristine nature of SP, noting especially the antiquity of the Samaritan script[68] and the consistency of the Samaritan text *vs*. the 'corrupted' nature (accidental or otherwise) of the Jewish text.[69] He alleged the *unvocalized*, unaffected[70] SP was ideal, and any ambiguities resulting therefrom were to be filtered through the *Magisterium* of the Roman Catholic Church.[71] In the course of this argumentation, Morin naturally needed to excuse these 'expansions'. He attempted to do so by appealing to the practice of the Fathers who similarly connected texts from different places to clarify the sense. By way of example, he compared the 'expansions' with Origen's use of Theodotion (!), something which, as Simon would later point out, really does not follow.[72]

Between the polemically-laced arguments of Morin and his pro-MT Protestant opponents was the more tempered approach of **Richard Simon** (1638-1712).[73] In his *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* (1678), during the course of his critical discussions on SP,[74] Simon strove for a *via media* between both the opinions of Morin and others.[75]

---

[65] See G. Firmin and P.L. Stenhouse, "Morin, Jean", *CSS*, 160.

[66] See Anderson and Giles, 2012: 154-55.

[67] For a brief summary of his later works, see Gibert, 2008: 770-72.

[68] Anderson and Giles, 2012: 154-55; Loop, 2013: 108.

[69] Both *Kethib*/*Qere* and Kabbalistic errors were discussed by Morin (Anderson and Giles, 2012: 155-59).

[70] See Loop's translation (2013: 108) of Morin (*Exercitationes*, 91); Rothschild, 1989b: 71, n. 50.

[71] Loop: "In [Morin's] writings, Scripture was compared to a mere 'nose of wax', which could be turned in any way and thus needed an infallible external authority of interpretation" (2013: 109). Also Gibert, 2008: 770.

[72] See Simon, 1682: 1/87-88; Morin, 1631: 294-302, esp. 299.

[73] On Simon generally, see Rogerson, 2008: 837-843 and, especially, McKane, 1989: 111-50.

[74] See also McKane's summary (1989: 121-23).

While arguing against Morin's regard for the Samaritans' ancient script,[76] preference for the *plene* orthography,[77] and partiality for SP's lack of *Kethib*/*Qere* readings,[78] Simon found Morin's vindication of SP's "additions" equally wanting:

> But […] **the *Samaritans* have took a great deal of liberty in making additions to the Original, and therefore their Copy cannot be said to be a true one**. The Fathers have been permitted to explain the holy Scriptures after this manner, because there is a great deal of difference betwixt explaining of a Text and copying it faithfully; […].[79]

Despite his misgivings about SP's "additions", both SP and MT were, to Simon, viable options in the restoration of the original text,[80] even though he still tended towards MT on the whole, in part because of the apparent "freedom" of the Samaritan scribes.[81]

Another marker in the history of western study of SP is the work of **Benjamin Kennicott** (1786-1842).[82] Continuing the spirit of J. Morin,[83] in his mistrust of MT and Masoretic[84] vocalization, he sought to find the true *consonantal* text of the Hebrew Bible—and made much of SP in so doing.

In his second *Dissertation* (1759)—in part, a longwinded argument in favour[85] of SP—Kennicott's defence of the Samaritan reading 'Gerizim' in **Deut 27.4**, one which many modern scholars now actually do support,[86] failed to attain scholarly consensus.[87]

---

[75] Cited throughout is the anonymous English translation (1682) of Simon's work undertaken by "a Person of Quality" (on whom see McKane, 1989: 113, with notes), which was published in three books, each individually paginated.

[76] Book 1: 76-77.

[77] McKane, 1989: 121-22.

[78] Book 1: 80-81. For Simon's thoughts on the *Kethib*/*Qere* issue generally, see McKane, 1989: 120-21.

[79] Book 1: 87, orthography and emphasis original, **bold** mine. See McKane, 1989: 122.

[80] McKane, 1989: 123. Book 1: 85.

[81] Book 1: 88; see also Rothschild, 1989b: 73.

[82] On Kennicott's life and works, see McKane, 1977, and Burnett, 2008: 795-801.

[83] Burnett specifically describes both Kennicott and de Rossi as his "intellectual heirs" (2008: 796).

[84] For a description of Kennicott's views of the Masorah, see McKane, 1977.

[85] In opposition to previous opinion, namely **B. Walton**'s (*Prolegomena* XI, §16 [1: 79]). Earlier **William Whiston** (1667-1752) believed the purity of SP "so evident" that he "only just name the particular Arguments" (1722: 164), one of which was the priority of Gerizim in Deut 27 (168-71). He also defended the "Repetitions […] the Addition of which in the *Samaritan* no Reason can be assigned" (167).

[86] *E.g.*, McCarthy, *BHQ*.

During his argumentation, he even proceeded so far as to claim that the Samaritan Tenth Commandment (i.e., **Exod 20.17[13]א-ו** = **Deut 5.21[17]א-ח**) was original to Exod 20 and subsequently removed by the Jews. Not content, however, to make such a claim without textual 'evidence', he contrived some. He asserted that a particular Peshitta MS found in the Bodleian Library had "a vacant space just equal to the five verses express'd in the Samaritan".[88] This, he insisted, was evidence that the passage had been censured: "Certainly the Jews *might omit* as easily as the Samaritans *might insert*. And I presume, […] that several whole passages, now in the Samaritan, but not in the Heb. Pentateuch, are not *interpolations* in the former, but *omissions* in the latter".[89]

In contrast to the polemical tendency of previous study of SP, stood the work of **H. F. Wilhelm Gesenius** (1786-1842).[90] His *De Pentateuchi Samaritani Origine* … (1815), highly approved (even if slightly modified) by later scholarship,[91] strove for greater scientific analysis and argued that SP (along with G)[92] was textually secondary to MT. He propounded this thesis by means of categorizing said secondary variations: 1) interventions of a grammatical nature; 2) interpretive changes that simplify the text; 3) emendations of difficult passages by conjecture; **4)** corrections according to parallel passages; **5)** additions taken from parallel passages; 6) corrections of chronological order;

---

[87] McKane described this part of his work as a "succession of not very good arguments" (1977: 459); cf. Schenker, 2010: 106.

[88] 1759: 99-100 (*emphasis* original). The MS he used "N° 3130" was 17a3 (= Bodl. Lib. Oriental 141 = Payne Smith 1 = Uri 1; see Takahashi, 2005: 451). The gap of which he spoke is present in Exod 20 (fol. 53b) for approximately 16 lines of the bi-columnar text. The same (?) scribe excused himself of this waste of space, writing vertically ܗܟܢ ܐܫܟܚܬ *Thus I found* (*it*). Deut 5 (fol. 122b) has no such gap. Be this as it may, 17a3 bears neither antiquity nor quality of any kind (so Koster, 1977: 261-62, with n. 156; 316).

[89] 1759: 100. He also argued for SP's internal logic from Deut 27.12, where the tribes of Joseph (and thus Joshua) and Levi (and therefore the priests) stood on Gerizim for the blessings (1759: 73-74); since Levi was on Gerizim, surely the altar in question was also located there (1759: 75-76).

[90] Gesenius' possible religious motivation has been differently evaluated by scholars (cp. Tal, 2013: 141 *vs.* Kartveit, 2009: 69).

[91] *E.g.*, Nutt, 1874: 90-93, with n. 1; Waltke, 1970: 213, and "Samaritan Pentateuch" *ABD*, 5: 932-40.

[92] Waltke, *ABD*, 5: 932.

7) forms of words assimilated to the Samaritan idiom; and 8) textual adjustments demanded by ideological or religious matters.[93]

In Gesenius' discussion of the additions taken from parallels (#5),[94] he summarized several previous arguments, finding them largely problematic.[95] For example, Kennicott's explanation of the relationship between G and SP vis-à-vis the latter's 'expansions' was that the translators had omitted them "for the sake of simplification".[96] Gesenius rejected this on the basis that Kennicott had "overlooked completely the religion of the Jews who were already very solicitous […] not to lose by carelessness even an *iota* from these most sacred documents."[97] Gesenius similarly rejected an idea set forth by S. Ravius (Sebald Rau) that the Samaritans, hating the Jews, had intentionally interpolated their texts in order to imply the Jews had "mutilated their codices."[98] Rather, Gesenius concluded:

> We prefer, therefore, to see these interpolations as the endeavor of the Samaritans to render their text more plain and more complete. […] If you ask about the time when these interpolations were inserted into the text, it appears that they were introduced between the time of the Alexandrine translation and Origen because Origen mentioned such a passage which he certainly found in the Samaritano-Greek translation.[99]

Further, Gesenius maintained G and SP "[both] came from Judaean codices which were similar [… yet] followed a different εκδοσιν of the Pentateuch from [MT]. The Samaritan exemplar […] was[,subsequent to LXX,] corrected and interpolated in many passages by half-learned scribes [*ab librariis semidoctis*]."[100]

---

[93] His classifications have been enumerated many times: *e.g.*, Nutt, 1874: 90-93, n. 1; Waltke, 1970: 212-13; Tal, 2013: 142-46. The above-listed descriptions are Tal's.

[94] Gesenius, 1815: 46-48 (§13); cited here is Waltke's translation of the same (1970: 222-24).

[95] 1816: 46, n. 156 for literature (see 1970: 223).

[96] Quoted from Gesenius (1970: 222).

[97] 1970: 223. Kennicott also argued there was a time when MT and SP shared more agreement and reasoned the Babylonian Exile was in part responsible for such corruption (1759: 309-19).

[98] 1970: 224.

[99] 1970: 224.

[100] 1970: 231.

Gesenius' study would dominate the wider text-critical evaluation of SP from the time of its publication.[101] And it would take the discovery of new materials from the Judean desert to significantly challenge his opinion.

Then in 1947 ancient **Hebrew scrolls were found in Qumran** and elsewhere in Judean desert and everything changed. The long-held supposition that it was *the Samaritans* who had altered the Hebrew Torah, inserting these 'expansions', had to be overruled.[102] For amongst the scrolls unearthed were certain exemplars which contained a great deal of these so-called 'expansions' previously only known from SP.

The first relevant study during this era was the publication of some fragments from an Exodus scroll by **Patrick Skehan** (1909-1980). This scroll, dubbed 4QpaleoExod^{m} (4Q22), was found to have a number of the so-called 'expansions', notably that at Exod 20.19א-ד as well as those in the Plague Narrative. However, Skehan argued 4Q22 was *not* Samaritan—for there was no evidence it contained the Gerizim-centric florilegium at **Exod 20.17(13)א-ו**.[103] As it happened, 4Q22 was but one such exemplar of this kind of text, eventually designated as 'pre-Samaritan', which contained a text-type full of 'expansions' and other such 'harmonizations'[104] but lacked any discernible, specifically *Samaritan*, or rather Gerizim-centric, *Tendenz*. The MSS generally agreed to be from this text-type include 4Q17 (4QExod-Lev^{f}), 4Q22 (4QpaleoExod^{m}), 4Q27 (4QNum^{b}), 4Q158

[101] Schorch: "[…] Gesenius' analysis […] still shapes the scientific *opinio communis* about the SP [*e.g.*, Waltke, 1970: 213] to a considerable extent" (2013: 4).

[102] The literature for this period is substantial. Accordingly, the following is but a bare-bones sketch intended only to outline the 'pre-Samaritan' text-type in service to the present endeavour. For more thorough treatments, see **Kartveit**, 2009: 259-312, **Tov**, 2012: 74-93, and **Ulrich**, 2015.

[103] Though initially reluctant to state whether 4Q22 was Samaritan (1955: 183), Skehan later concluded that since the scroll contained Exod 20.19א-ד, it was only reasonable the scroll should also have transmitted **Exod 20.21(17)א-ט** since the reconstructed columns could only fit two of the three passages (1959: 22-23). Thus, he concluded "[4Q22] is *not* a Samaritan sectarian document, though *it does offer the type of text* the Samaritans have preserved as their own" (1959: 23, *emphasis* mine). Sanderson adopted Skehan's reconstruction (1986: xi, and 235; → **Exod 20.21[17]א-ט**).

[104] Kartveit conveniently provides a synoptic table of the larger 'expansions' (2009: 310-312).

(4QRP[a]),[105] 4Q364 (4QRP[b]), 4Q365 (4QRP[c]), 4Q366 (4QRP[d]), and 4Q367 (4QRP[e]).[106] These texts are dated from the 3rd BCE to the 1st century BCE,[107] and, importantly, have been described as utterly lacking "sectarian" readings.[108] While their shared features are typical of the text-type SP itself transmitted, it is interesting to note two specific aspects of the texts found since 1947 in contrast to SP: **1)** A number of texts bear 'expansions' and 'harmonizations' *beyond* what is in SP;[109] **2)** no MS witnesses to the Samaritan Tenth Commandment (**Exod 20.17[13]א-ו** or **Deut 5.21[17]א-ח**)—the very text Masius excerpted from his copy of SH Deut. Thus, scholarly consensus developed a new hypothesis for the origin of SP. Essentially, the Samaritans adopted a pre-existing text-type, common to the Judeo-Israelite matrix of the Second Temple period and added but a thin ideological layer[110] tailored towards their cultus. **Schorch** summarizes:

> Therefore, […] it is only the florilegium of verses selected from Deuteronomy (11:29; 27:2–6; 11:30) found in the SP after the Ten commandments [= **Exod 20.17א-ו** / **Deut 5.21א-ח**], which can be regarded as a later addition […]. The florilegium was inserted to reinforce (although not to create!) the reference to the altar on Mount Gerizim by immediately connecting it with the Ten commandments.[111]

The last decade has seen a number of studies relating to different aspects of the 'expansions' in the pre-Samaritan text. For instance, **Magnar Kartveit** suggests the motive for the Samaritans' adoption of this text-type (as opposed to any other) was that it

---

[105] For an overview of the issues the so-called 'Rewritten Pentateuch' presents, see Zahn, 2011: 3-7. Generally, scholars now only dispute the status of 4Q158 (cp. M. **Segal**, 2007: 10-11, n. 24 *vs.* **Zahn**, 2008: 327-328, n. 41; 2011: 12 [following **Ulrich**, 1998: 88, n. 30]).

[106] Scholars disagree how many witnesses the 4QRP corpus represents: Are they copies of a single edition of the Pent or individual exemplars of a text-type? Again, see Zahn, 2011: 3-5.

[107] Kartveit 2009: 276.

[108] See Ulrich, 2002.

[109] See Eshel and Eshel, 2003. Including witnesses which harmonize *beyond* SP, such as the Nash Papyrus, phylacteries, and *mezzuzot*, would expand the pre-Samaritan group (Eshel and Eshel, 2003: 232-37).

[110] Tov, 2012: 79; Ulrich 1998: 86; 2015: 225; et al. The description of a "thin ideological layer" is typical. Normally, something akin to "layer" is used with "small" or "theological" / "ideological" (*e.g.*, Tov, 2012: 79; Segal, 2007:10).

[111] 2013: 7. Schorch denies the בחר / יבהר variation between the SP and MT (Deut 12.5 et al) was a Samaritan sectarian correction. For reflection on this, see Ulrich (2015) who is still unsure.

best conformed to their theology, *viz.* their esteem for Moses and rejection of subsequent prophecy.[112] Kartveit argues this was because the pre-Samaritan text-type's 'expansions' formed a "Moses layer",[113] itself predating 4Q17, which thus developed alongside of and in opposition to the emerging prophetic corpus.[114] Against much previous discussion, **Jonathan Ben-Dov** views the 'expansive' pre-Samaritan layer (based on Greek analogues) not as a popular or vulgar text-type resulting from freer scribal technique,[115] but "an attempt to produce an *academic version* of Moses' writings" by scribes who "were *not* free to meddle with the text".[116] Further, **Edmon Gallagher** has recently argued against the widespread notion that the Samaritan Tenth Commandment (**Exod 20.17א-ו** and **Deut 5.21א-ח**) was added *subsequent* to 4Q22.[117]

Whatever may come of these recent theories, the final word on SP's early history has yet to be written and the next generations will likely refine and challenge many previous perspectives.

1.2 – The Samaritan Pentateuch in Greek

Paralleling the historical study of the Samaritan Hebrew text was the critical examination of the SP in Greek, though on a much reduced scale. For the latter remained only in fragments, often within the margins of seemingly unrelated, septuagintal sources. Nevertheless, as Masius' excerpts (→ **§1.1**) were from a Syriac translation of a *Greek* text, it is necessary to chart in greater detail previous scholarship on the SP in Greek.

---

[112] 2009: chh 7-8. Tov appears unconvinced by Karveit's thesis (2012: 93).

[113] Kartveit 2009: 281. **Segal** views the addition of Deut materials to Exod/Num only as a mechanical solution to "the "technical" problem of the lack of a source for a quotation" (2007: 17).

[114] 2009: 299 and 295.

[115] Tov, 2013: 91, 93.

[116] 2013: 233, *emphasis* mine. He disagrees with Kartveit's understanding as to why the Samaritans' adopted the pre-Samaritan text (2013: 221, n. 41).

[117] 2015: 101-106. **Schorch** has told me (private communication, Dec 2015) that he too has changed his 2013 view (independently of Gallagher). He now believes the addition of the "Gerizim-florilegium" was "not even a 'Samaritan' invention, but was carried out in the environment of a still common literary culture, before the final break of 128 BCE." His article on this is forthcoming.

1.2.1 – Historical Scholarship through Frederick Field

Generally, research into the SP in Greek has been an outgrowth of other critical projects concerning the Judeo-Christian scriptures. These encompassed the polyglot movement, the aims of which were to be as exhaustive as possible, as well as the rise of the study of hexaplaric remains. Consequently, the definitive moments in the study of the SP in Greek accompanied the publication of hexaplaric fragments.

1.2.1.1 – Research before Montfaucon

The first published fragments of Greek readings attributed as 'Samaritan' occurred in the SIXTINE edition (1587) of the Septuagint.[118] This edition, based principally upon CODEX B, as well as a collation of different Vatican MS sources, appended varied hexaplaric annotations and other scholia to the end of each chapter. Among these annotations are a number of readings labelled το σαμαρειτικον '*the Samaritan*'. These, while published anonymously in the edition, were provided by **Pierre Morin** (1531-1608).[119] One year later, this same basic set of annotations was also included in the LATIN SIXTINE[120] annotated by **Flaminius Nobilius** (1532-1590). They would also be discussed in the commentary of hexaplaric fragments published by **Johannes Drusius** (1550-1616).[121] While there has been some debate as to the extent to which Nobilius simply copied the original notes of Morin, as well as the nature of Drusius' contribution,[122] with respect to the σαμ΄ readings, it can be stated that Nobilius basically reproduced the readings Morin had provided in the original collation.[123] While Morin failed to provide proper references to his MS sources, one of his published letters suggests that he primarily

[118] On which, see Swete, 1914: 174-182, and Law, 2007: 32-33.

[119] On Morin's role in the history of hexaplaric scholarship, see Norton, 2005: 16-17 (with Field's original comments, 2005: 19-20 [1:iii-iv]); cf. Law's observations (2007: 32-34).

[120] The present study principally uses the parallel edition of the GRECO-LATIN SIXTINE (1628) published by **Jean Morin** (→ **§1.1.2**); on which, see Law's notes (2007: 36).

[121] Issued posthumously (1622). A brief account of Drusius' career is given in Shuger, 1994: 15.

[122] On this issue, compare the differing views of Norton (2005: 17) and Law (2007: 34).

[123] For a record of these, see the provided **ADDENDUM** (→ **APPENDIX**).

used Vatican-based catena MSS.[124] Curiously, neither Morin nor Nobilius recorded any such annotations in Deut. This is odd given that two 'Samaritan' *scholia*, namely the reading 'Gerizim' at **Deut 27.4** (→ **§§2.3.3** at **Exod 20.17[13]**; **APPENDIX**) and the **χολ** ***scholion*** at **27.26** (→ **§4.2.1**), occur in many catena MSS sub το σαμ΄ from the Vatican and elsewhere.[125]

Additionally, the SIXTINE lacked any significant musings on where or when this σαμαρειτικον, whatever it was, may have originated. Early European Samaritan scholars, however, did comment on the matter.[126] And it was their view which was questioned in the impressively comprehensive *Prolegomena* to the epochal *London Polyglot* (1653-57). Therein, **Brian Walton** (c. 1600-61) provided some reflections on both the nature and possible provenance of the readings denoted το σαμαρειτικον: He observed that while the readings transmitted sub το σαμ΄ "often agree with the Samaritan Targum [ST] rather than SP", nothing contrary to SP was added to the translation.[127] Further, he claimed certain Fathers at times quoted this translation (as opposed to the Hebrew SP). As for the origins of this work, unlike the previous opinion of J. Morin, Hottinger, or others, who dated the work around the time of Alexander, he felt that this was much later.[128]

Further studied remarks by **Edmund Castell** (1606-85)[129] were supplied in the sixth and final volume of the *London Polyglot* (1757), that detailing textual variants. After examining the σαμ΄ readings vis-à-vis ST, he flatly stated: "By το σαμαρειτικον[, ST] is

[124] See the citation in Field (2005: 19 [1: iii]).

[125] Based upon a comparison of these readings in Gen, it has proved very difficult to discern Morin's MS sources. *E.g.*, MS 57 (Rom, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 747, 11th century CE) is a reasonable candidate, however the record in the SIXTINE at times markedly disagrees with modern collations (cp. with Wevers at 49.15 *vs.* 49.23[-24] and 50.19).

[126] *E.g.*, Hottinger, 1644: 28. Hottinger, as some Protestants opposing SP, was under the impression that SP was the *Vorlage* of GPent (Loop, 2013: 120).

[127] *Prolegomena*. XI, §15 (1: 79). See also **L.E. Du-Pin**'s (1657-1719) *Prolégomènes sur la Bible* (1699: 166[v]).

[128] *Prolegomena* XI, §22 (1: 81). Walton's assessment much influenced later scholarship; *e.g.*, Dupin, 1699: 168[r], and T.H. Horne (1: 270).

[129] On Castell's contributions to early Samaritanology, see G. Firmin, "Castell, Edmund", *CSS*, 49.

always to be understood."[130] It is essential to observe that Castell's (and Walton's) contention—that the readings marked το σαμ΄ basically stem from ST—became the central, recurring feature of text-critical discussions of these readings, influencing scholars well into the present time, permitting varying adjustments to the central notion in light of new MS evidence.

Another important component of early discussion relating to the σαμ΄ readings was **the process through which Samaritan readings became known to Christian sources**. Of interest again is Walton's *Prolegomena*. Though he appears to have stopped short of specifically claiming Origen's *hexaplaric* work spread Samaritan readings, he did support the notion of many Fathers' having used the source—Origen included. In his public defence of the *London Polyglot* against the condemnations of **John Owen** (1616-83), he listed Origen, Eusebius, Africanus, Cyril of Alexandria, Diodorus Tarsus, Jerome, Eulogius, Procopius of Gaza, Epiphanius, the "Greek Scholiast", and "other ancient Writers" as having quoted the Samaritan text.[131] However, when Walton's defence is compared to his *Prolegomena*, nowhere did he cite Origen's *hexapla* specifically as evidence; instead *Contra Celsum* (XI §7) and *Comm.in John* (XI §11) were cited as indicating his familiarity with Samaritan matters.[132]

Rather it was a contemporary of Walton's, the patristic scholar **Isaac Voss** (1618-89), who explicitly attributed the Samaritan readings in Christian MSS to Origen's hexaplaric work. In his *De Septuaginta Interpretibus eorumque Translatione & Chronologia Dissertationes* (1661), Voss argued that Origen's use of SP should be

[130] 6: 11 (§5 at Lev 25.5). Cited is Norton's translation of Field's citation of Castell (2005: 156 n. 36 [1: lxxxiii, n. 36]).
[131] 1659: 184. I am unclear what demonstrates **Africanus'** usage. No such evidence is found in the recent GCS volume of Africanus' fragments (see Wallraff, 2007).
[132] Compare Walton's list provided against Owen with his discussion in §14; again, see Dupin (1699: 166[r]).

inferred from a close reading of Eusebius' description of Origen's biblical study in *H.E* 6.16, specifically the former's use of the word σημειωσις:[133]

> […] For wherever [SP] disagreed with the codices of the Jews, these variants were recorded in the margin. If anything was shorter or longer in either of the two, this [difference] was indicated with the asterisk or obelus. Naturally, it follows that very many readings of the Samaritan codex occurred in the writings and catenae of the Fathers—*these had been taken from none other than the Hexapla of Origen*.[134]

Of interest is not only Voss' assertion that Origen consulted and collated SP—something most later scholars would accept *in toto et ad nauseam*—but that he did so using the hexaplaric sigla. This claim lay pregnant with the later musings that the SP had its own column (or designated section) in the *Hexapla Maior* (→ **§§1.2.2.1**; **2.4.2**; **4.1**).

However, Voss' understanding did not remain long unchallenged. For his part, **Richard Simon** (→ **§1.1.2**) severely criticized his interpretation, insisting Voss had "translated the words of *Eusebius* according to his own prejudice", noting that there is "not a word in [*H.E.* 6.16] of the *Samaritans* but of […] a Hebrew Jewish Copy."[135] Simon, not being content to have called out Voss' eisegesis but once, reiterated:

> It is also certain that ***Origen* consulted not the Samaritans but the Jews** […]. It is true that he put into the Margin of his *Hexaplasses*, some Greek *Scholias*, […; but] there is **no proof whereby we can demonstrate** that the places where the Samaritan Text differed from the Hebrew were markt in the Margin. […] A]nd it is certain that the Greek word σημειωσις does not signifie in that place *Scholia*, in the sence [Voss] takes it in.[136]

Instead, Simon believed το σαμαρειτικον as quoted by the Fathers had been taken—not from Origen's 'hexapla'—but from an actual Samaritan εκδοσις they created for their own use, akin to the Hellenistic Jewry and the Septuagint.[137] He further addressed the alleged relationship between το σαμ΄ and ST:

---

[133] 1661: 95-96.
[134] 1661: 96 (*emphasis* mine). Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
[135] (1682) Book I, 94-95. *Emphasis* and orthography original.
[136] Book II, 20 (**bold** mine).
[137] Book II, 59-60. Simon held Eusebius quoted this version in his *Chronicon* (→ **§§3.5.2**; **4.2.3**).

> [After remarking the translation is not always literal …] Sometimes the Greek Translation of the *Samaritans* happens to agree with [ST], more than with [SP]; which would make one believe it was made from [ST]; but as these two Translations agree not in many places, **we cannot affirm that one was made from the other**, but only that sometimes the sense is the same in both. **As they both were made by *Samaritan* Authors from the same** [**Hebrew**]**, it is not strange that the sense of the Text is sometimes express'd after the same matter**. [… He gives various examples and concludes:] Lastly, There are several places where […] **the *Samaritan* Translator seems to have consulted [the Septuagint] in his Translation**.[138]

Thus Simon opposed the theories both regarding Origen's role in the transmission of το σαμ΄ and the proposed connection between το σαμ΄ and ST. To Simon, the Samaritans simply created their own Greek translation, at times under the influence of the Septuagint,[139] and that the Fathers somehow gained access to this edition. Simon's opposition to both points in some ways presaged some current text-critical theory.[140] Given the handful of readings then available, his work can in this sense be characterized as remarkable.

Still, yet another scholar ought to be consulted in reviewing early critical opinion of Origen's potential role in the transmission of Greek Samaritan readings, **Humphrey Hody** (1659–1707). In his *De Bibliorum Textis Originalibus* (1705), Hody responded to Voss' and Simon's opposing views on the matter:

> I answer, not with […] Simon […], rather it is indeed true that, in the margin of certain editions of the Origenic Bible, a variety of Samaritan [readings] had been recorded, for this is confirmed by the *Preface* of an Arabic Pentateuch in the Bodleian Library. Whether these were recorded by Origen himself, or by Eusebius, or someone a little later on, is uncertain. Naturally, it is possible (any) Father in a given place could have learned of the Samaritan text from the Samaritans themselves.[141]

Central to his response was a certain Arabic Pentateuch MS whose translator's *Preface* he referenced. This text, first published in Latin in 1692, is the same *Prefatory*

---

[138] Book II, 60-61 (**bold** mine).

[139] Compare Simon's second revised French edition: "[…]; *de-sorte qu'il semble que l'Interprète Samaritain l'ait consultée* ***ou imitée dans*** *sa Traduction Grecque"* (1685: 235; **bold** mine).

[140] Compare Joosten's comments (→ **§1.2.2.5**) below.

[141] 1705: 603.

Epistle attached to the Arabic translation of SH Pent undertaken by al-Ḥārith in the 10th century CE (→ **§3.1.1**). Therein, he described his source, including remarks regarding certain sizeable marginal excerpts from SP found in the margins and "at the end of the book" (cp. SH^{M} → **§1.1**). Thus, Hody rejected Simon's conclusion, that hexaplaric MSS derived from Origen's work did not contain 'Samaritan' readings. Yet, he was careful not to overstep the evidence, and as a result, left open the possibility that these could have been inserted by someone other than Origen.

Hody's is an important point.[142] For at the time of the *London Polyglot*, the only sources of Samaritan Greek readings were the peculiar scholia found in MSS sub το σαμ΄. However, additional sources would surface, not only during Hody's lifetime but the ensuing 100-250 years, whose margins provided an increase of Samaritan readings in Greek—many of which lacked the specific designation 'το σαμαρειτικον'.

1.2.1.2 – The Hexaplaric Work of Bernard de Montfaucon (1713)

The first important milestone in hexaplaric studies was the edition of fragments issued by **Bernard de Montfaucon** (1655-1741) in 1713.[143] The Frenchman's erudition in MSS, coupled with the availability of new MS sources, suited him to the task, his work being far more than a reprinting of previously collated readings.[144] Among these new sources were two of the great uncials, CODICES M and Q, along with many French MSS (e.g., 64, 550, etc),[145] all of which greatly expanded the collection of hexaplaric readings and scholia than was previously available. These new readings facilitated a comprehensive analysis contained in his extensive *Praeliminaria* (7-77 [PG 15:19-122]) as well as

[142] Hody was apparently unaware of the Masian passages (→ **§1.1**).
[143] *Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt*…, 2 vols. (Page references are from the first volume; PG's reprint is provided for convenience.)
[144] For an overview of Montfaucon's influential work, see Law, 2007: 38-41.
[145] Rahlfs dutifully registered these (1914: *passim*).

comments on particular hexaplaric phenomena *ad loc*.[146] Montfaucon's presentation of Greek Samaritan readings is perhaps one of the more remarkable elements of his edition. And while new MS sources permitted him to add to the number of σαμ΄ readings,[147] it was his discovery and recognition of a **second set** of Greek Samaritan readings which allowed the study of the SP in Greek to move forward.

With respect to the already known σαμ΄ readings, he observed **1)** these were transmitted in the "oldest" MSS bearing hexaplaric remains, **2)** that the Fathers of the 4th, 5th, and later centuries quoted these, and **3)** that while the evidence is sparse, it seems reasonable to suppose Origen placed these readings in his hexapla.[148] Montfaucon argued that this translation existed during Origen's time[149] and that he probably quoted it—in addition to his own translation he manufactured from the Samaritan Hebrew itself:

> Nor does this militate against our opinion, itself noted (in a *scholion*) found at Num 13.1, which I judge to be Origen's, where he quoted [in Num] certain things which the Samaritan Bible had taken from Deut. These same things Origen claimed to have 'translated'[*transtulisse*], **adapting** the LXX [*quidem modo ad Editionem LXX. accommodato*]: α και αυτα εκ του των Σαμαρειτων Ἑβραικου μετεβαλομεν καταλληλως τη των Ο. ερμηνεια τη εν τω Δευτερονομιω φερομενη. **This was not accomplished by means of some Samaritan Greek Translation**, but rather from the actual [Hebrew] SP of Num, […]. The translation of these (passages) Origen **borrowed** [*mutuatus est*] from the LXX text of Deut, just as he described.[150]

Montfaucon brought a few important matters to the fore with respect to Greek Samaritan readings: **1) The direct involvement of Origen's hexapla.** While other scholars had discussed the possibility (or assumed the certainty) of Origen's having dealt with SP in his 'hexapla', strictly speaking, Montfaucon was the first to contend Origen was himself

---

[146] These were provided at the end of each chapter, à la SIXTINE.

[147] Concerning το σαμ΄, Montfaucon added no real evidence in Gen, five in Exod, three in Lev, none in Num, and one in Deut (see **ADDENDUM → APPENDIX**).

[148] *Preliminaria*, Chap. 1, §VIII (18-19 [PG 15.35-36]). He was, however, careful to point out that very little evidence had survived (19).

[149] *Preliminaria*, Chap. 1, §IX (19-20 [PG 15.36-37]): "[…] *Si quis alias in Pentateucho a nobis allatas Samaritani Interpretis lectiones accurate perpendat, ex Graeca, ni fallor, interpretatione desumtas esse deprehendet*". Recently pointed out by Joosten (2014: 347).

[150] *Preliminaria*, 19-20 (PG 15.36-37; **bold** mine).

responsible and, while so arguing, actually produced and discussed apparent *first-person Greek* evidence directly relevant to such a supposition—something all previous studies sorely lacked.[151] **2) Two separate sets of Samaritan readings:** The most significant element for the present study is his interpretation of the aforesaid *scholion* from **Num 13.1א-ד** (→ **§3.3.2**). In contrast with previous attempts at hexaplaric editions or discussions of the SP, Montfaucon came armed with a certain Vatican MS, one *Codex Basiliensis* (= MS 85 [Vat. gr. 2058]).[152] This MS, whose *scholion* he studied, would later be recognized as a member of the s-group, uniquely transmitting six 'expansions' in Num within its margins, two of which were explicitly described as (του) των Σαμαρειτων (Ἑβραικου),[153]—*not* το σαμαρειτικον. Based on MS 85, Montfaucon hypothesized that in addition to readings taken from a pre-existing Samaritan Greek edition (i.e., το σαμ΄), Origen also adapted[154] his own G(Num/Deut) text, adding it to the margins of the respective locations to reflect SP's expansions. Thus, Montfaucon reasoned, there were two distinct sets of 'Samaritan' readings found in the MS evidence: **a)** those taken from a previous translation: το σαμ΄; and **b)** those manufactured, probably by Origen, for the 'hexapla', based on a *Hebrew* SP. **3) The presence of septuagintism in the των Σαμαρειτων readings.** Another important component, one which would play a major part in future discussion of the two sets of readings, was the observation that these readings denoted as (του) των Σαμαρειτων (Ἑβραικου) betray considerable influence from the parallel GPent passage. In fact, they seem to be more or less cribbed from G's parallel.

---

[151] I say "*first-person Greek* evidence" as both Masius (→ **§1.1**) and Hody referenced *second-hand* Syriac and *third-hand* Arabic evidence, respectively.

[152] See his *In Numerorum Librum Admonitio* (150 [PG 15.707-08]; Rahlfs, 1914: 270).

[153] Montfaucon, to his credit, recognized those at **Num 21.11א** (163 [15.756-57]), Num 31.20א-ד (171 [15.784-86]), and **Num 27.23א-ב** (168 [15.775-76]; at 28.1) even though 85 lacks attribution in those locations. He did not, however, acknowledge **Num 14.45א** (159 [15.749-50]). This last case is better attested by SH (→ **§3.3.2**).

[154] See also Montfaucon on **Num 21.12א-ג–13a**.

This aspect of the data would be greatly reinforced with the emergence of evidence not then available (*e.g.*, SH).[155]

However, Montfaucon's thesis is not without issue. As later critics would point out (*e.g.*, Kahle [→ **§1.2.2.3**]), if Origen had *both* το σαμ΄ and a Hebrew SP, why would he not have used the one to guide his 'translation' of the other? In fact, if he had the former, why bother translating the latter at all?

1.2.1.3 – The Hexaplaric Work of Frederick Field (1871)[156]

Frederick Field's (1801-1885) *Origenis Hexaplorum…* was—and for a number of Septuagint books still is—the publication of record for hexapla studies.[157] The work considerably augmented Montfaucon's, accomplished in large part by the addition of SH,[158] much of which had not yet been published but was supplied to him by the Italian Syriacist **A.M. Ceriani** (1828-1907) via correspondence.[159] The importance of Field's use of SH cannot be overstated, both for the hexaplaric fragments in general[160] and the Samaritan readings in particular. Further, his provision of SH's retroverted Greek, broke down a lamentable (and still problematic) language barrier, opening up one of the principal sources of hexaplaric data to a wider audience.[161] As such, Field's edition was, and still is, particularly important for the Samaritan readings.

---

[155] Montfaucon was surely unaware of SH^M or the *Preface* discussed by Hody. Otherwise, he would have used them in support of his thesis.

[156] Not 1875 as is usually stated. Norton discovered, during his research on Field's bibliography, one edition (*ex libris* D. Barthélemy) bearing the date 1871 for the fascicle containing the Pentateuch (2005: 14).

[157] Field's success was apparent upon publication (note C. Taylor, "Hexapla, The", *DCB* 3: 23, as well as J.H. Burn, 1897: 274-278, esp. 277).

[158] See Norton, 2005: 10-12, and Law, 2007: 42-45. Field cited **J.G. Eichhorn**'s (1752-1827) earlier suggestion regarding the use of the SH as a source (2005: 21-22 [1: iv-v]).

[159] See Norton's review of Field's relationship with Ceriani (2005: 10-12). Field openly acknowledged his dependency upon (and deep appreciation for) Ceriani's expertise in his edition (2005: 22 [1: v]).

[160] As Law points out, his was not the first examination of SH (see Baars, 1968: 2-4); nonetheless, Field's was the first *comprehensive* study, covering the whole canon (2007: 42).

[161] Norton calls Field's retroversions his edition's "principal novelty" (2007: 132).

Like Montfaucon's,[162] Field's lengthy *Prolegomena* included, among others, a section devoted to the Samaritan readings extant in Greek.[163] Therein, Field introduced his reader to two groups of readings: **1)** "[those] on the part of the Hebraeo-Samaritan text" and **2)** "a certain Samaritan translation whose Greek readings with the identification του Σαμαρειτικου are transmitted in the Hexaplaric scholia."[164]

With respect to **the first group**, Field **1)** cited the *Prefatory Epistle* to the Arabic translation of SH by al-Ḥārith (→ **§3.1.1**) which, among other musings, indicated the marginalized Samaritan passages were the result of collation against that "found in the hands of the Jews".[165] **2)** Field also observed that these readings occur in Exod, Num, and Deut, **3)** that the Origenian sigla are applied variously to these passages by the different sources, and **4)** that the Syriac translator(s) found them in "the margin of the Hexaplaric books […]."[166] Lastly, **5)** he believed Origen translated the Hebraeo-Samaritan readings into Greek, suggesting **5a)** "his authorship should be claimed for the scholion"[167] at **Num 13.1א-ד**. *All of this was outlined without any explicit reference to the work of Montfaucon whatsoever*.

Regarding **the second group**, Field **1)** compared their type to τον Εβραιον and τον Συρον, **2)** listed a total of 43 such readings, to which he added four anonymous readings, and **3)**, following Castell's theory, believed their origin to be found in ST.[168]

---

[162] As Law observed (2007: 38), Field's *Prolegomena* was heavily influenced by the scope and organization of Montfaucon's. For whatever reason (chronological?), the latter introduced his Samaritan discussion much earlier (i.e., before discussion of the Three) than the former.

[163] "What might το Σαμαρειτικον mean?" (154-156 [1: lxxxii-lxxxiv]). Norton's translation (2005) is cited throughout.

[164] 154 (1: lxxxii).

[165] 154 (1: lxxxii). A few other observations were made by al-Ḥārith (see White, 1779: 13-14) on the Samaritan readings, none of which are necessarily helpful.

[166] 155, n. 34 (1:lxxxiii, n. 34). Field's opinion was taken from Ceriani's then still unfinished edition (→ **§2.2**).

[167] 155 (1: lxxxiii).

[168] 155-56 (1: lxxxiii-lxxxiv, with n. 36).

Insofar as MS sources are concerned, Field's use of SH quintupled (!) the first group from Montfaucon's mere six (in Num only) to 31 (16 in Exod, 13 for Num, and 2 in Deut).[169] As for the second σαμ΄ group, **SH transmits no such readings**—something Field did not try to reconcile. It is also of interest that no attempt to address the **septuagintization** of the first group vis-à-vis the second was offered.[170] Furthermore, Field labelled one of the Samaritan readings (Deut 34.1b-1א-2) from SH^{M} as from το σαμαρειτικον, but this attribution is unfounded (→ **§§1.3.1.2**, **3.3.1** at **Num 21.22ב-א**, and **Num 32.1+** and **29+**; also **APPENDIX**).[171] Lastly, Field either did not know the contents of the SH Exod colophon first-hand or simply failed to outline them. This is an important detail in relation to his work on the Samaritan readings, as the SH Exod subscription explicitly testifies to the origins of the "Hebraeo-Samaritan" group (→ **§2.2**).

With respect to his sources for the σαμ΄ readings, increased MS availability allowed him to supplement the number of readings previously published**.** For example, MSS 25^{C},[172] 416^{mx} ("cod. Lips."[173]), and 128^{z} provided some new σαμ΄ renderings (*e.g.*, Exod 38.26 [38.8], Num 31.18) or confirmed those previously transmitted anonymously or under different attribution (*e.g.*, Gen 49.15, Lev 15.8). Still some readings are based only upon Nobilius (*e.g.*, Gen 49.23-24; 8.21[17][174]). Perhaps his most significant new source of material was from the so-called *Catena Nicephori* (Cat^{Nic}). Published after Montfaucon's time in 1772, Field often used this edition to confirm the unsourced notes in Nobilius (*e.g.*,

[169] Those in Deut were from SH^{M} (→ **§§1.1**; **4.2.1**). Field had access to s-group MS 130, but 130 does not transmit any SP passages beyond those in MS 85.
[170] Even the *scholion* was not cited as an explanation.
[171] This may have been why Field did not address the matter of the σαμ΄ readings in SH.
[172] See Field's note at Gen 49.14 (1: 71, n. 37) and the bibliographic supplement (2: 3 [*Auctarium*]).
[173] *Monitum* (1: 79); see the reading at Exod 38.26(38.8) where it is the sole witness.
[174] This reading is in MS 25; perhaps he simply cited Nobilius without bothering with further sources.

Num 4.25, 29.35, 31.16, et al). Rahlfs would later establish that Nicephorus had used catena MS 417^{cII} (London, Arch. Libr. 1214, 1104 CE) for his text in Lev-Ruth.[175]

Despite significant gains, Field exhibited some inconsistency in recording the σαμ΄ evidence. For example, though *Cat*^{Nic} was one of his chief resources, he failed to record the 'το σαμ΄' reading at **Deut 27.4** (→ **APPENDIX**), though he dutifully documented the **κοι** ***scholion*** at **Deut 27.26** (→ **§4.2.1**). Given that *Cat*^{Nic} is the only evidence cited for the reading at Deut 10.22, one wonders how this occurred. Mysteriously, he registered a σαμ΄ reading in Num 32.35 but did not provide its source.[176] Nevertheless, Field's work represents an enormous leap forward for the study of both groups of readings, and his edition is in many ways still to be preferred for the study of Samaritan readings found in Christian MS traditions.

1.2.2 – Scholarship after Field

Field's edition continued to serve a role as the standard publication, thus having a profound effect on subsequent scholarship. This is particularly so with respect to Field's endorsement of Castell's theory regarding το σαμ΄ and ST.

1.2.2.1 – Samuel Kohn's "*Samareitikon und Septuaginta*" (1894)

Hungarian Rabbi S. Kohn (1841-1920)[177] was the next noteworthy voice in the intermittent and slowly evolving discussion regarding Greek Samaritan readings. As Pummer has recently surveyed,[178] Kohn argued the σαμ΄ readings—particularly the "*indifferente Stellen*" found in the "Hexapla"—were best interpreted as remnants of a

[175] 1914: 102.
[176] The reading appears without MS attribution and was not listed in his *Prolegomena* or his *Appendix* (1: 329-30). Successive studies and editions (save Kohn [1894: 49 and n. 2]) record no such σαμ΄ reading.
[177] See D. Talshir's "Kohn, Samuel" (*CSS*, 146) for a general survey of his works vis-à-vis Samaritanology.
[178] The following is much indebted to Pummer's useful summary (1998: 271-72 and 281-82).

continuous and complete translation of ST in Greek.[179] Following Castell and Field,[180] Kohn sought to expand upon their efforts in a few ways: **1)** He augmented the list of anonymously transmitted σαμ΄ readings originally proposed by Field.[181] **2)** Kohn claimed that many readings were eventually transmitted marginally as αλλος or integrated into (often "*haben* […] *gänzlich verdrängt*") the running text of some G MSS (*e.g.*, **Exod 23.19 א/ Deut 14.20**, Deut 34.1b-1א-2).[182] **3)** He further claimed that the Samareitikon existed in multiple copies since there are places where double translation obtains in the MS tradition.[183] **4)** Perhaps more radically, he reasoned that in "most cases" the agreement between G and SP ("*dem samarit. Bibeltexte*") could be traced back to interpolation of the Samareitikon.[184]

Relevant is Kohn's treatment of the readings from "the Hebraeo-Samaritan text". Kohn did not want to accept these as a separate set of readings (from a different provenance) as Montfaucon (and Field) had. Instead, he considered these "long-winded, silly additions" ("*langathmigen, läppischen Zusätze*") as originally from the Samareitikon. He reasoned: "These existed before Origen, who put them in his Hexapla. Yet because of their length, he could not find a place next to the other *recentiores*; thus, he put them below the columns, that is to say 'under the lines' [*unterhalb der Columnen, gleichsam, „unter dem Striche"*], marked with obeli."[185]

---

[179] 1894: 51. Kohn never appeared to question Origen's responsibility for the σαμ΄ readings in the 'hexapla', mentioning him by name throughout his study (see 1, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64).

[180] 1894: 2-3.

[181] 1894: 52.

[182] 1894: 59-60, cf. 67.

[183] 1894: 62. Kohn cites the readings at Exod 28.4, 26.5, Deut 32.8, Lev 8.15, and the problematic situation with **Exod 23.19א / Deut 14.20א** (→ **§2.5.2**).

[184] 1894: 67; see 63 where Gen 4.8 (and the *scholion* mentioning 'Σαμαρειτικον') is produced as evidence (→ **§1.3.1.2**).

[185] 1894: 64. As Rahlfs and Glaue point out, the asterisk is just as common (1911: 63, n. 1)

Amidst his theorizing on how this material was incorporated into the MS tradition, he wondered whether "the writer of SH" had provided them.[186] Such a consideration, however, tips Kohn's hand, for Field (following Ceriani's observations) stated that the passages were *not* the work of the Syriac translators.[187] While unknown circumstances had delayed Ceriani's publication of the SH Exod colophon (something Field never provided), **W. Wright** issued the full text, with translation, in 1870 (→ **§2.2**).[188] And while there are interpretive difficulties with the colophon, the subscription indicates that the Samaritan materials were added to the MS tradition well before the "*Verfasser der Syr.-Hexapla*". Thus, it would appear that Kohn paid insufficient attention to Field's admittedly terse description or simply disagreed without explaining why.

Kohn's opinion of the "*langathmigen, läppischen Zusätze*" was hindered by still another issue: septuagintism. Here the consequences of Field's place as the publication of record came into play. For while Montfaucon sought to explicate this septuagintism by means of the **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion*, coupled with short analyses for those readings he had, Field's silence on the matter (vis-à-vis the 'Samaritan' nature of the σαμ΄ readings) permitted Kohn to speculate:

> These long additions may have originally came verbatim from the Σαμαρειτικον. [Then] when their provenance was recognized […] the additions were altered to conform to the LXX translation of the parallel. The similarity of language [*die Gleichheit der Sprache*] confirms this; [for example,] הֶעָרֹב in Exod 8.21 (17) was read by [the] Σαμαρειτικον as if from העֹרֵב, though the same word in the addition at v 23 (19) was not translated with κορακα, but, as in the corresponding LXX passage, with την κυνομυιαν.[189]

Thus Kohn, in his attempt to maintain the ST origins of the 'Samareitikon', was willing to propose that these large, infrequently attested passages were adapted towards the G

[186] 1894: 64.
[187] Presumably, Kohn was assuming the translators used the *Hexapla Maior* (→ **§1.1.1**).
[188] Both of Lagarde's SH editions (1880 and 1892) supplied the text without translation (→ **§2.1.3**).
[189] 1894: 64-65, n. 2.

parallels, and that such a process occurred *before* Origen's time. Kohn hypothesized that Hellenistic Jews were responsible for this adaptation, and it was their work which Origen used in his hexapla.[190] Historical difficulties aside (see below),[191] his hypothesis ignored the **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion* and consequently encountered opposition.

1.2.2.2 – The Publication of the Gießen Fragments (1911)

In 1911, **Alfred Rahlfs** (1865-1935) and **Paul Glaue** (1872-1944) published pieces of parchment[192] (Pap. Gieß. 13, 19, 22, and 26), dated to the 5th-6th century CE and probably of Egyptian provenance,[193] containing fragments from Deut 24, 25, 27, 28, and 29, which the editors believed to be "*der griech. Übersetzung der Samaritaner*".[194] Their conclusion was based principally on the reading Αργαριζιμ[195] in **Deut 27.4** (→ **§2.3.3** at **Exod 20.17א-ו**) and 12 (→ **§1.2.2.4 [A]**),[196] along with other, more sundry agreements with Samaritan interpretation.[197] Later scholarship would extensively converse with and critique their conclusions.

Importantly, at the end of their joint study, Rahlfs/Glaue compared their findings with the previously known Greek Samaritan readings, traditionally understood as the Samareitikon.[198] Rahlfs/Glaue maintained that the Samareitikon was clearly subsequent to G, and that the former was influenced by the latter. For the *terminus ad quem*, they believed the translation must have preceded Origen because it "is identical with the

---

[190] Pummer, 1998: 271-72; also Rahlfs/Glaue, 1911: 62-63, referring to Kohn, 1894: 62-63.
[191] Pummer's evaluation: "[… Kohn's] assumptions are gratuitous" (1998: 272).
[192] Pummer (1998: 283, n. 78) is careful to clarify that the fragments are parchment, not papyrus.
[193] 1911: 31; Rahlfs and Fraenkel, 2004: 131.
[194] 1914: 71-72. The fragments, now known by the Rahlfs number 884 (Rahlfs and Fraenkel, 2004: 130-33), were designated "Gie" in Wevers' App.
[195] As Tov observed (1999: 472, n. 11), it cannot be determined whether transcription should be written as one word or two: αρ(?)γαρ[ι]ζιμ. Rahlfs and Glaue transcribed it was one word. Pummer rightly points out that a separated form would still represent a transliterated, as opposed to a translated, form (1987: 24, n. 46).
[196] 1911: Plate 1 (*recht Hälfte* [3. *Seite des Doppelblattes*]), 37 (transcription), and 48-49 (commentary).
[197] 1911: 55-56.
[198] The following is from Rahlfs/Glaue, 1911: 60-64 (§7 of their *Schlüsse*).

Σαμαρειτικον cited by Origen".[199] They instinctively believed the translation was from Egypt, the original home of GPent, where Greek-speaking Jews and Samaritans lived side-by-side; though, it was possible that the work was accomplished in another Greek-speaking Samaritan milieu and later imported to Egypt.[200]

They then summarized Field's "*Quid sibi velit* το Σαμαρειτικον" and fully support the differentiation of two groups of readings. Following Field's (really Montfaucon's!) "most probable" understanding of the **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion*, Rahlfs/Glaue supported the notion that Origen himself probably translated these "*Überschüsse des hebräischen Textes der Samaritaner* ***über den hebräischen Text der Juden***".[201] Furthermore, the σαμ΄ group mostly agrees ("*meistens übereinstimmen*") with ST, as Castell had noted earlier; they lastly remarked that Field did not attempt to identify the translator.[202] In response to Kohn's theory, that the Σαμαρειτικον represented a complete, thoroughgoing translation of ST, Rahlfs/Glaue answered:

> The Gießen fragments show a similar correspondence to ST as the Σαμαρειτικον readings, and they belong without doubt to a continuous translation of SP. From that one may accept on good grounds—though in the sections of Deut contained in the Gießen fragments no Σαμαρειτικον readings are transmitted—that the Σαμαρειτικον readings and the Gießen fragments belong to one and the same translation. As to whether this translation flowed directly from ST, [this] seems very unlikely […].[203]

Rahlfs/Glaue also responded to Kohn's thesis regarding the origin and nature of the "surpluses" (*Überschüsse*), concluding his hypothesis was baseless ("*sie völlig aus der Luft gegriffen ist*").[204] Kohn insisted that the Hellenistic Jewish revisers somehow failed to

[199] 1911: 60.
[200] 1911: 60.
[201] 1911: 61, **bold** mine.
[202] Rahlfs and Glaue observed the list of these readings had grown due to the collation of catena MS 135 (*O* then *oII*) in the Brooke-McLean editions of Gen and Exod. They supported Field's inclination that some readings had been transmitted anonymously (1911: 61, n. 2).
[203] 1911: 62 (see p. 55 of their discussion).
[204] 1911: 63.

correct the "*sam. Fälschungen*" (i.e., εν ορει Γαριζειμ and εχομενον του Συχεμ) found in the passage known as the Samaritan Tenth Commandment (→ **§1.1**).[205] Rebutting, Rahlfs/Glaue contended that Gie rendered Kohn's hypothesis "completely invalid", for the translation transmitted in the "Hexapla" (εν ορει Γαριζειμ) "*wohl mit dem hebräischen Texte der Samaritaner, aber nicht mit ihrer greichischen Übersetzung übereinstimmt*" which reads εν Αργαριζιμ according to Gie.[206] Thus, they argued, Field (really Montfaucon!) was perfectly justified to make a strict distinction between the readings from "the Hebraeo-Samaritan text" and the Σαμαρειτικον. This reconstruction of Gie, Rahlfs/Glaue believed, was confirmed by the **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion*, which testifies to Origen having translated the *Überschüsse* himself.[207]

1.2.2.3 – Paul Kahle's "*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes*" (1915) and *The Cairo Geniza*, 1st ed. (1947)

A) Less than five years passed before **P. Kahle** (1875-1964)[208] would challenge Rahlfs/Glaue's interpretation of the data. In his iconoclastic "*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes*",[209] Kahle countered Rahlfs/Glaue's adoption of Field's positions. Specifically, he opposed their understanding of the **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion*, describing their conclusions as "very suspect".[210] Rather, he insisted that connecting the *scholion* to Origen creates a problem: If Origen drew the σαμ΄ readings from a Samaritan Greek translation, why did he not also take the "surplus" readings from the same source?[211]

---

[205] 1911: 63; Kohn, 1894: 65.
[206] 1911: 63-64.
[207] 1911: 64.
[208] See J. Margain's "Kahle, Paul" *CSS*, 141.
[209] [1915] 1956: 3-37. Section A is again aided by the short summary in Pummer (1998: 271-72).
[210] 1956: 23.
[211] 1956: 24.

Kahle's approach to this problem was distinctive. While he acknowledged certain differences between the two categories, he questioned whether one should assume the Greek Samaritan translation was uniform.[212] In accordance with his *Vulgärtext* theory, he supposed the Samaritan Greek translation endured an historical process akin to ST and the Samaritan Arabic translation—for the former lacked any *textus receptus* as such and the latter only reached a unified text much later in its development. Following this, he critiqued Rahlfs/Glaue's chief piece of evidence, the variation between Αργαριζιμ and ορει Γαριζειμ. He countered, again citing Samaritan Arabic evidence, that both were equally acceptable .[213] Thus, the Samaritan Greek translation underwent a process of revision, at times in dialogue with the Jewish Greek revisions; this process occasionally brought the translation into increasing conformity with their own MSS.[214] Nevertheless, older texts continued to be used, hence "*die doppelte Natur der Reste der samaritanisch-griechischen Übersetzung*".[215]

While Kahle's reconstruction of the origins of the Greek Bible would fail to achieve scholarly consensus,[216] his discussion of the Samaritan Greek evidence is important due to his willingness to challenge the traditional interpretation of the **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion*. However, while so doing, he failed to provide an improved alternative: If Montfaucon's understanding of the *scholion* (or some variant thereof) is incorrect, how should the *scholion* be construed (→ **§§3.2**; **3.3.2**)?

B) Kahle also later discussed 'Samaritan' Greek readings in the first edition of *The Cairo Geniza* (1947). During his reflections on the complexities accompanying biblical quotations, Kahle focused on a couple of cases in Acts, specifically the citation of Exod

[212] 1956: 24.
[213] 1956: 24. He stated that he knew four old SA MSS to read *harğerīzīm*, while another no less old MS read *ğebel ğerīzīm*, reflecting the eventual Samaritan Arabic *textus receptus*.
[214] 1956: 25.
[215] 1956: 25.
[216] See Fernández Marcos, 2000: 53-57.

3.6 in 7.32 and Deut 18.15 in 7.37. Concerning the latter, he suggested the Lukan quotation was not from Deut 18.15 but possibly a version of Exod 20 akin to SP![217] For this Kahle provided no evidence.[218] Deut 18.15 is, after all, not[219] part of the florilegium comprising the passages regarding Moses' prophetic office (20.19א-ד and **20.21א-ט**).

His discussion continued: Though Kahle admitted that no "Christian 'Septuagint' " MS had these "insertions" (*viz*., those in Exod 20),[220] he claimed that select G MSS did have similar types of readings elsewhere. Armed with the data from the editions of Brooke-McLean, he made brief mention of the readings in the s-group MSS (Br.-M.: "s" = 130; "v" = 344; and "z" = 85) at **Num 14.45א**, **21.11א**, **21.12א-ג–13a**, **27.23א-ב**, and 31.20א-ד.[221] To these he added the MSS which exhibit the Samaritan Itinerary in Deut 10.6-7 (→ **§3.5.3**; **APPENDIX**), namely MSS d (= 44^{d}), p (= 106^{d}), t (= 134^{t}), as well as 74^{t} and 76^{t}.[222] In these MSS, the Samaritan reading, including the 'Samaritan' location of Aaron's death (from Num 33.38), was also inserted.[223] He further listed the SP readings in certain G MSS at **Exod 23.19א** and **Deut 14.20(21)א** (→ **§2.5.1** *ad loc*).

From this listing of the evidence, Kahle surmised that GPent MSS with such readings were used "by [Jews] up to the time when the authoritative text of the Tora was

---

[217] 1947: 145.

[218] He suggested this same theory (without being specific) in his earlier work ([1915] 1956: 18).

[219] Recognizing this, Kahle tried to connect 18.18 (= **Exod 20.21ג**) to 18.15 given their similarity (1947: 145). However, the citation is undoubtedly from v 15 (i.e., ως εμε), and scribes understood this as the Western Text's addition shows (see Metzger, 1994: 307).

[220] Kahle briefly noted (without further discussion) that SH transmitted these (1947: 145). He claimed Field's retroversions were inappropriately based on the G parallel (1947: 145, n. 1). However, as was discussed above, and will be further confirmed below, Field's adoption of Montfaucon's septuagintization approach (→ **§§1.2.1.2**; **1.3.2.3**) is certainly correct.

[221] 1947: 145. He listed these references as Num 14.45, 21.8, 21.14, "after" 28.1, and 31.20, respectively. He made no mention of these same passages being in SH. Kahle seems not to have appreciated the nature of the SH readings—something magnified when compared with his acknowledgment of the **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion* in his earlier article.

[222] [1915] 1956: 18.

[223] The location of Aaron's death is pointed out more precisely by McCarthy (*BHQ*); cf. Kahle, 1947: 145 (→ **APPENDIX**).

created and generally accepted". He claimed these reflected then contemporary Hebrew MSS, and were thus adopted by Christians, an adoption reflected in Luke's writings.[224] Then, once G had attained official status as the "standard text" of the Christian church, the "larger inserted parallel texts" disappeared while the "smaller insertions" somehow survived. All of this argumentation, he made in service to his *Vulgärtext* theory: "In spite of this standard text many other forms of the Greek Tora were used by the Jews and early Christians, as we have seen".[225]

Whatever one might make for his claims in Acts,[226] his treatment of the "smaller insertions" is fallacious.[227] Kahle misinterpreted these data (except **Deut 14.20[21]א**), something for which both Field's overly terse description in his *Prolegomena* and the SH Exod colophon's relative obscurity may be partially responsible (→ **§§1.2.1.3**; **1.2.2.4**; **2.2**). Nevertheless, the passages Kahle quoted are not remnants of any kind of *Vulgärtext*. Instead, they represent the old hexaplaric, Samaritan collation (→ **§§1.3.2**; **2.5**; **3.5.2**).

1.2.2.4 – The Studies of Reinhard Pummer (1987 and 1998)

Noted Samaritanologist **R. Pummer** (1938-) produced two articles pertinent to both sets of readings historically connected to the Samaritan Bible in Greek.

A) In a short paper "ΑΡΓΑΡΙΖΙΝ: A Criterion for Samaritan Provenance?", Pummer challenges the widely held presupposition that the Greek form αργαριζιν (-ζειν), as seen in Gie, *exclusively* reflects the Samaritan orthographic practice whereby their holy locale is represented as one (transliterated) word הרגר(י)זים. By extension, he challenges the corollary argument that if an obviously non-Samaritan text (*e.g.*, 2 Macc 5.23) contains

[224] 1947: 146.

[225] 1947: 149-50.

[226] See **E. Richard**, who somewhat follows Kahle in that he views the matter as related to the proto-history of GPent (as opposed to SP). In so doing, however, he is careful to oppose Kahle's *Vulgärtext* theory (1977: 207, n. 70).

[227] Cp. Fernández Marcos: "[…] although Kahle's [*Vulgärtext* theory is] so rich in ideas, the textual links required to make it true, or at least likely, are missing" (2000: 55).

αργαριζιν or a variant thereof, the provenance of the author's *source* must then have been Samaritan.[228]

After reviewing Samaritan Hebrew and Greek inscriptions displaying this practice (i.e., Delos, Decalogue inscriptions, etc.), he then outlines various non-Samaritan, mostly Christian sources (*e.g.*, Pliny, the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, Photius, et al) also attesting the phenomenon. However, Pummer determines these instances are inconclusive.[229] Following Tov's earlier study,[230] which argued against Rahlfs/Glaue's analysis of Gie,[231] he further points out instances in G MSS where הר has been transliterated (and presumably contracted) with the accompanying place name (*e.g.*, Num 33.23, 24 [CODICES A and F], Josh 15.10 [MS B*], etc.). Specifically, the OL of 2 Macc (5.23 and 6.2) transmitted transliterations reflecting Αργαριζιν.[232] Thus, he concludes: "Rather than assume that 2 Macc. 5:23 and 6:2 go back to a Samaritan source or tradition, it can be argued that there existed Greek versions which transliterated and contracted הר גרזים […]."[233] This conclusion, then being applied to Gie, leads Pummer to support Tov's conclusion: that αρ(?)γαρ[ι]ζιμ was most likely "an old non-sectarian variant".[234] Thus, Αργαριζιν cannot "at all times and in all writings" serve as proof of Samaritan provenance; instead, it can only be viewed as "one indicator among others".[235]

B) Pummer later published an important article in which he managed the most thoroughgoing comparative textual analysis of the σαμ΄ readings produced to date. While

---

[228] 1987: 18-19.
[229] 1987: 23.
[230] "Pap. Giessen 13, 19, 22, 26: A Revision of the LXX?" (1971); the same was later reissued in revised form in 1999 under the same title.
[231] 1987: 23, n. 35.
[232] See Kappler and Hanhart's App *ad loc*.
[233] 1987: 24.
[234] 1987: 23. Also Tov, 2012: 88, n. 140.
[235] 1987: 25.

his main purpose was to address the historical issues surrounding the σαμ΄ group, he also made mention, very briefly,[236] of the "surpluses" (*Zusätze* or *Überschüsse*).

Concerning the "expansions", he observes (based on Field) that there are 31 such readings, in Exod, Num, and Deut, found in the margins of s-group and SH MSS. After enumerating and dismissing the theories of Kohn and Kahle,[237] only the latter's objection to the traditional interpretation of the **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion* is held as viable (→ **§3.3.2**).[238] Pummer then offers cursory comments regarding the readings found in G and SH MSS.[239] Despite the brevity with which he treated the "expansions", he includes Vööbus' English translations[240] of the SH Exod and Num colophons (→ **§§2.2**; **3.2**)—something few have done when discussing these passages.[241] Nevertheless, Pummer seems either suspicious or distrustful of them: "While it is *plausible that the expansions in the Syh were translated from Greek into Syriac*, the available evidence does not support the conclusion that it was Origen who translated the passages […]".[242]

Concerning the σαμ΄ group, Pummer addresses all the applicable issues discussed in earlier literature, particularly with respect to the relationship between το σαμ΄ and ST and the identity of the Gießen fragments.[243] This analysis is accomplished by examining all the evidence culled from Wevers' Göttingen editions, to which Pummer added MT, SP, and ST in order to facilitate comparison (see his "Appendix 2" [314-33]). Many of the readings are commented upon examining both textual peculiarities and, especially, their

[236] Pummer spends significantly more time analyzing the σαμ΄ group (1998: 276-312; 314-354, including the anonymous M΄ readings in Lev) than the so-called surpluses (270-76, 304-05, and 313-14).
[237] Pummer does not review Kahle's discussion in his first edition of *The Cairo Geniza* (→ **§1.2.2.2 [B]**).
[238] 1998: 271-73.
[239] 1998: 273-74. These will be discussed where applicable below.
[240] 1998: 274-75.
[241] These have, with very few exceptions (*e.g.*, Devreesse, 1954: 130, n. 6; Mercati, 1941), been improperly omitted from discussion.
[242] 1998: 276 (*emphasis* mine). Compare his comments further below.
[243] Pummer largely follows Tov's position on Gie against Rahlfs/Glaue (1998: 285-86).

relationship to specifically Samaritan traditions or understandings.[244] Pummer divides the extant σαμ΄ data into the following categories:[245] **1)** readings wrongly attributed (*e.g.*, Gen 5.25-26; Exod 10.7[b]; 26.5); **2)** σαμ΄ readings which were based on the Hebrew SP (*e.g.*, Gen 46.28; **Num 32.29, 31, 33**; **Deut 27.4**, **26**; 34.12 [= **5.21א-ח** → **§1.1**]); **3)** those exhibiting interpretation(s) "common to Samaritans and Jews" (*e.g.*, Gen 4.8; 44.5, 15; 50.19; Exod 14.20; 32.18; the rendering זקנים as if חכמים); and **4)** readings "which do seem to go back to the ST". For the last category Pummer lists: Gen 49.24, Exod 8.17(21), 9.4, 10.7(a), 13.13, 16.31, 28.11, Lev 25.5, 26.24, Num 29.1, and 31.16.[246] He describes the Samaritan-specific evidence as "very small" when compared to more "indifferent" readings, thus, concluding: "The ST as *Vorlage* of the Σαμ readings is certainly not evident."

Pummer's view is that "it can no longer be taken for granted that the Samareitikon passages have a close affinity to the Samaritan Targum."[247] Furthermore, to Pummer, there are but two readings transmitted sub το σαμ΄ which "contain what became distinctively Samaritan readings", **Deut 27.4** and 34.12 (= **5.21א-ח**). In holding to the theory of Tov, Pummer proffers that Samaritans probably used revised Septuagint MSS "without bringing them into complete conformity with their own traditions."[248] Both the Gießen fragments and the Thessalonica synagogue inscription bear witness to this process. It need not be reckoned that the Samaritans adopted a "Jewish text"; rather the (proto-)Samaritans, like any other Jewish group of this early period, were simply using a given revised text; it was only "gradually [that] a certain Greek text may have been identified with the Samaritans".

[244] 1998: 295-303.
[245] 1998: 303 (for the summary).
[246] Pummer cautions, however, that Exod 13.13 and Lev 25.5 are found in late ST MSS (i.e., MSS other than J).
[247] 1998: 310.
[248] 1998: 310; cp. Kahle.

It was *this* version which found its way into extant MSS in much the same manner the Three did.[249]

Then Pummer returns to the relationship between the "expansions" and το σαμ΄ readings. Still holding that both were transmitted through Origen's "Hexapla", despite the apparent differences between the two groups (especially that of provenance), he hypothesizes that "both kinds of passages can be seen as coming from the same (type of) Samaritan Greek Pentateuch".[250]

1.2.2.5 – Jan Joosten's "The Samareitikon and the Samaritan Tradition" (2014)

Most recently, **J. Joosten** (1959-) published a study addressing issues regarding the so-called Samareitikon.[251] His work includes a number of interesting observations, some openly challenging previous opinions.

The first of Joosten's thought-provoking remarks concerns the relationship of the readings themselves to the MS sources in which they are found. Joosten credits Montfaucon[252] as the first to hypothesize that Origen included these readings in his 'hexapla', a supposition many others followed. Joosten, however, resolutely rejects this, characterizing the support of this view as "flimsy, not to say inexistent".[253] Continuing, he points out that the *catena* is the primary vehicle through which the σαμ΄ readings were disseminated; and while the catena also transmits hexaplaric readings, "[t]he company they keep […] says very little about the origin of the *Samareitikon* readings".[254] Moreover, he reasons that Jerome and Eusebius, both of whom had direct access to the *Hexapla*

[249] 1998: 310.
[250] 1998: 310 (cf. 276).
[251] *N.B.*: His study deals exclusively with the σαμ΄ readings, without discussion of the "expansions" group. Joosten does not comment on any proposed relationship between the later and the former.
[252] See Voss above (→ **§1.2.1**).
[253] 2014: 347.
[254] 2014: 348. The comment was made with reference to both catena and non-catena septuagintal sources.

Maior, never referred to the Samareitikon.[255] Thus, it cannot be proven that Origen "knew and excerpted a Samaritan Greek version".[256]

Second, he comments on the relationship between the σαμ΄ group and the *Hebrew* Samaritan text. Among other examples cited, he includes in this sub-group **Deut 27.26** (the **ⲭⲟⲗ *scholion* → §4.2.1**) and the marginalia found at Gen 4.8 (→ **§1.3.1.2**).[257] Joosten holds that these readings were intended to juxtapose the *Hebrew* of the SP vis-à-vis the same of the (proto-)MT.[258] However, he cautions that the "great majority of readings designated as σαμ have a different profile", one which demonstrates "a coherent linguistic and interpretive character".[259]

Third, Joosten surveys the correlation of the σαμ΄ group to the Samaritan reading tradition. Examples such as Exod 8.17(21), Joosten insists, "hardly leave room for doubt as to there being a direct connection"[260] between these readings and Samaritan understandings. However, he also notes that complete agreement with "Samaritan" exegetical traditions need not be realistically expected (*e.g.*, that at Gen 49.23-24), because "Samaritan traditions, like Jewish ones, are multiple, and sometimes contradictory".[261]

Fourth is the matter of the σαμ΄ readings and ST specifically: Unlike Pummer, who held that only those readings agreeing with ST's earliest stratum (MS J) are "potentially significant",[262] Joosten contends that those which concur with other MSS, merely indicate that later ST MSS "independently transmit[ted] early interpretations".[263] Additional cases (*e.g.*, Gen 49.23) could be mustered which suggest that ST was in circulation when the

[255] Jerome's access to the *Hexapla Maior* is disputed (note Neuschäfer, 1987/1: 87 with nn. 14 and 16).
[256] 2014: 348.
[257] 2014: 349; he includes Deut 10.22; **27.4**, 32.8, and 34.12 (= **5.21א-ח**) as "[o]ther possible cases" (350, n. 16) of this sub-category.
[258] 2014: 350. See Rahlfs/Glaue above (→ **§1.2.2.2**).
[259] 2014: 350.
[260] 2014: 350.
[261] 2014: 350.
[262] 1998: 306.
[263] 2014: 353.

Samareitikon was created. However, this does not mean that the latter was a translation of the former; rather ST was but "one of the inputs which went into the production of the *Samareitikon*".[264] Thus, when το σαμ΄ and ST disagree, the former may transmit a reading no longer preserved by the latter (*e.g.*, Exod 3.22). Joosten criticized Pummer's tendency to see agreement with wider Jewish interpretations as militating against a special relationship between the σαμ΄ group and ST. Rather, some agreement with other targumic interpretations is expected. It is the systematic alignment between the two, in addition to those readings which occur exclusively in both, which indicates the link between το σαμ΄ and ST.[265]

In closing, Joosten ponders an historical context for the Samareitikon.[266] Certainly, the text must pre-date the fragments found in Septuagint MSS of the 7th century CE. Further, with Kohn, the translation was "a full Greek version" created for the use of Greek-speaking Samaritans. How Christians learned of το σαμ΄ is unknown, though it was *not* the Hexapla. Lastly, Joosten disagrees with Tov's earlier analysis regarding Gie. From his perspective, if the Samareitikon was based on or recensionally developed from GPent, this does not question the inherent "Samaritan" quality of the work. Rather, this indicates that the Samaritans viewed GPent as much theirs as "Jerusalem-based Judaism". Therefore, the Gießen fragments, whose connection to the Samareitikon has "been argued persuasively", ought to be re-evaluated.

1.3 – The σαμ΄ and μονον-Type Readings: A Summary Typological Comparison

Since the SIXTINE, Greek Samaritan readings found in Christian MSS sub το σαμ΄ formed a special collection of text-critical and exegetical curios. As a result, previous

[264] 2014: 353-54. This reasoning sounds similar to **Richard Simon**'s (→ **§1.2.1.1**).
[265] 2014: 354. Joosten also supports the re-examination of the anonymous, marginal readings found in CODEX M (358).
[266] The following is from Joosten, 2014: 357-59.

study has mostly focused on this set of readings, giving little or no close analysis of the other group of passages traditionally called "expansions" or readings from "the Hebraeo-Samaritan text". The present study means to redress this imbalance, focusing on the latter group.

Before addressing the Samaritan readings extant in *hexaplaric* sources, it is beneficial to outline the features of the two groups, establishing a framework for more precise historical analysis. In diametrical opposition to the fairly feeble attempts to connect the two sets of texts (*e.g.*, Kohn's, Kahle's), the present study contends, consciously following Montfaucon, that there were in fact two groups of Samaritan Greek readings which eventually found their way into Christian MS sources. These two groups are distinguishable not so much by their designation (i.e., το σαμ΄[αρειτικον] *vs.* [του] των Σαμαρειτων [Ἑβραικου])[267] or *only* by the specific 'Samaritan-ness' of reading but rather by their overall typology. When the *typology* of each group is considered—in close combination with the *character of the MSS* in which the types occur—two unmistakably distinct groups emerge:

1) those adhering to a **το σαμ΄-type** and

2) those which follow a **μονον-type**.

Typologically, the groups can be consistently distinguished in four key areas: **i.** codicological provenance, **ii.** textual nature, **iii.** 'Samaritan' character, and **iv.** discernible historical context. As the below analysis will argue, these two sets not only exhibit distinct typologies (or, to use Joosten's terminology, "profiles") but are *utterly* detached historically.

[267] As Montgomery would have it (1907: 285).

1.3.1 – The σαμ΄-type Readings

1.3.1.1 - Codicological Provenance

Following Joosten's observations, the present study maintains that the readings marked το σαμ΄ cannot be connected in any way with the hexaplaric tradition; rather the MS evidence very strongly suggests that the principal vehicle through which the σαμ΄-type spread was the catena.[268] While it is likely that το σαμαρειτικον—whatever this originally entailed[269]—existed previous to and independent of the catena, little to no evidence confirms Christian sources were aware of it prior to the 7th century CE.[270] Remarkably, one of the catena literature's chief proponents, **Procopius of Gaza** (c. 475-c. 538 CE),[271] was unaware of it; his 'Samaritan' annotations were *hexaplarically*-derived (→ **§§2.3.2** at **Exod 18.25א-ג** [attribution]; **3.3.1** at **Num 10.10א-ג**). Furthermore, one cannot help but notice the silence of **Theodoret of Cyrrhus** (ca. 393-ca. 460 CE).[272] It is historically possible that **Cyril of Alexandria** (d. 444 CE) *may have* cited το σαμ΄ at Num 29.35 and Deut 10.22. These were transmitted in the catena, though the former's 'Samaritan'

---

[268] Evidence ostensibly against this supposition is superficial. For instance, the attributed reading at Gen 5.24 in MS 17^{O} is not an exception to this rule; it is far likelier that the scribe was influenced by Jerome (see Geiger, 1876: 122; also Field, 1: 329).

[269] The terminology (το σαμ΄; το σαμαρ΄; κατα σαμαρειτων, etc.) found in the MS evidence is difficult to place historically. See the discussion of this problem below with respect to the κατα Σαμαρειτων notes in CODEX M (→ **EXCURSUS B**).

[270] Joosten bases this date on those readings in **CODEX M** (7th century CE), namely Exod 28.9, Lev 15.3, and 15.8 (both in Lev with MS 416^{mx}). Lev 1.15, 8.15, 25.25, 26.24, 41, 43, and 27.23 are unattributed (all save 26.43 again shared with 416); Num 32.12 is sub οι λ΄. Next oldest is $\mathbf{F^{b}}$, a *minuscule* corrector and annotator of CODEX F (5th cent. CE), which is considered a 'medieval' hand (Wevers, *Exod*, 7-8). Both of F^{b}'s readings are unattributed (Exod 38.2 [37.2] and Num 23.1). F^{b}'s source materials are considered "post-Hexaplaric and come from Jewish translations that circulated in the Byzantine period" (Fernández Marcos, 2000: 175-76).

[271] For a review of Procopius' relationship to the catena tradition, see Metzler, 2015: xxi-xxiii (see also van der Horst's [2015] review of Metzler, as well as ter Haar Romeny, 2007: 179-83).

[272] Theodoret's 'Samaritan' pronunciation of the *Tetragrammaton* Ιαβε/-αι (*Quaest. in Exod* 15) is unlikely to have come from an actual εκδοσις (see Lowy, who doubted it was even Samaritan [1977: 273-74 with n. 870]): How could Theodoret have had access to το σαμ΄ and cite it but once? Would not have το σαμ΄ been appropriate for Exod 3.22 (cf. *Quaest. in Exod* 23) had he known it? For this last instance, an ethical concern of not a few Fathers, το σαμ΄ is conspicuously absent from Procopius who instead provided α΄ and ο συρ΄ (PG 87/1: 532). Another interesting case where Fathers attempted to clarify an obscurity by means of the *recentiores*—yet do not mention το σαμ΄—is Exod 16.31 (*e.g.*, Procopius [PG 87/1: 593-94] and Theodoret [*Quaest. in Exod* 30]). Surely, patristic silence in these places was due to ignorance rather than neglect.

character has been questioned, as has the latter's attribution to Cyril.[273] While modern critical work on the catena of Lev-Deut is forthcoming, if the text transmitted in the fragments of Gie (→ **§1.2.2.2**) and, as argued below, Carl 49 (→ **EXCURSUS B**) can be associated with the so-called σαμαρειτικον, it should then at least be allowed that it is *possible* that the 5th century *Egyptian* church Father could have at some point encountered these readings. For both Gie and Carl 49 are believed to have come from 5th century Egypt. Nevertheless, the majority of instances are from **catena witnesses dated from the 10th century CE onwards**. Because of this, το σαμ΄-readings occurring in late hexaplaric MSS (*e.g.*, MS 376, mostly unattributed) can be easily dismissed as random instances where floating readings had influence on individual scribes.

1.3.1.2 – Textual Nature

Also germane is the operational nature of the group in question. It is of interest that the sub το σαμ΄-readings are exclusively *qualitative* rather than *quantitative*.[274] This is why the σαμ΄ group encompasses many "indifferent" (so Kohn, Pummer) readings and readings which agree with one of the Three (*e.g.*, Exod 10.7[a], 28.9[?]; Deut 10.22, 32.8). Note that ostensible exceptions to this tenet are actually superficial. The *quantitative* 'half tribe of Manasseh' readings (**Num 32.1+** et al) are false hits.[275] Better is the hypothesis developed below (→ **§3.3.1**) which, in taking Joosten's suspicions to their natural end, proposes that the catenist—a known adopter of *hexaplaric* materials—adopted several readings 'of the Samaritans' mentioned in hexaplaric sources. During this process, the

[273] See Wevers App[II]; also Field, 1: 261, n. 8, and 289, n. 24 (*Cat*[Nic] 1/3.1375-76 and 1474). Pummer denies the first is truly το σαμ΄; the second he views as inconclusive (1998: 301-02; cp. Joosten, 2014: 350, n.16). Nicephorus doubted the attribution in Deut 10.22 (1/3.1474, n. 3); Field concurred (1: 289).

[274] See Norton (1991) for a discussion of the nuances of these categories vis-à-vis hexaplaric studies.

[275] Gen 4.8 has a different explanation with the same result. I would argue that here Jerome influenced Greek scribal tradition, a phenomenon evinced elsewhere (see Fernández Marcos, 2000: 157-58, and Barthélemy, 1960: 352). On these *scholia*, see Ceulemans (2011), who only briefly guesses at the source of σαμαρειτικον in the later *scholia* (75, n. 17-18). No evidence shows this information was derived from hexaplaric sources.

catenist naturally assumed that the source of the hexaplaric readings (i.e., **Deut 27.4** [→ **APPENDIX**] and **27.26** [→ **§4.2.1**]) was the same as his source of το σαμ΄. Therefore, the category of σαμ΄ readings which are thought to reflect the *Hebrew* SP does not exist, because readings commonly placed in this sub-category were not taken from the same source as το σαμ΄ (→ **§1.3.2**). Note further, that the Masian reading for 'Deut 34.12' (= **5.21[17]א-ח** → **§1.1**) is *not* a σαμ΄ passage but was mislabelled (without explanation) by Wevers. Field committed a similar, though slightly more understandable, slip in his analysis of Deut 34.1b-1א-2 (→ **§3.3.1** at **Num 21.**(21+)**22א-ב** ; **APPENDIX**).[276]

1.3.1.3 - 'Samaritan' Character

As has been underscored since the time of the *London Polyglot*, with varying levels of nuance, the σαμ΄ group do exhibit *some* level of familiarity with Samaritan exegetical traditions (*e.g.*, ST). Thus, the Σαμαρειτικον, irrespective of its precise *Sitz im Leben* or the historical catalysts which led to its inclusion in catena literature, can and should be directly related to some verifiably *Samaritan* biblical understanding. This cannot be said of the μονον-type group.

1.3.1.4 - Discernible Historical Background

In general, it is possible that witnesses of the σαμ΄-type readings may also include μονον-type readings (*e.g.*, the s-group in Num [→ **§3.4**]); however, the principal witnesses for the latter (*e.g.*, SH) *never* exhibit the former.[277] Otherwise, the origins of this εκδοσις and the catalysts(s) leading to its inclusion in Christian MSS is the subject of guesswork.

---

[276] Rahlfs/Glaue noticed this some time ago (1911: 61, n. 2).

[277] *Contra* Pummer's suspicions (1998: 276). Particularly notable locations where SH's exemplar(s) listed recentiores *without* το σαμ΄ include: Exod 8.14 (10), 8.21 (17), 12.42, 13.13, 14.15, and 16.31. The s-group MSS, which are a type of their own, represent purposeful, post-hexaplaric collation work gathered from various sources. As such, these MSS, whose witnesses date from the 10th century CE onwards, do not contradict the present point. Note the s MSS always transmitted the precise terminology of their sources, perhaps suggesting they too held these two groups as separate.

This stands in stark contrast to the origin stories of the *recentiores*, which often accompanied Greek and Syriac hexaplaric works, even if provided in contradicting (or specious) accounts. It also stands in stark contrast to the discernible historical background of the μονον-type group (→ **§1.3.2.4**).

1.3.2 – The μονον-type Readings

The second group of readings is rebranded here as 'the μονον-type group'. The appellation μονον 'only' (Gk. adv. = ܒܠܚܘܕ *ba-lḥud* in SH[278]) is consciously selected and ubiquitously used, in opposition to previous scholarly terminology, for two reasons: **1)** It emphasizes the chief textual feature provided in these readings' attribution annotations: that SP *alone* contains a given passage/reading. **2)** The μονον-group is better appreciated historically, if terminology commonly viewed as textually demeaning ('expansion', 'interpolation', etc.) is avoided. Irrespective of any modern textual appraisal of the μονον-passages, many later Christian bearers of the hexaplaric tradition thought highly enough of these texts to adopt them as their own. And while any such phenomenon is unusual, it occurs in various hexaplaric witnesses from different contexts and eras, suggesting there was a perceived value to SP where such could be had (→ **§§2.5**; **3.5.3**; **APPENDIX**). Indeed, the original, extraordinary, Caesarea-based μονον-collation, as underscored by the colophons to SH Exod (→ **§2.2**) and Num (→ **§3.2**),[279] is itself suggestive of such value.

1.3.2.1 - Codicological Provenance

While the earlier theories of Voss, Montfaucon, et al understandably misattributed the σαμ΄-type group to Origen (→ **§4.2.1**), and by extension, the hexaplaric endeavour, the passages comprising the μονον-group are, without exception, ***exclusively derived*** from

[278] On SH's practice, see Perkins, 1980: 152 (note also *BDF* §243). SH attached no pronominal suffixes to ܒܠܚܘܕ in its translation of the μονον-attribution notes suggesting the neuter adj./adverbial μονον was in their *Vorlagen*. (Compare those in SH Gen 34.22-23 and Exod 12.16 with the suffixed forms at Exod 18.18, 18.24א, and Deut 1.9; but see Exod 22.26(27) and Deut 22.25 which seem to contradict this).

[279] Deut's colophon may be added by way of SH^{M} (→ **§1.1**).

hexaplaric sources. And while it is true that some μονον-type readings and notes are found in catena-related literature (*e.g.*, Procopius), based upon the extant MS evidence, and the fact that the μονον-type group has a discernible historical background chronologically *preceding* the catena, it is far more likely that the latter subsumed readings from the former (→ **§3.3.1**).

1.3.2.2 – Textual Nature

Again, in utter contradistinction to the σαμ΄-type group, the μονον-type readings are *quantitative* rather than *qualitative*. Hence, the passages are consistently attributed as 'only' (μονον / ܚܕܐ) in the 'Hebrew' SP. It is also appropriate to further delineate this *quantitative* collation in contrast to GPent, not MT.[280] The long-held misconception that the μονον-passages were provided in comparison to MT was perhaps first promoted by Field (via Rahlfs/Glaue), who in his *Prolegomena* made reference to the musings of al-Ḥārith (→ **§1.2.1.1**) concerning the matter.[281] However, the SH Exod and Num colophons (→ **§§2.2**; **3.2**) do not necessitate this interpretation nor does the μονον-type data confirm the supposition. Thus, the SP = G ≠ MT category was not marked (→ **§2.4**). This probably explains why no μονον-type data exists for Lev, where G's base text, for the most part, aligns quantitatively with SP's 'plusses' (*e.g.*, 17.4+).[282] Observe a sampling of such variants from Lev 1-5:

Lev	SP	G	MT	Notes
1.10	אל פתח אהל מועד יקריב אתו	και επιθησει την χειρα επι την κεφαλην αυτου	>	≠ G; μονον-eligible
2.1	מנחה היא	θυσια εστιν	>	SP = G

[280] Quantitative variants of a single word appear to have not been marked (cp. ***Table 1.3.2.2*** and Num 23.4-5 [→ **§3.4**]).

[281] The "Jewish" text mentioned by al-Ḥārith could have been GPent, not MT (→ **§1.2.1.3**; cp. Rahlfs/Glaue, 1911: 61).

[282] Thus the pondering of Pummer (1998: 270, n. 1) may be addressed. Compare the same textual circumstances at SP Num 4.14א, which is similarly unmarked because SP = GNum ≠ MT. The apparent absence of the μονον-collation in Gen is a mystery. No hexaplaric evidence has survived suggesting it was carried out.

3.5	אשר על המזבח	+ επι του θυσιαστηριου A B x 55	>	= MSS A B x 55^{mx} ≠ G; μονον-eligible?
3.13	הכהנים	οι ιερεις	>	SP = G
3.16	1° ליהוה	τω κυριω	>	SP = G
4.5	אשר מלא את ידו	ο τετελειωμενος τας χειρας	>	SP = G
4.7	באצבעו	>	>	quantitative ≠ G
4.17	מן הדם	>	>	quantitative ≠ G
	הקדש	του αγιου	>	SP = G
4.18	הכהן	ο ιερευς	>	SP = G
	קטרת הסמים	των θυμιαματων της συνθεσεως	>	SP = G
4.27	מכל מצות	απο πασων των εντολων	ממצות	SP = G
4.28	עליה	εν αυτη	>	SP = G
4.29	אשר ישחטו את	ου σφαζουσιν	>	SP = G
4.34	מזבח העלה	του θυσιαστηριου της ολοκαυτωσεως	המזבח	SP = G
5.6	על חטאתו אשר חטא ונסלח לו	ης ημαρτεν, και αφεθησεται αυτω η αμαρτια	>	SP (< η αμαρτια) ≈ G
5.8	הכהן	ο ιερευς	>	SP = G
5.24 (6.5)	דבר	πραγματος	>	SP = G
5.25 (6.6)	>	SP = non-hexaplaric G	אל הכהן	cp. sub ※ (see App^{I})

Table 1.3.2.2: A μονον*-collation in Lev?*

Had the collation been intended to contrast SP with MT, many such notes ought to have occurred. This was clearly not the case.

Furthermore, the μονον-evidence transmits several collation notes. The annotations, found in Exod and Deut, are of three kinds: **a)** notes demarking certain 'omissions' found in the SP exemplar(s) used (Exod and [SH^{V}] Deut), **b)** one remark on transposition (→ **§2.4** [Exod only]), and **c)** a number of cross-references found in SH Deut 1-3 (cp. Procopius and *Cat*^{Nic} [→ **§§3.3.1** at **Num 10.10א-ג**; **3.3.2** at **Num 14.45א**]) making reference to μονον-passages found in SP Num. The linguistic and functional character of these notes confirms their origin was with the Caesarean, hexaplaric collator(s).

While the evidence strongly supports the *quantitative* nature of the μονον-passages, there is one[283] critical exception to this otherwise steadfast rule: **Deut 27.4**, reading Gerizim for Ebal (→ **§§2.3.3**; **APPENDIX**). This reading has been previously reckoned a σαμ΄ reading because of the anonymous scholia contained in catena sources. However, the *reading* contained therein can be restored to SH by means of the corresponding evidence in Jacob of Edessa's recension, Isho'dad of Merv's *Comm.*, and Barhebraeus' *Scholia* (→ **APPENDIX**). These three bearers of SH's tradition collectively (but independently of one another) support the reading having fallen out of SH Deut—particularly Jacob, whose recension has no known relationship with the catena and can be utilized to restore a number of other μονον-texts in Deut which suffered during transmission (→ **APPENDIX**).[284] As such, it is here reckoned with the μονον-group.

Another possible exception may be the **ⲭⲟⲗ *scholion*** (**Deut 27.26**; → **§4.2.1**). The history of this particular *scholion* is difficult, and it may have been a later addition, not original to the μονον-collation. However, it is also just as likely it was specially selected from Origen's exegetical work (on Galatians, not Deut) due to its textual relationship to the verse. If the Caesarean editor(s) opted to do so, it would not have been exceptional (*e.g.*, the colophons to SH Prov and Ezek [CODEX Q]).

1.3.2.3 - 'Samaritan' Character

The μονον-translation exhibits the following characteristics vis-à-vis the *unvocalized* Hebrew SP:

---

[283] Note that both the Samaritan Itinerary (Deut 10.6-6א-7-7א) and that at Deut 34.1b-1א-2 ought to be described as *both* quantitative and qualitative (→ **APPENDIX**). **Num 21.**(22+)**22א-ב**, though codicologically difficult, may be another such case (→ **§3.3.1**).

[284] Ceriani previously suggested that Jacob's source of SP was SH. Ceriani argued thus because he believed his G source was Lucianic (1863: x and 154). **M. Ladvocat** presumed Jacob had access to SP outside of an hexaplaric source (1765: 550); an odd opinion given Masius' excerpts had been published by then. Compare the review of select readings and comments by **de Sacy** (1798-99: 664, n. 'f' and 668; see his translation of the JDeut 27.4 *scholion* [666]), who believed JPent could be used to recover portions of SH^{M} (→ **§1.1**).

1) The individual readings show no textual affinity with the so-called pre-Samaritan MSS.[285]

2) The delimitations of the excerpted passages are precise (disallowing a loose excerpting or epitomizing).

3) The μονον-translation conveys no demonstrable knowledge of Samaritan vocalization (as in ST) or exegetical traditions (*e.g.*, the Samaritan *Tenth* Commandment was not designated as the 'Tenth' or even a commandment).

4) Rather, as Montfaucon astutely perceived, **septuagintism** is the principal textual and interpretive characteristic of these Greek 'translations'.

Thus, the translator(s), working from a Samaritan *Hebrew* Pentateuch, used the corresponding GPent passages as a guide for their renderings. That this process led to the extant readings is supported from both the translations themselves (obviously cribbed from the G parallels) as well as accompanying notes and *scholia*, specifically the **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion* (→ **§3.3.2**) and, more especially, the SH **Deut 1.6-8 cross-reference** note (→ **§§3.3.1** at **Num 10.10א-ג**; **3.5.2**) heretofore unacknowledged by scholars. These notes confirm the μονον-translation was the work of the Christian, Caesarean collator(s). His process resulted in Greek renderings which, while from a Samaritan Hebrew source, are not 'Samaritan' in the same sense as the σαμ΄-type readings. For an hypothesis on how the μονον-texts may have been manufactured—requiring nothing more than a rather basic knowledge of Hebrew—see below (→ **§3.5.2**).

[285] Previous statements to this effect primarily resulted from 4Q22's lack of **Exod 20.17א-ו** (*e.g.*, Dexinger, 1981: 108-09) or comparing such with the σαμ΄ group (*e.g.*, Crown, 1994: 29). However, comparison of the readings *within* the shared 'expansions' reveals the μονον-type's *Vorlage* was indeed textually closer to the canonical SP itself than the pre-Samaritan group (i.e., 4Q22 or 4Q27).

1.3.2.4 - Discernible Historical Background

Unlike the σαμ΄-group, the μονον-data has provenance, permitting more precise historical reconstruction. This is due not only to the above-mentioned scholia but also, above all, to the SH colophons for Exod and Num. Unlike previous studies, the present endeavour will allot a great deal of weight to the SH's colophons, which themselves will be discussed, at length, before examination of their respective readings. While these are not without interpretive lacunae, the SH subscriptions place the μονον-type readings' *terminus ad quem*, with no hesitation, at Eusebius' death (c. 340 CE). This predates the creation of the catena by roughly 150-200 years and any explicit σαμ΄-type evidence by approximately 250-300 years.[286] The date of the Caesarean SP is taken up at length below, in connection with the individual(s) possibly responsible for the μονον-collation (→ **§§4.2**; **4.3**).

Furthermore, occasionally later hexaplaric witnesses (or sources definitively connected to hexaplaric MSS), for whatever reason, integrated μονον-passages into their running texts. These readings are not evidence of Kahle's *Vulgärtext* (→ **§1.2.2.3**), but rather bear the markers of the μονον-typology. The integrations are of two kinds: **1)** those which only supplement or blend their running G text with μονον-readings; and **2)** those which, when necessary, *replace* their running text with μονον-readings. It would appear that many of these passages survived solely due to their integration. This is important as the integrated passages at times include texts not represented by SH's tradition (→ **§§2.5**; **3.3.1** at **Num 32.1+** and **29+**), suggesting the original μονον-collation described in the colophons was more comprehensive than the SH's translated exemplars indicate (→ **§2.6**).

[286] This latter time period presumes the Cyril readings are false hits (→ **§1.3.1.1**).

1.4 – The Impetus and Shape of the Present Study

1.4.1 – SH's Witness to SP

Given the subject matter, the present study has dual purpose. On the one hand, this is an hexaplaric study, focusing primarily on the hexaplaric witness to SP. As such, it has implications for the history of the Septuagint and early Christian views of scripture and scribal practice. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the μονον-passages transmitted in SH are also important for Samaritan studies. For the μονον-passages are, in fact, one of the earliest *textual* attestations to the SP—certainly the oldest external witness. Along with the meagre evidence found in the earliest Samaritan Decalogue inscriptions [287] as well as the citations in the work of the Samaritan poet Mårqe,[288] the μονον-collation represented in SH Exod, Num, and Deut, serves as one of the oldest witnesses to the shape of the canonical SP.[289] Thus, the following examination of various samples of these readings attempts to reconstruct the process whereby these passages where collated, translated, and transmitted in the hexaplaric recension, not only for the purposes of elucidating the hexaplaric *Textgeschichte*, but also to provide proper historical context for assessing some of the oldest MS evidence for the Samaritans' Holy Writ. This dual purpose is the prime impetus underpinning the study's attention to minutiae. When correctly interpreted, the testimony of these μονον-readings predates the oldest extant SP codices by

[287] Some would contest their *textual* value (*e.g.*, Dexinger, 1977). Their dates are also uncertain.

[288] The *Tībåt Mårqe* (3rd / 4th century CE), a midrashic composition, frequently quotes SP (→ **§4.3**) and ST, even at times mixing both ([ed.] MacDonald, 1963: xxxiv-xxxv; see *Appendices I-III* for the citations). Note that there are also complications in the MS tradition (see Tal, "Tībåt Mårqe", *CSS*, 235-36).

[289] While beyond the scope of the present work, Mårqe's is a difficult witness to assess with respect to the μονον-passages given that most have parallels elsewhere. For instance, the context of his recounting of the second plague (I.6) would appear to imply that **Exod 7.29(8.4)ד-א** was quoted (loosely, via ST) as opposed to the parallel (7.26-29). The citation of SP Num 14.40א / Deut 1.42 (VI.11) could be from either place. Similarly the quotation of SP **Num 21.11א** / Deut 2.9 (incorrectly labelled in MacDonald's translation as Deut 2.19) also creates problems: אל תצור את מואב ואל תתיגר בו (IV.7). בו agrees with Deut 2.9 (without variant) while Num 21.11א reads בם; yet the MS tradition in SP Num finds support for both תתיגר and בו, albeit only in a few late MSS (see von Gall's app.). Remarkably, despite the work's Gerizim-centric theology, Mårqe does not appear to have cited the so-called Samaritan Tenth Commandment (for discussion, see Dexinger, 1977: 132-33, n. 97; cp. MacDonald's *Appendices*).

approximately 700 years.[290] A study of this sort is a *desideratum*, especially in connection with the new *editio maior* of SP, currently ongoing under the joint editorship of Prof. Dr. **Stefan Schorch** (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) and Prof. Dr. **József Zsengellér** (Reformed University, Budapest). Using the μονον-type evidence for potential early Samaritan variants requires a study of this kind, even if the results play a very modest role in the editions. Correspondingly, with respect to hexapla studies specifically and Greek Bible generally, if the present study's approach is proved, interpretations such as those by Kohn or Kahle (→ **§§1.2.2.1**; **1.2.2.3**) need not be repeated.

1.4.2 – Format and Limitations of the Study

The format of what follows is that of a textual-historical commentary, taking up the diverse issues and implications of the Samaritan readings in hexaplaric MS sources. **CHAPTERS II** and **III** each take up the challenges present in the μονον-readings of Exod and Num, respectively. Deut's readings, often mentioned throughout the study, are provided in full in the → **APPENDIX**. After the evidence has been surveyed, **CHAPTER IV** will extrapolate on the possible historical process whereby the creation and inclusion of the μονον-collation in the hexaplaric stream occurred. Chief among these considerations is the personnel involved. Was Origen responsible? Or was it Eusebius or even Pamphilus? What circumstances would have prompted investigation into the Samaritan text-form? In conformity with the expressed purpose of the study, the final chapter will also briefly consider the data's implications for Samaritan studies.

In the opening sections of **CHAPTERS II** and **III**, short but detailed introductions to the major editions and studies relevant to the given chapter are provided. Generally only critical editions which researchers still use are discussed. Thus, the critical judgments of Wevers and Field are consulted habitually, while Brooke-McLean is not regularly

[290] Even if the passages could not be dated earlier than SH, they would still physically precede SP MSS by 400 years.

referenced. The remarks of superseded editions (i.e., the *London Polyglot*), are not discussed, even if they provided useful comments omitted by modern editions (*e.g.*, Walton's mention of Procopius of Gaza's cross-referencing remarks in Deut [→ **§3.3.1**]).

Not every passage was examined for the thesis-form of the present study. Generally, representative passages were selected as follows:

> **CHAPTER II**: After a thorough examination of the SH Exod colophon, examples were selected from SH's SP passages, in addition to all SH's Samaritan annotations. All Greek MS evidence is examined save Exod 27.19א. Jacob of Edessa's revision of Exod (JExod) is only consulted in support of SH.
>
> **CHAPTER III**: After a detailed examination of SH Num's colophon, those passages which have corresponding extant Greek are provided, save Num 21.24+ and 31.20א-ד. Given the survival of the s-group μονον-readings, this still permits a great deal of data to be investigated. Additionally, a single case of Greek-only evidence is analysed. Greek annotations are examined along with the Syriac counterparts. The **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion* is examined at length and a new hypothesis as to its origins is proposed. JNum is only provided in support of SH.

The **APPENDIX**, containing the examined μονον-readings with translations, is meant to be read *alongside*, in conjunction with the discussion. With the word limit constraints on the present work, Deut is not granted its own chapter. This is unfortunate since Deut has more hexaplaric μονον-type evidence than is generally recognized. Nevertheless, all of the readings and annotations from Deut, whether previously acknowledged or newly restored from secondary sources (*e.g.*, Jacob of Edessa's recension), are provided in full.

Note on MS sigla: All G MSS are referred to by their Rahlfs number save when Wevers used something different in his edition. All MSS are provided with their respective group in superscript: 58^{O}, i.e., MS 58 from the *O* group. Greek diacritics are not reproduced; in addition to being anachronistic, not all MSS use them (*e.g.*, 767). MSS cited from any other ancient source are referred to either by a predetermined abbreviation or the

respective siglum as provided in their respective editions. For which, see the **BIBLIOGRAPHY**.

CHAPTER II: THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH IN THE (SYRO)HEXAPLA OF EXODUS: EXTANT PASSAGES WITH ATTRIBUTION AND COLLATION NOTATIONS

2.1 – Introduction to Previous Scholarship

The μονον-collation in SH Exod has received some attention in secondary literature, chiefly due to the foundational work of A.M. Ceriani. In turn, Field's adoption of Ceriani's analysis within the broader hexaplaric tradition exposed the latter's ideas to a much wider audience. The remainder of studies are more or less derived from the work of these two scholars.

2.1.1 – Antonio Maria Ceriani's *Editio Princeps* of SH Exod (1863)

A.M. Ceriani,[289] prefect of the *Biblioteca Ambrosiana* in Milan, published the *editio princeps* of SH Exod in 1863, being volume 2 of the *Monumenta Sacra et Profana* series.[290] This work, based on an outstanding MS (BM ADD. 12134) dated to the year 697 CE,[291] was part of an ongoing effort to issue editions of SH MSS then known in Europe. Ceriani's has since been considered an immense achievement,[292] especially in terms of the typesetting and presentation of the MS's text and marginalia.[293] These were accompanied by copious notes and commentary, including critical readings from the versions then available, comparative data culled from the still unpublished recension of Jacob of Edessa (→ **§1.3.2.2**),[294] and various other observations. These notes range in scope from merely outlining variants to giving complex and, at times, creative explanations for the Samaritan

[289] For Ceriani's lasting effect on Syriac studies, see L. Van Rompay's "Ceriani, Antonio Maria (1828-1907)", *GEDSH*, 91.
[290] Containing fascicles 1-4 (1863: vii). For the details of fascicle 5, see below (→ **§2.2**).
[291] Wright, *CSMBM*, 1: 29-31.
[292] So Baars' evaluation (1968: 9).
[293] When considering the presentation of the MS and its attendant signs and symbols, Ceriani's is closer to the actual MS than that of Lagarde (1892 or 1880).
[294] Ceriani stated that his reference to and citation of JPent is very selective (1863: 154).

phenomena extant in SH Exod. As such, even more modern works still cite his analysis (*e.g.*, Wevers' App^{II} at **Exod 8.6-7 [10-11] → §2.4.2**).

2.1.2 – Frederick Field's *Origenis Hexaplorum* (1871)

In Exod, Field's work was exemplary with respect to the μονον-readings. For while Ceriani had earlier issued the Syriac text of these readings (with Latin translation), Field provided retroverted Greek, in smaller type, at times with Syriac terms in footnotes or parenthesis intended to qualify (or excuse) his retroversions.[295] He was also careful to provide, at least in Latin translation, the attributions. Field's μονον-retroversions are, however, imperfect, at times ironically too reliant upon the text of the G parallel (*e.g.*, **Exod 7.29א**, **Exod 20.17ד** , **20.21ד** [?], etc.). He also omitted any reference to the **'SP Omits' Notation at Exod 29.20** (→ **§2.4.2**), an odd decision given his inclusion of the same at **8.6-7 (10-11)**.

One important potential source of Samaritan readings then available to Field, though not discussed by him, was MS 58 (→ **§§2.5**; **3.3.1**). While it may not have been reasonable to assume he would have anticipated the original provenance of this MS's integrated μονον-readings as stemming from the same as SH (→ **§2.5**), Field did record (from H-P) the differing presentation of the μονον-passages exhibited in two MSS of al-Ḥārith's Arabic translation of the SH; for often, one would keep the Samaritan reading marginal while the other integrated it into its running text (*e.g.*, **Exod 6.9א**).[296] Certainly, the SP passages in MS 58 at **Exod 23.19א**,[297] 27.19א, and **32.10א** are unique enough to have piqued Field's interest if he imagined the possibility that, like one of the two al-

[295] His decision to provide retroversions was probably a practical decision as then many educated persons would have known Greek but not necessarily Syriac. See Norton's positive assessment of his retroversions in general (1991: 132, n. 17; also Law, 2007: 44).
[296] Field, 1: 90, n. 10.
[297] For Field's comments on the reading in MS 58 for this passage (1: 121, n. 17 and 295, n. 23), see **§2.5.1** below.

Ḥārith MSS, scribes could or would have integrated this material.[298] This line of reasoning is supported by Field's use of MS 15^{oI} (→ **§3.3.1** at **Num 32.1+** and **9+**) at Deut 34.1b-1א-2 (→ **APPENDIX**); there 15's Greek was employed for part of SH's retroversion in his edition, despite H-P saying nothing of 15's partial concord with SP. Nevertheless, Field made no direct connection between MS 58 and the hexaplaric μονον-passages.

2.1.3 – The Editions of Lagarde (1894) and Brooke-McLean (1909)

Two editions of SH Exod were issued by **Paul Anton de Lagarde** (1827–91). The first was published in 1880 where he edited the SH MSS extant in London and Paris, including the whole of BM ADD. 12134 which, at that point, had not been completed by Ceriani (→ **§2.1.2**).[299] Thus, Lagarde's 1880 work, printed in Aramaic square script,[300] was the first to publish the whole of SH Exod, the colophon included. This edition was superseded by the posthumous collection of texts, issued by A. Rahlfs in 1892 (= SH^{L}, → **§1.1**). In both editions, Lagarde provided transcriptions of the Samaritan readings extant in SH Exod without any kind of assessment.

The 'Larger' Cambridge Septuagint (1906—; *Exodus and Leviticus* [1909]) edited by **Alan E. Brooke** (1863-1939) and **Norman McLean** (1865-1947) used Lagarde's 1892 edition for SH.[301] The μονον-readings and attributions are given in App^{II} in Latin, accompanied by select Syriac terms, *e.g.*, ܒܠܚ (*passim*), ܕ ܠܐ ܐ (**Exod 8.19[23]ג**). The specific wording of the attribution notes is nearly always sacrificed (*e.g.*, 8.1[5]א, 9.5א) or even paraphrased (*e.g.*, **6.9א**). Being a diplomatic edition of CODEX B, Brooke-McLean

[298] Perhaps Field was simply following the precedent set by Holmes and Parsons (1798). All four of 58's integrated μονον-passages (→ **§2.5**) were listed without comment in their edition (see, *ad loc*; cp. **§§3.3.1** at **Num 21.22ב-א**, 21.24+, and **32.1+ & 9+**).

[299] Lagarde, 1880: iii.

[300] Baars described this 1880 edition as issued "in a typographically inadequate way" (1968: 9). See also Lagarde, 1892: 5.

[301] Brooke-McLean, 1906, 1/1: vi.

made it clear that their purpose was not to reprint Field.[302] Rather, they intended to give a full account of the relevant evidence in App^{II} from the MSS which they had actively collated, one of which was SH^{L}.

2.1.4 – The MIDYAT CODEX (1975) and John W. Wevers' Göttingen Edition (1991)

Syrohexaplaric studies were greatly aided by **Arthur Vööbus**' (1909-88) discovery in 1964 of a nearly complete SH Pent MS from Midyat (SH^{V}, → **§3.1.4**). However, due to the fact that the SH^{L} MS was already known, and without lacuna, the more recent witness to SH Exod from SH^{V} (ca. 12th century CE)[303] adds little to the present investigation. The MIDYAT CODEX, however, does shed light on the history of the μονον-passages, ironically, by subtraction. For the MS reveals a state of transmission when scribes cared less for such readings, omitting all the relevant Samaritan passages and annotations after 9.5א-ה (→ **APPENDIX A**). SH^{V}'s witness to the Exod colophon, while textually secondary, is valuable for matters of interpretation (→ **§2.2**).

The edition of *Exodus* (1991) prepared by **John William Wevers** (1919-2010) was the final volume of the Göttingen Pent published. Accordingly, the underlying *THGE* volume (1992) was also the last published; conversely, however, *NGTE* (1990) was the first issued of his commentaries. This sequence is relevant for only in *NGTE* did he attempt to proffer any kind of comment on the μονον-readings extant in G MSS (→ **§2.5**). Unfortunately, his remarks were little more than quizzical observations noting certain MSS' occasional agreement with SP. Wevers, in continuity with Brooke-McLean's precedent, provided SH's μονον-passages in Latin translation but obscured the SH's attribution notations still further, regularly offering the truncated form: "ex Sam secundum Syh: cf

[302] 1906, 1/1: iv.
[303] Vööbus, 1975: 34.

[scriptural parallel(s)]". He also ignored the fact the μονον-passages were transmitted sub ※ in SH Exod.[304] Most unfortunately, he made no mention of the SH Exod colophon. These decisions have led to some confusion even in recent scholarship as to how these passages came to be in the hexaplaric tradition.[305] Wevers stated he used the editions of Lagarde and Vööbus, in addition to photographs possessed by the *Unternehmen*.[306] With Field, he omitted the notation at **Exod 29.20** while retaining that at **8.6-7 (10-11)**.

2.2 – The Colophon to Syrohexapla Exodus: Transcription, Translation, and Historical Analysis

Since **William Wright**'s (1830-1889)[307] transcription and translation of the SH Exod colophon published in 1870,[308] a fully-fledged SH subscription has been available to the wider scholarly community.[309] Certainly, the Exod colophon is one of the more challenging examples, posing difficulties caused by both philological and historical obscurities. Despite such troubles, the subscription specifically describes the inclusion of the Samaritan data, and as such, the following will attempt to address these issues in an effort to clarify the subscription vis-à-vis the μονον-collation. In the following, the transcription of SH Exod's colophon will be accompanied by an English **translation**, **notes** concerning philological issues and ambiguities, and an **historical** analysis (with

---

[304] This was a departure from Br.-M.

[305] *E.g.*, **Ulrich**: "Note, e.g., Wevers' annotation "ex Sam secundum Syh" after many of the Syh readings cited above. "Sam" is accurate insofar as the readings are in the SP, *but it is difficult to see how LXX MSS and the Syro-Hexapla would have derived them from ("ex") the SP specifically*" (2012: 363, n. 9, *emphasis* mine). Compare **Kahle**'s earlier interpretation (→ **§1.2.2.3**), and an analogous mistake made by **Gaster** (1925: 128-29; see Meeks, 1967: 250, n. 3).

[306] *Exod*, 37-38.

[307] See S.P. Brock's "Wright, William", *GEDSH*, 427-28.

[308] *CSMBM*, 1:30.

[309] For unknown reasons Ceriani's fifth fascicle, covering SH Exod 33.3-fin (with colophon), was delayed. Though Ceriani sent Field a draft of the unpublished remainder (1: 79), the latter failed to provide Ceriani's translation of the colophon in his edition, something which had far-reaching consequences in subsequent scholarship (*e.g.*, Kohn → **§1.2.2.1**). Whatever the cause of the delay, the fascicle was still unissued by the early 20th century (see *Appendice al catalogo delle edizioni Hoepli*, 1905: 18). Judging by the comments of later scholars, it seems that many libraries never received the final instalment (cf. Baars, 1968: 9; *CBS*, 1973: 192).

hypothetical MS **stemma**). In the discussion, extant Greek and Syriac colophons are frequently referenced, for which one may consult the transcriptions provided in the → **APPENDIX**.[310]

The text of the SH Exod colophon reads as follows:

SH Exodus Colophon (text: SH^{L} fols. 132b-133a; variants: SH^{V} fol. 65a)
ܫܠܡ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܫܡܬ ܐܘܟ ܕܐ ܕܫܒ ܝ **[2]** ❖❖❖ ܒܗܕܐ ܕܐܬܩܠܛ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܗܢ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܠܫ **[1]** ܕܐܬܩܠܛ ܡܢ ܩ ܩܝ ,ܫܒܥܐ ܕܒ ܫܒܥܝܢ **[3]** .ܕܡ ܡܢ ܕܐܡ ܒܢ ܩܒܥܘ. ܘܐܦ **[3a]** .ܕܐܬܩܠܛ ܡܢ ܐ ܕܐ ܕܫܒ ܝ ܒܠ ܩܕܡ ܐܘ ܫܘܐ ܕܐ ܒܫܦ **[4]** ❖❖ ܒܫܒܥܝܢ ܕܐܬܩܠܛ ܫܐ ܐܘ ܕܒ ܒܫܦ ,ܘܐ ܩܡ .ܕܠܐ ܕܒ ܒܗܕܐ ܕܐܬܩܠܛ ܒܫܒܥܝܢ **[5]** ❖ ܠ ܒܢ ܩܒܥܘ ܩܡ ܕܐ ,ܘ ܐܘ ܫܩܒܘܐ ܕܒܝܟ ܕܐܡ ܝܒܟ **[6]** .ܩܒܥܘ ܕܐܬܩ ,ܘ ܡܢ .ܒܐ ܕܐ ܩܫܦ ܕܐܬܩ ܩܒܥܘ ,ܘ ܕܟ ܐܠ ܫܐ ܐܘ ܟܒ **[6b]** .ܕܐ ܫ ܩܒܥܘ ܐܘ ܕܩ ܒ **[6a]** .ܫܠ ܩܒܥܘ ,ܘ ❖ ܕܫ ܝ ܐܘ ܠܟ ܫܐ ܕܐ ܟܠ ܫ **[6c]** ܦܩ ܒܗܕܐ ܕܐ
ܩܒܥܘ] ܒܢ ܩ ܝ ܒܝܟ ܩܒܥ ܩ ܒ ܩ ܒ ܩ ܒ ܝ ܒ SH^{V} ܫܩܒܘܐ] ܫܩܒܘܐ SH^{V}
ܫܠ ܩܒܥ] ΠΑΜΦΥΛΟC SH^{Lmg} ܫܠ ܩܒܥ SH^{V}

Translation[311]

Syriac 'book ends' notice:
[1] The book of Exod according to the translation of the Seventy is finished.

Composed **Syriac introductory formula:**
[2] Now the exemplar {= E^{1}} from which this [Exod] was translated into the Syriac language had this subscription in it:

Translated **Greek colophon of Exemplar[1]**:

> **[3]** « [E^{1} was] Taken from the hexapla {$Source^{1}$} according to the traditions **[3a]** and collated (with the same [or: with another? **see below**]) from which also the traditions were set out. **[4]** Then this Exodus {E^{1}} was collated further with an(other) accurate exemplar {E^{2}} which had this colophon on it:

Translated **Greek colophon of Exemplar[2]** (Partly rewritten by E^{1}'s scribe, or précised by E^{2}'s?):

> **[5]** 'The translation of the Seventy [of Exod] {E^{2}} was written from the/a *hexapla* {E^{3} = $Source^{2}$}, where the "Hebrew" [reading of the Seventy] was collated with the Samaritan "Hebrew" [*ekdosis*] {$Source^{3}$}. **[6]** And it {E^{3}} was edited by the hand of Eusebius Pamphili, **[6a]** just as the {= E^{3}'s} colophon made clear. **[6b]** From which {E^{3}} also the [elements] from the [Hebrew *ekdosis*] of the Samaritans {S^{3}} were set out (from προτιθημι, **see discussion**), **[6c]** only as an indication that the exemplar {E^{3}} was prepared with difficulty.' »

---

[310] (Syro)hexaplaric colophons have received only a small amount of frequently incomplete treatment in secondary literature, Mercati's 1941 study being the only attempt at a complete treatment of the hexaplaric subscriptions then known (also Devreesse, 1954: 123-24). Zuntz's comparative study (1945: 13-33) of the Harklean colophons is also useful, as is Jenkins' study (1991). I would like to thank Andrew Drenas (UMass, Lowell) who provided me with a translation of Mercati's section on Exod. Any misunderstandings are of course my own.

[311] See → **APPENDIX** for a complete hypothetical reconstructed Greek retroversion.

Notes

► Formatting (SH^L *vs.* SH^V) : The older witness (SH^L) has no meaningful formatting other than the use of the punctuation sequence: ⁘⁘⁘, ⁘⁘, and ⁘.[312] These structural marks, called *påsôqå* (ܦܣܘܩܐ), represent the Syriac full stop.[313] Thus, the older MS specifies the following logical sections: ln. **1**; lns. **2-3a**; ln. **4**; and lns. **5-6c**. The latter witness differs slightly, using both indentation and different coloured ink as follows: **1** (brown[314] ink); **2-3a** (black ink, indented on both sides); and **4-6c** (brown ink, indented on the left only). Lines **4-6c** are also marked with ¬ along the left-hand side of each line, presumably meaning to designate **4-6c** as a quotation *within* the quoted Greek colophon.

► Who composed what? : Following discrepancies in formatting, it must be determined which parts of the colophon the Syriac translator(s) was responsible for having *composed* as opposed to that which he *translated*. Obviously, any reference to the act of producing the translation (*e.g.*, SH Bel-Dragon, Twelve, etc.) or attendant information relating to subsequent book ownership (*e.g.*, the ܪܓܘܡܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ‘hanging of Judas’ curse after Ruth) can be safely dismissed.[315] The scribe’s use of ܪܫܡ ܒܥܝ + ܐܡܪ (or something similar) followed by what is presented as the translated exemplar’s subscription (*e.g.*, SH Gen, Josh, Ruth, et al) clearly introduces the Greek citation. Still, determining the extent of the *Greek* basis for the Syriac translation, at times, can prove complex (i.e., 3 and 4 Kgdm).[316] In the present case, difficulty in determining whether or not ln. **4** is taken from Greek creates problems in interpretation and affects the MS stemma (see below).

---

[312] With a final ⁘ at the very end.

[313] On this, see Segal (1953: 75-76). Note especially the symbol’s shape and function as compared with the τελεια, ✣ (75, n. 7). See PS 2:3196.

[314] The photo is black and white; perhaps it could be a deep red.

[315] SH^V’s ܒܫܡ ܝܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦܣܩ ܪܓܘܡܐ ܪܥܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ (ln. **1**) is clearly secondary when compared with the other colophons’ structure. The addition refers to correcting activity *subsequent* to the original translation.

[316] For differing interpretations of the 3 Kgdm colophon in this respect, juxtapose the those of Wright (*CSMBM*, 1:34) and Zuntz (1945: 22).

► ܟܬܒ (ln. **1**) ‘βιβλιον (-λος)’ and ܣܝܡ̈ (lns. **2**, **4**, **6c**) ‘αντιγραφον’ : The use of ܟܬܒ in *composed* sections of SH colophons represents: 1) an individual biblical book or text-unit (*passim*), 2) the *Syriac* biblical book translated which was just ‘finished’ (Gen, 3 Kgdm, Eccles), and 3) the *Greek* book (i.e., the exemplar) from which the *Syriac* book was translated (*e.g.*, 4 Kgdm, Twelve, Dan). More restrictively, *composed* usage of ܣܝܡ̈ (ln. **2**) aligns with the concept of the exemplar ‘αντιγραφον’ (*e.g.*, Gen, Num [ln. **2**]?, Josh [twice], and Ezek [Q], et al).

In *translated* portions, ܣܝܡ̈ (lns. **4**, **6c**) is dominant and conforms to their semantic usage of αντιγραφον in the surviving Greek examples (*e.g.*, Dan, Isa, Ezek, 2 Ezra, Esther) as ‘copy’, ‘exemplar’, or ‘*Vorlage*’. ܟܬܒ only occurs in a discernibly *translated* part of a colophon in Num (lns. **5a**-**5b**) and will be discussed below (→ **§3.2**).

► ܐ ܩ̈ ,ܗܟܠ (ln. **3**) and ܗܟܣܐ (ln. **5**) : Both terms indicate ‘hexapla’, usually expressed as εξαπλ-α/-ουν or, more frequently, εξαπλων. The transliterated form (ܐ-)ܗܟܣ(ܐ)ܐ occurs only in the colophons for SH Gen, Exod, 3 Kgdm, and Lam (-ܐ), with ܐ ܩ̈ (,ܗ)ܥ being otherwise dominant (→ ***Table 1.1.1.1***). Particularly, in 3 Kgdm’s subscription the two terms are explicitly equated in a *composed* section of the subscription (ܐ ܩ̈ ܥ ܕ ܗ ܗܟܣܐ ܒ ܐ[...] ܐ [fol. 122a]), indicating the Syrians understood the two terms referred to the same object.[317] Yet, what demands explanation here is why the Syriac translator(s) used different Syriac for the same concept in *translated* portions.

It is unlikely that the translator(s) would have toiled on an entire book and its marginalia, rendering them all in ‘mirror’-like fashion, only to come upon the subscription and choose at that point to waver from established practice. Thus, it is perhaps safest to

[317] Here I side with Wright’s interpretation of the 3 Kgdm subscription against Zuntz’s analysis (1945: 22). The same can be claimed for ‘heptapla’ in the subscription to 4 Kgdm: ܒ ܕ ܗ ܗܟܣܐ ܟ ܒ ܐ ܩ̈ (fol. 87a). This portion of the 3 Kgdm colophon is composed, not interpolated as Zuntz would have it.

view the differing Syriac as corresponding to the Greek terms from which they were translated. Presently, the first is clearly (των) εξαπλων (ln. **3**);[318] however, the latter ܕ ܗܠܟܣܦܠܐ creates a problem. The extant Greek colophons show that the inflection of 'hexapla' and 'tetrapla' are consistent with Greek governing prepositions, i.e. **απο/εκ** (+ gen.) των εξαπλων/τετραπλων and **προς** (+ acc.) τετραπλουν/εξαπλουν/τα εξαπλα. Correspondingly, the Syriac subscriptions adhere to these conventions when unambiguously translating a Greek base: ܕ ܥܒܕ ܩܕ ܐ (Exod [ln. **3**], Josh, Prov, Cant), ܕ ܬܪܝܢ ܩܕ ܐ (Dan, Job [?]), ܗܠܟܣܦܠܐ ܫܠ (Gen [τα εξαπλα]), or ܐ ܩܕ ܬܪܝܢ ܫܠ (Josh [τα τετραπλα]). Including ln. **5**, there are three occurrences of 'ܕ + a transliterated designation' in the SH colophons (in translated portions). Gen (ܗܠܟܣܦܠܐ ܕ ܓܢܣܝܣ) and Lam (ܗܠܟܣܦܠܐ ܕ ܓܢܣܝܣ), however, can be reconciled to Greek, representing εγραφη εκ των τετραπλων (cp. Dan [SH and MS 88] and Ezek [CODEX Q]) and εγραφη εκ των εξαπλων (= MS 88), respectively.[319]

There is still another complication in that this latter section of the colophon (lns. **5-6c**) has clearly been rewritten by some intervening Greek scribe (*viz.*, ܐ ܡܐ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܕ [ln. **6a**]). This permits the possibility that the base Greek for ܕ ܗܠܟܣܦܠܐ may really have been εκ/απο (τα) εξαπλα, with εξαπλα being understood as a frozen, technical term.[320] Another alternative may be that the translator(s) did take some liberty in rendering the terminology in order to indicate that this ܗܠܟܣܦܠܐ was in fact another, second source, comparable to the case in the colophon for Isa (CODEX Q): […] εκ των

[318] Comparative data from non-colophonic sources are divided on the matter. Compare ܐ ܩܕ ,ܥܒܕ in the translation of Epiphanius' *De Mens et pond* §18-19 (fols. 57b-c) with the occasions in the 4 Kgdm end matter (fols. 88b-89b), the *London Collection* (BM ADD 12168, fols. 38a-39b), as well as the Syriac of *H.E*, 6.16.2-3.

[319] Cp. PS 1: 184.

[320] Perhaps this is also reflected in the *scholion* at Num 1.24 found in MSS 85´-344: τα εξαπλα την συγγενειαν του Γαδ ευθυς μετα την συγγενειαν του Συμεων υποτασσει […] (see App[II]). Theodoret is known to have used 'hexapla' in the singular (see Gallagher 2013: 669, n. 17 and literature). Something similar may have occurred for 'tetrapla' (see Jenkins, 1991: 266-67, and Sipilä, 1996: 173 [both accepting Barthélemy's suggestion, 1978]).

κατα τας εκδοσεις εξαπλων [= source 1]. αντεβληθη δε και προς ετερον εξαπλουν [= source 2] […]. Thus, the rewritten section might have read (των) εξαπλων without any explicit mention of ετερου/ων, prompting the Syrians to translate ܕ ̈ ,ܐܚܪ (= source 1) and ܣܝܟܣܐ (= source 2), respectively, to differentiate them as two, distinct hexaplaric MS traditions—one which had been collated with SP, on top of the base.[321] However, such intervention feels unnecessary as the subscription implies the second source. (See historical reconstruction below.)

► ܬܫܒܚ (lns. **3a**, **4,** [ܐܝܟ ܣܝܟܣ = αντιβεβλητο? αντιβεβλημενη?[322]] **5**) ‘αντεβληθη’ (cp. PS 2:3082) : Unfortunately, the imprecision of the term ‘collate’ muddles most of the colophons: Namely, does the term indicate a simple comparing of the text with an/the exemplar, or does the term indicate something more complex, involving the merging of traditions by way of annotations (i.e., with ܬܫܒܚ / παρετεθη being implied)?[323] What can be claimed for the term generally, is that many of the occurrences in Syriac and Greek subscriptions also include explicit mention of the compared source (ܐܠ ... ܬܫܒܚ or αντεβληθη ... προς), be it **(1)** the *Vorlage* itself (*e.g.*, Judg, Dan), **(2)** an additional exemplar of the ‘same’ source (*e.g.*, 2 Ezra, Isa [Q]) or **(3)** an additional, different source (*e.g.*, Gen, Josh, Isa [Q]). The testimony of the Josh colophon may support the term involving, at times, a process of *textual* collation or merging, given that a variant reading is present within the subscription itself and presumably from only one of the compared sources (cp. SH Deut subscription [→ **§1.1**; **APPENDIX**]). Fortunately, the latter two instances of the term (lns. **4**, **5**) imply the second and third possibilities, respectively. Particularly the third designates the inclusion of Samaritan materials not

[321] Compare Wright (*CSMBM* 1:30) and Vööbus (1975: 42) “transcribed from (a manuscript of) the Hexapla, in which […]” with Ceriani’s “*Descriptus est textus LXX ex Hexaplis ubi* […]” (1863: 404).
[322] See below note on ܣܝܟ ̈ ܐ (ln. **6**).
[323] See *LSJ*, *s.v.* II and literature, especially those occurrences in Strabo, *Geog.* 13.1.54 and 17.1.5. See also Spicq, *TLNT*, “αντιβαλλω” 1:127 (esp. n. 7).

original to or normative of the hexaplaric exemplar(s), which were then added to the margins (cp. SH Num → **§3.2**) of the MS(S). Unfortunately, there is nothing identifying the individual(s) responsible for this activity due to scribes' rewriting.[324]

► To what does ln. **3a** refer? : The first problem in determining the colophon's MS stemma is the phrasing of ln. **3a**. Specifically, does this line imply still another copy of the 'hexapla' or the same exemplar denoted by ܩ ,ܗܟܐ? Wright (Vööbus followed) envisioned the former here, but was unsure.[325] Differently, Ceriani's understanding, imagining a Greek colophon akin to those in CODEX Q and MS 88, equated ܬܫܦ with και παρετεθη.[326] Though Mercati acknowledged the logic of Wright's interpretation, he was inclined to interpret ln. **3a** as not referring to *another* MS, retroverting: μετεληφθη (or: εγραφη) απο των κατα τας εκδοσεις εξαπλων και αντεβληθη, εξ ων και αι εκδοσεις παρετεθησαν.[327]

The issue with ln. **3a** is the presence of ܬܫܦ. Mercati acknowledged the difficulty, observing the use of ܬܫܦ + ܒ is unusual.[328] However, Mercati correctly observed that both the SH Judg and Dan colophons used ܬܫܦ without any reference to an additional source. Note SH Judg: ܒ ܬܫܦ ܒ ܬܗܦ.[329] Presuming, with Mercati, that ܐܬܦ and ܬܗܦ are similar in function in the subscriptions, the colophon from Judg then could serve as the best analogue to the problem with ln. **3a**, and the interpretation of Ceriani and Mercati should be upheld. Maintaining this understanding results in ܬܫܦ exhibiting the first above-discussed

[324] Compare 4 Kgdm (ܒ ܬܫܦ ܐܢܛܘܢܝܢܘܣ ܕ), 2 Ezra (Αντωνινος αντεβαλεν), and Esther (Αντωνινος ομολογητης αντεβαλεν) which attest to both Pamphilus and Antoninus performing 'collating' duties.
[325] *CSMBM*, 1:30, n. *.
[326] 1863: 404.
[327] Mercati, 1941: 36, n. 2. He never made any reference to Ceriani's translation.
[328] 1941: 36, n. 2. Mercati probably wanted to liken the text to that of the Ezek subscription (Q), which ironically still indicates a second source.
[329] The language in the subscription to Prov is similar.

sense, i.e., that the copy made (ܬܨܒܝܪ) from its exemplar (ܡܢ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܐܒܗ ܩܕܡ ,ܟܬܒ), was compared (ܬܫܟܝܪ) with said exemplar (ܐܡ ܟ = εξ ου [sc. αντιγραφου], not ων),[330] from which also the versions were added (ܬܫܟܝܪ ܡܢ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܐܒܗ ܐܡ ܟ = ܟ ܩܕܡ ,ܟܬܒ ܬܫܟܝܪ ܐܡ ܕܐܒܗ [Josh]).[331] This is a reasonable suggestion for Exod is a particularly problematic book textually and would require careful inspection against the exemplar in copying and marginal annotation. Thus, it is best to support Mercati's judgment, though perhaps with more uncertainty than he admitted.

► ܬܫܟܝܪ (ln. **3a**) 'παρετεθη'[332] (see PS 2:2560-61 for other Greek equivalents) : The extant Greek colophons make this equivalency most probable.[333] The verb clearly relates to the supplying of marginalia performed in conjunction with the process of 'collating' ܬܫܟܝܪ and 'editing' ܥܒܕ and is ubiquitous in the subscriptions.[334] (See below for ܬܫܟܝܪ ܒܕ in ln. **6b**). Credited acts of supplying marginalia are those of Eusebius (παρατιθημι) and Origen (εσχολιογραφητο) separately in Ezek (CODEX Q), as well as for Eusebius and Pamphilus jointly in SH Prov.[335] Other instances cannot be determined, though the verb bears the connotation of Caesarea-based textual activity.

---

[330] Here following Mercati's adoption (1941: 38) of Field's retroversion of the SH Josh colophon (1: 394, n. 68).

[331] 4 Kgdm's subscription is similar: ܡܢ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܐܒܗ ܐܡ ܟ [...] ܟ ܩܕܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܘܐܡ ܫܟܚܟܚܝܢ ܗܟܐ ܟ ܚܡܫܝܢ.

[332] The colophons for Eccles (ܩܗܠܬ ,ܐܡ) and Lam (ܐܓܓ ܫܟ = παρετεθη [MS 88]) appear to provide other equivalencies for παρετεθη. On the latter, see Mercati (1941: 27), PS 1:760, and Field's discussion (2005: 186, n. 10 [1: c]). Each concluded thus *before* the discovery of SH Lev (see 5.23 [6.4] where ܡܠ ܐܓܓ ܫܟܝ = ητις παρετεθη αυτω, without significant variant). For the former, see Mercati (1941: 45) and PS 1:1466-67.

[333] Mercati, 1941: 37; Vööbus, 1975:41, n. 310. Cf. Jenkins, 1991: 262.

[334] The full *ethpeel* form of ܬܫ is most common ܬܫܟܝܪ; the shortened ܬܫܟܝܪ appears only once (Prov). At the end of Isa (SH^C), the *ethpaal* ܬܬܫܟܪ occurs, though this is perhaps an error as the usual ܬܫܟܝܪ is found in BM MUS ORIENT 8732 (see Wright, *CSMBM* 3:xi-x; Ceriani, 1874: 139, without comment).

[335] SH Prov:

[...] ܟ ܒܝ ܣܟܪܐ ܕܫܟܚ ܡܢ ܗܟܠ ܗܦܟܬ ܕܐܒܗ ܕܫܟܝܪ ܡܢ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܐܒܗ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܟ ܡܢ ܕܬܒܪܟ ܐܦ ܕܐܒܗ ܕܫܟܝܪ ܒܗ ܘܒܗ ܕܫܟܚ ܐܦ ܕܐܒܗ ܕܫܟܝܪ ܒܗ ,ܟܬܒ ܩܕܡ ܟ ܕܐܬܩܢ ܠܝ ܐܡ ܕܫܟ ܐܦ ܕܐܒܗ ܕܥܒܕ ❖ ❖ ❖

[…] *from an accurate exemplar which was supplied (with marginalia), besides many scholia, by the hand of Pamphilus and Eusebius. In which was noted (in the subscription): 'These were taken from the Hexapla of Origen, those* [things] *which we found*'.

► To what does ܟܬܒܐ ܐܡ (ln. **4**) refer? : Like others, Mercati saw the problematic ambiguity: Does ܟܬܒܐ ܐܡ refer to a copy used by Paul of Tella or one with which the copy had been previously collated?[336] That is, does ln. **4** represent the continuation of the translated Greek colophon or an editorial remark from the Syriac translator(s)? Interpretations have differed. Both Wright and Vööbus left open the possibility of the Syrian translator'(s) having composed this line.[337] Against these, Ceriani viewed the whole subscription after ܟܡ 1° (ln. 2) as from the Greek source.[338] Mercati leaned towards Ceriani's, asserting the following lines reflect the original Greek υποσημειωσις whether summarized by Paul of Tella or not.[339]

Perhaps the most natural way to read the colophon is that ln. **4** meant to continue the subscription of the translated exemplar, which in addition to its own notice (lns. **3**-**3a**) added still another notice taken from the other exemplar with which it was collated. This would result in a double citation. If the Syrian translator(s) meant to interject himself, independently writing ln. **4** or even himself executing the collation there stated, why would this not have been made clearer? SH^V's representation lends itself towards this interpretation, marking off lns. **4**-**6c** as if it were a quotation *within* the translated *Vorlage*'s subscription.[340] If this is so, the situation would, following Mercati,[341] then be comparable to a Syriac translation of the colophons for Esther (CODEX S) or Isa (CODEX Q). It is important to reiterate that unlike the Harklean subscriptions, those from SH never attribute 'collating' acts to Paul of Tella (or his translation team), with the exception of 3 Kgdm. Compare the above introduction (→ **§1.1.1**).

---

[336] 1941: 37, n. 1.
[337] *CSMBM*, 1:30; Vööbus, 1975: 42.
[338] 1863: 404.
[339] 1941: 37, n. 1.
[340] Here I would argue that ln. **4** was not properly understood by the SH^V scribe, though he did correctly understand the following section as a quotation *within* the quoted subscription.
[341] 1941: 37.

► 𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤉𐤕 (ln. **5** [twice]) ‘εβραικη/-ην’ (PS 2:2788) : Unusual in the present case is the reference for ‘Hebrew’ in the feminine; this contrasts with the masculine found in the parallel remark in the SH Num colophon (→ **§3.2** [ln. **5a**]) and most other occurrences of ‘Hebrew’ (𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤉) in the extant μονον-collation and attribution annotations. Exceptional are those attribution notes in SH Exod 18 and 20, where the full expression 𐤁𐤔𐤌𐤕𐤀𐤋𐤔𐤉𐤌 𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤉𐤕 𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤉𐤕 ‘in the Samaritan Hebrew εκδοσις’ is found (see below). These annotations are the best referent for the second instance of 𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤉𐤕.

However, there is some opacity for the first instance of 𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤉𐤕: Is the reference to ‘Hebrew’ meant to indicate an actual Hebrew copy of Exod—the first column of the *Hexapla Maior* itself—or does ‘Hebrew’ here have a less technical sense, roughly equivalent to ‘the Hebrew base-text of the εκδοσις of the Seventy in Exod’? Ceriani favoured the former translating “[…] *ubi Hebraeus* (textus) *collatus erat* […]”.[342] This would necessitate something akin to η εβραικη [εκδοσις], for which at least one annotation appears to explicitly designate: 𐤀𐤋𐤀 [𐤏𐤁𐤓]𐤉𐤕 𐤁𐤔𐤌𐤕𐤀𐤋𐤔𐤉𐤌 𐤄𐤈𐤅𐤊𐤓 [𐤀]𐤌𐤏𐤓 [...] 𐤀𐤋𐤀 𐤌𐤏𐤓 (4 Kgdm 8.15 [fol. 33a]).[343] Tending more towards the latter are η εβραικη λεξις[344] / 𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤉𐤕 𐤋𐤔𐤍[345] and η εβραικη αναγνωσις.[346] The reason why such a fine distinction is necessary is that there is more than one Hebrew εκδοσις under

[342] 1863: 404. By “*Hebraeus* (textus)”, he meant that the Hebrew of both MT and SP had been compared and collated with accompanying hexaplaric sigla in the SH Exod exemplar(s); see below (→ **§2.4.2**). Wright and Vööbus were less specific.

[343] See Field, 1: 667, n. 31; the reconstruction is Lagarde’s (1892: 232). Field held that Cyril’s annotations sub η των Εβραιων εκδοσις (*e.g.*, Amos 1.3; Zach 6.3; 8.10; 14.8; et al) were of the same type (2005: 140-141 [1:lxxv]). However, Barthélemy has argued these are Greek translations of readings taken from Jerome (1978: 64-65; also Ziegler, *Duodecim*, 106 and 115, n. 1).

[344] *E.g.*, Isa 8.8, 10 (CODEX Q; both from Eusebius [Ziegler, *Isa*, 48]); Ps 75.3 (Eusebius).

[345] Isa 5.1 (fol. 174^{v}ד); “*Die Herkunft dieses Scholions aus dem Kommentar des Eus. ist offenkundig*” (Ziegler, *Isa*, 48).

[346] *E.g.*, Ps 35.3 (Field, 2: 142, n. 4).

consideration in the Pent.[347] Certainly, the (Syro)hexapla of Exod, in addition to the *recentiores*, involved three text-types: 1) the Seventy, 2) the Hebrew ≈ MT, and 3) the Hebrew εκδοσις of the Samaritans. But the question remains: Which εκδοσεις were collated against each other? If Ceriani's understanding is maintained, the implication is that the MT and SP were collated against one another *within* the Origenic edition of the Seventy, but *independently* of the Seventy. However, there is no evidence from SH Pent[348] which supports this interpretation; rather, the Samaritan μονον-readings are always the result of collation against G, *not* MT (→ **§1.3.2**). Thus, no confirmed reading represents the G = SP ≠ MT category.[349] With respect to the readings, SP appears to have been collated against the hexaplaric G-text, independently of MT.[350] Therefore, it is perhaps best to view the first reference to 'Hebrew' as referring to the 'Hebrew base-text' (λεξις / αναγνωσις)[351] of the Origenic 'εκδοσις of the Seventy', which in places (ܕ-ܥܒܪܝܐ)[352] was collated with the 'Hebrew [εκδοσις] of the Samaritans'. In other words, the SP was *quantitatively* compared with G's 'Hebrew'. See, the SH Num colophon (→ **§3.2** at ln. **5a**).

► ܟܬܒ ̈ ܝܗܒ (ln. **6**) 'διωρθωτο'? (see Ezek [Q]) or 'δεδιορθωμενον'?[353] (PS 2:4508-9)[354] : Another matter is the meaning of ܟܬܒ ̈ ܝܗܒ in the context of the SH Exod

[347] Presumably outside of the Pent any reference to the 'Hebrew', be it λεξις / αναγνωσις or εκδοσις, would reflect MT as long as it does not indicate the translation known as ο εβραιος (see Fernández Marcos, 2000: 162).

[348] Ceriani's argument stemmed from his understanding of the collation notes in SH Exod (→ **§§2.4.2**, **4.1**).

[349] This category would have been quite significant (*e.g.*, Lev 17.4+; Num 4.14א). It is also worth noting that such readings would have violated the μονον-collation as expressed by the attributions, i.e., if SP = G, these readings could not then be described as 'only' in SP.

[350] The only exception (it would seem) being the collation note at **Exod 29.20** (→ **§2.4.2**). It is unclear why this is, and the note is codicologically difficult.

[351] *N.B.* Origen: Ουτω γαρ Ακυλας δουλευων τη Εβραικη λεξει εκδεδωκεν […] (*Ep. Ad Africanum* [SC 302, §4; PG 11: 52, §2).

[352] On ܕ-ܥܒܪܝܐ in this context, see PS 1:148-49. The renderings of Ceriani ("*ubi*" [1863: 404]) and Wright/Vööbus ("in which") are both correct; note Perkins, 1980: 63 (and n. 14).

[353] It would appear that the pluperf. mid./pass. ind. is indeed represented by the Syriac (cp. SH Gen 40.3, Deut 9.10; see Perkins, 1980: 242, and Nöldeke, *Grammar*, §278b). While unlikely, a perf. mid./pass.

colophon. The Syriac represents some form of διορθοω (*e.g.*, SH Jer 7.3, Wis 9.18, etc.; colophons to 2 Ezra and Esther), which occurs with great frequency in the extant Greek subscriptions (*e.g.*, Isa [Q]: four times, Ezek [Q]: thrice, 2 Ezra: thrice, Esther: four times, etc.). But the precise historical action underlying the term is difficult to discern.

Though the general sense 'to set aright, correct' → 'proofread' is attested in the literature,[355] a meaning pregnant with wider or more intrusive editorial activities can be derived from the usage of διορθοω, along with the substantive διορθωσις, in relevant works, specifically those of Origen (*Comm. Matt.* 15.14),[356] Eusebius (*H.E.* 5.28.15-17: regarding heretics having emended biblical texts),[357] and other contemporary writers (*e.g.*, Diogenes Laertius [fl. first half of 3rd cent. CE], *Vit. Phil.*, 3.65-66: description of Alexandrian text-critical marks, and 9.113: Timon's opinion of which Homeric texts are best).[358] The semantic evidence for the Syriac term (ܐܦܓ *pael*) is similar, having parallel connotations.[359] Of course there is the immediate context of the extant Greek colophons themselves, attributing διορθοω activity not only to Pamphilus and Eusebius (*passim*) but also Origen.[360] Was Origen's editorial activity limited to simple proofreading?[361] Or did

---

participle would perhaps seem possible given ܡܬܬܩܢ is pass. (cp. SH Num 11.26). An aor. pass. ind. is unlikely (cp. SH Wis 9.18).

[354] κατορθοω is another possibility (*e.g.*, Prov 2.7, 4.18, 11.10, etc.), but the Greek subscriptions mostly use διορθοω.

[355] See Lampe, "διορθοω", "διορθωσις", and "διορθωτης"; *LSJ*, *s.v.*; *GLRB*, *s.v.* Compare the occurrence of κατορθοω in *H.E.* 5.20.2. The nature of the work being copied and corrected in the latter is of course very different (note Skeat, [1956] 2004: 19).

[356] Origen also used the term in a less intrusive sense in his *Ep. Ad Africanum* (SC 302, §24; PG 11:85, §16).

[357] Interestingly, Lawlor and Oulton held that the heretical sect's followers were falsely editing the Septuagint (1954, 2: 190), while Bardy understood this as a reference to editing the NT (SC 41: 78, n. 14). See also Adler, 1990: 2-3.

[358] With respect to the ancient editorial practices described in 3.65-66 (specifically the editorial *diple periestigmene*), see Nünlist, 2009: 157-59; Schironi, 2012: 90.

[359] Compare the subscriptions for Jacob of Edessa's recension (JNum colophon [fol. 339ـح]; JSam [fol. 90a]; JDan [fol. 148a]; also Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccl*. 1:291). Judging by Jacob's rather intense editorial activity, it is clear that use of this term was broadly applied to practices well beyond proofreading.

[360] Ezek (Q): μετεληφθη απο των κατα τας εκδοσεις εξαπλων **και διορθωθη απο** των ωριγενους αυτου τετραπλων ατινα **και αυτου χειρι διορθωτο**; and Esther (CODEX S): μετελημφθη και **διορθωθη** προς **τα εξαπλα ωριγενους υπ αυτου διορθωμενα** αντωνινος ομολογητης αντεβαλεν, παμφιλος **διορθωσα**. While both colophons may communicate both senses of the term, Esther's colophon seems to imply further

his διορθουν attain the very thing he set out to achieve—an *emended*, truly critical edition of the Seventy *corrected* based upon the other εκδοσεις? Put another way: Do the hexaplaric subscriptions only make reference to the copying of that which was produced for wider dissemination (i.e., the Caesarean εκδοσις), or do they also mean to make reference to the very act of such editorial production? Unhappily, the Greek colophons are simply too vague with respect to the matter, and the SH's also reflect this ambiguity.[362] Due to this opacity, the term is best translated as 'edited' in English.

► ܥܠ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܣ ܥ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ ܪ̈ܫ̈ (ln. **6**) : While the SH's colophons were at the mercy of Greek scribal rewriting (*e.g.*, ln. **6a**), it is of interest that the editorial activity presently mentioned was connected with Eusebius' hand alone (→ **§1.1.1**). Of course, it is hazardous to extrapolate too much from incomplete data (which has been selectively transmitted), nevertheless, it is interesting to observe the frequency with which Origen is cited by name. Of the above surveyed colophons (→ ***Table 1.1.1.2***), mention of Origen's name appears in less than half of the subscriptions, specifically detailed as follows: **1)** Origen's library (Isa [SH]), **2)** his 'hexapla' (Prov and Cant [SH]; 2 Ezra and Esther [S]), **3)** Origen's exegesis (Isa [Q]), and **4)** Origen's 'tetrapla' (Ezek [Q]).

Much more frequent is Pamphilus, whose martyrdom surely eased any possible disquiet scribes may have had in transmitting a work of either Origen or Eusebius, both whose orthodoxy was questioned at different times for various reasons.[363] So presumably, Pamphilus' role in the production of an authentic copy would <u>not</u> have been omitted from any rewriting of the subscriptions. Nonetheless, much more frequent, and *exclusive* to

---

editorial work by Pamphilus (re-editing?). If 're-editing' is a reasonable interpretation, what did this entail? Compare SH Prov.

[361] So Swete (1914: 73), though his comments concern the *Hexapla Maior*.

[362] This is an important point often unacknowledged in discussions of the 'hexapla' (so Schaper, 1998: 7 and 9). Grafton and Williams' is notable exception (2006: 188).

[363] It should be pointed out that while Origenist controversies would occasionally arise during the first Christian millennium—in which parties actively supported Origen—no such contention arose over Eusebius' reputation (see *ODCC*, "Origenism").

those subscriptions for the Octateuch, is Eusebius (→ **§3.2**). He is mentioned by name in all hexaplaric colophons transmitting attribution save those from CODEX S.

► ܫ, ܕܐܬܪܐ (ln. **6b**) : As discussed above, the referent of ܫ, ܕܐܬܪܐ is that in ln. **5**, specifically ܫ, ܕܐܬܪܐ (ܕܒܐܝܠܐ) ܕܒܝܬ.[364] The attributions in SH Exod attest ܫ, ܕܐܬܪܐ for every μονον-passage, save those in Exod 18 and 20 where the more complete ܕܒܝܬ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܐܝܠܐ is evinced. Additionally, the same occurs in the first collation annotation, while the other two proffer ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܝܬ (→ **§§2.4.1**; **2.4.2**). This is juxtaposed with the language in the SH Num and Deut attributions, where ܫ ܫܡ (or ܕܝܬ?) is generally implied (= ܕܐܬܪܐ ܐܚܪ) or explicitly used, though Num is more mixed than Deut, using ܫ, ܕܐܬܪܐ for four of 15 notes (→ **§3.3.1** at **Num 10.10א-ג** attribution). This is important to point out as it indicates that the writer(s) of the original colophon and the writer(s) of the annotations were one and the same. By extension, one might posit the colophon's terminology was modelled off of the annotations themselves.

Mercati's suggestion[365] that ܫ, ܕܐܬܪܐ somehow relates to το Σαμαρειτικον is rejected here as unsupported by the hexaplaric tradition (→ **§1.3**).

► ܡܣܬ ܡܕ (ln. **6b**) 'προε[/υ?]τεθη' (PS 2:3489) : The extant data suggests that ܡܕ + ܡܣ represents προτιθημι.[366] Mercati's attempt to connect the form to (ανω) παρατιθημι is unconvincing.[367] Assuming this retroversion, the translations of Ceriani ("*antea posita fuerunt*") and Wright ("have been previously inserted"[368]), while technically reflective of Syriac *compositional* practices (ܡܕ + a verb), may be somewhat

[364] Ceriani, 1863: 404.

[365] 1941: 37, n. 2. Though he did not argue forcefully for the connection between the Σαμαρειτικον (as in Gie) and SH Exod, he retroverted ln. **6b** with "εξ ου και τα του Σαμαρειτικου ανω παρετεθησαν" indicating he ultimately favoured such an interpretation (1941: 38).

[366] See SH Exod 29.23 ܡܣ ܡܕ ܡܣ for των προτεθειμενων. See also σ′ at Ezek 24.2 (ܡܫ ܫܒܘ ܫ.ע ܡܕ ܡܣ), despite the editors' doubts (PS 2:3489; cp. Field, 2: 833, n. 2), as well as Harklean (and P) Rom 3.25. Cp. also SH Ps 85.14, though 53.5 (3) and 100.3 have only ܡܣ.

[367] 1941: 37, n. 2.

[368] Vööbus followed, holding παρετεθη was the Greek (1975: 42, n. 320).

interpretive, perhaps betraying confusion over why the underlying Greek would read προε[/υ?]τεθη instead of παρετεθη.[369] While the adding of the Samaritan elements was certainly previous to the writing (and subsequent rewriting) of the colophon represented by lns. **5-6c**, ln. **6b** is meant only to say that the scribe who 'wrote' (i.e., copied) the text introduced in ln. **4** was not responsible for them, rather his exemplar already had them 'set out' in the margins.

Historical Analysis

Based on the above, the following MS stemma can more clearly display the process:

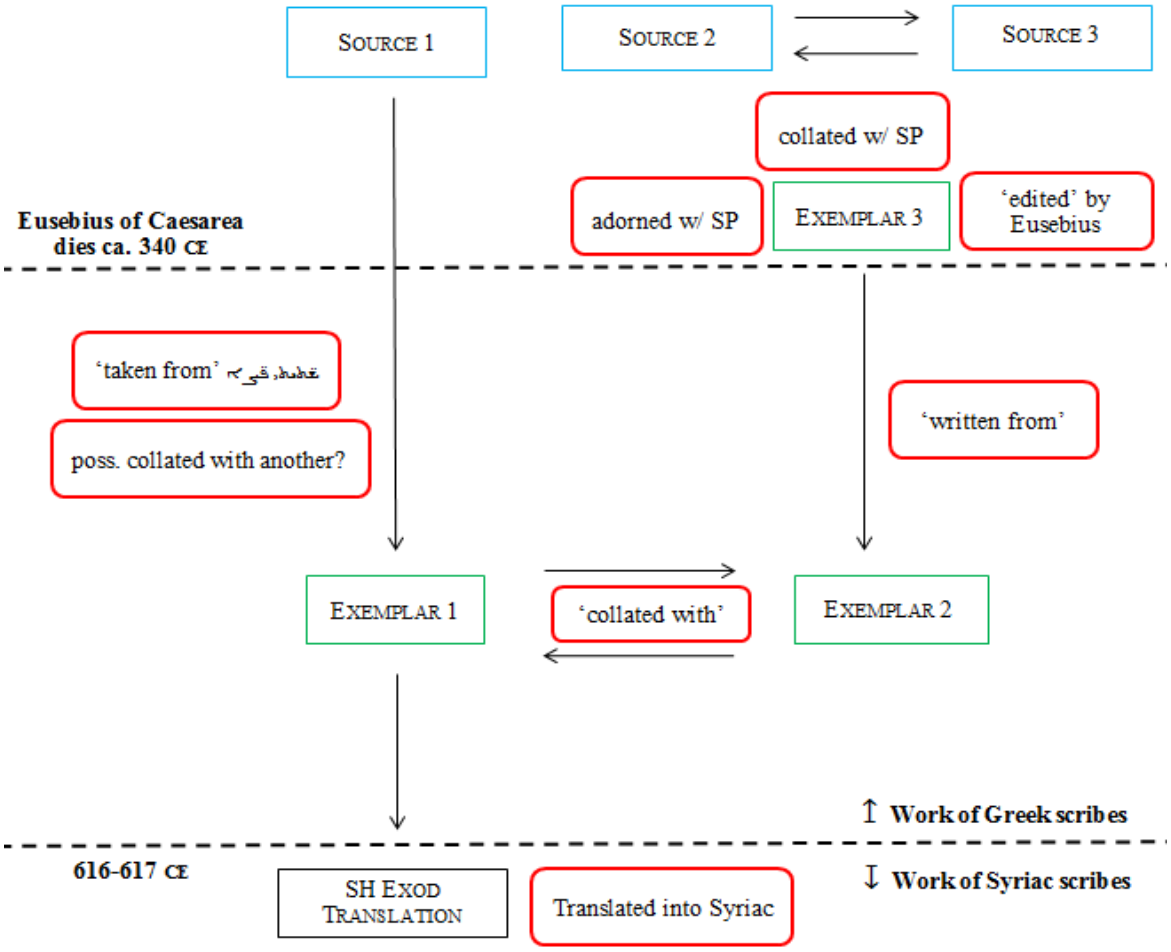


Figure 2.2.2: Hypothetical MS Stemma according to the SH Exod Colophon

[369] It is also possible that the Syriac misread the exemplar or that the Greek subscription was confused during transmission (ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲑⲏ → ⲡⲣⲟⲉ[/ϒ?]ⲧⲉⲑⲏ), though *lectio facilior* suggests this did not occur. The same could be claimed for Greek scribes' wrongly transcribing.

However, there are still lingering issues which philological analysis cannot clarify.

► Unknown time periods : Unidentified are the time periods (possibly with unknown intervening MS generations) between exemplars. For instance, the period between S^1 and E^1 is undisclosed, as is the period between E^3 and E^2.

► What was the nature of the $E^1 \leftrightarrow E^2$ collation? : Both are called 'hexapla' implying that the source text was ultimately the same. Thus the collation may have principally been for marginalia. Clearly this is the case with respect to SP. One may further posit that any *recentiores* or scholia transmitted in E^2 but not by E^1 were transferred. Perhaps, it was at this point that the μονον-materials extant in G MSS but not SH (→ **§2.5**) dropped out.

► What does E^2's colophon say? : Due to the rewriting process of E^2's subscription (see the next discussed point) only three claims can be made for E^3: 1) that it contained SP passages in the margins; 2) that its base-text was collated against the Samaritan Hebrew εκδοσις; and 3) that Eusebius 'edited' the exemplar, upon which much effort was expended. Sadly, the only fact from lns. **5-6c** that could not have been revealed from a close reading of the MS, is that the collation was concurrent with Eusebius' 'editing' the exemplar.

► To what extent is E^2's colophon an indirect representation of E^3's? : One might consider two possibilities: **(a)** the scribe of E^1 cited ln. **5** and rewrote the content of lns. **6-6c** (both from E^2); or **(b)** lns. **5-6c** are a rewritten summary of E^3's colophon, presumably précised by the scribe of E^2, without any citation of E^3's probable first-person, Eusebian colophonic statement. Unfortunately, a first-person snippet from the original subscription, often excerpted by subsequent Greek scribes in other colophons (*e.g.*, SH Prov, SH Eccles, 2 Ezra, Ezek [Q]), was not transmitted in the present case.

► Into which 'hexapla' was the SP introduced? : No claim is made as to who originally collated the SP against the Seventy. Moreover, it is unclear what distinction—if any—exists between S^1 and S^2. They may very well be the same basic 'hexaplaric' text except that, at some point before Eusebius died, the μονον-materials were integrated into S^2 but, apparently, not S^1. Why? Was S^2 a specially made edition of S^1 (= *Hexapla Maior*)? The colophon seems to suggest that S^2/E^3 was exceptional in this manner, which, by extension, leads to Ceriani's suggestion that the *Hexapla Maior* had an annotated Hebrew column (or section) collating SP against MT. While it is certainly possible that this *could have* existed (→ **§§2.4.2**; **6.1**), the SH Exod colophon does not *explicitly* support this hypothesis.[370] Namely, if the ܐܡܐ ܕܐܫܬܐ in ln. **5** is to be understood as the *Hexapla Maior*, then the colophon of E^2 would be claiming that Eusebius 'edited' not an authorized exemplar of the Eusebian/Caesarean edition (= E^3), but the *Hexapla Maior* itself. This seems unlikely.[371] Compare, the text from SH Num's colophon with respect to this matter (→ **§3.2**).

2.3 – Syriac Readings with Greek Reconstructions and Commentary

As the SH Exod subscription reveals, the μονον-collation was an important feature of the copy of the Caesarean εκδοσις which the Syrians translated. For there are a great many, very sizeable passages which the MSS describe as ܚܣܪ ,ܕܥܒܪܝܢ ,ܚܠܣܗ, as well as several collation notes (→ **§2.4**). In addition to these, there are also some scattered readings, of the same typology, which are extant only in Greek hexaplaric MSS; these are dealt with separately (→ **§2.5**). As the SH-derived evidence stands, the μονον-passages in Exod are as follows:

---

[370] Mercati sided with Ceriani's hypothesis on the matter (1941: 37, n. 2).

[371] Most scholarly literature assumes that references to multiple 'hexaplas' indicate the Eusebian-Pamphilan edition and not the Hexapla *Maior* itself. Recently, Ceulemans argued (2008: 108) that the prevailing opinion—that the synoptic Hexapla *Maior* was never copied (*e.g.*, Swete, 1914: 76)—should be abandoned. I do not mean to argue against Ceulemans's suggestion in general, only that the Exod 'hexapla' edited by Eusebius (= E^3) was not a synoptical text.

SP Passage	SH (and JExod)	Parallel
Exod 6.9א	SH^{+} (sub ※) JExod^{+} (txt sub ÷) Isho'dad^{Comm+}	Exod 14.12
Exod 7.18א-ג	SH^{+} (sub ※) JExod^{+} (txt sub ÷)	Exod 7.16-18
Exod 7.29(8.4)א-ד	SH^{+} (sub ※) JExod^{+} (txt)	Exod 7.26-29(8.1-4)
Exod 8.1(5)א	SH^{+} (sub ※)	Exod 8.1
Exod 8.5(9)א	SH^{L+} (sub ※)	Exod 8.7
Exod 8.19(23)א-ד	SH^{+} (sub ※) JExod* (txt abbr.)	Exod 8.16-19
Exod 9.5א-ה	SH^{L+} (sub ※) JExod* (txt abbr.)	Exod 9.1-5
Exod 9.19א-ז	SH^{L+} (sub ※) JExod* (txt abbr.)	Exod 9.13-19
Exod 10.(2)2א-ד	SH^{L+} (sub ※) JExod* (txt trace)	Exod 10.3-6
Barhebraeus$^{Scholia+}$ (post Exod 11.1) Comment on the SP's generally repetitive Plague Narrative (→ **EXCURSUS A**)		
Exod 11.3-3א-4-4	SH^{L+} (sub ※; ind at vv 7/8) JExod* (txt trace)	Exod 11.3-7; 4.22-23
Exod 18.24א-ו **Exod 18.25-25א-ג**	SH^{L+} (sub ※) JExod* (txt sub ÷)	Deut 1.9-15; 16-18
Exod 20.17א-ו	SH^{L+} (sub ※) JExod* (txt sub ÷)	Deut 11.29, 27.2-7, 11.30
Exod 20.19א-ד	SH^{L+} (sub ※) JExod* (txt sub ÷)	Deut 5.24-27
Exod 20.21א-ט	SH^{L+} (sub ※) JExod* (txt sub ÷)	Deut 5.28-29; 18.18-22; 5.30-31

Table 2.3: The μονον*-Type Readings in SH Exod and Derived Witnesses*
($^{+}$ = explicitly attributed; * = lack attrib.; all SH text marginal; **bold** are treated below)

Select examples of these are analysed below in an effort to better understand their origins as well appreciate their place in the *Textgeschichte* of the hexaplaric tradition.

2.3.1 – The Plague Narrative

The People's Complaint

Exod 6.9א] The first Samaritan μονον-passage in SH's tradition (cp. MS 58 below [→ **§2.5.1** at **3.22+**]) exhibits a mixture both of septuagintism as well as indications of being based on a Samaritan Hebrew source.

► ܘܥܒܕܘ / και δουλευσ[ω]μεν and ܠܢ / ημιν : Both constructions represent departures from the GExod parallel, being οπως δουλευσ. and ημας δουλευειν,

respectively.[372] As such, these (particularly the first) demonstrate a translation from SP which, while largely cribbed off of the G parallel, still attempted to render the Samaritan source. Thus, the G parallels were not simply excerpted without consideration of SP itself.

► ܡܨܪܝ / τοις Αιγυπτιοις (twice) and °ܡܝܬ / αποθανειν ° : Nevertheless, septuagintism still abounds. Technically speaking, את מצרים could be read as 'Egypt'; however, in accordance with GExod's general policy,[373] the gentilic was used, as is well attested in the versions.[374] SH's ܡܨܪܝܐ (twice) is only a lexical idiosyncrasy[375] and is not evidence for a different underlying Hebrew reading. As for ממותנו, the μονον-translator(s) did not supply ημας, a later hexaplaric correction attested by very few MSS.[376]

Exod 6.9א (attribution)] Codicologically, SH^L lacks both a metobelus and a marker indexing the passage to the running text. The latter was supplied in SH^V, though the contents of fol. 22a in SH^L make it difficult to misplace the μονον-reading anywhere but with v 9. This was perhaps a liberty taken by SH^L. As for the metobelus, both Ceriani and Lagarde saw the need to mention its absence,[377] though its lack hardly creates confusion.

► ܒܢܝ ܣ, ܕܫܡܪܝܐ / μονον εν η των σαμαρειτων : Both Ceriani and Field clarified that ܐܟܣܕܘܣ / εκδοσις is meant.[378] As above (→ **§2.2**), the abbreviated ܒܢܝ ,ܣ ܕܫܡܪܝܐ 'in the [εκδοσις] of the Samaritans' agrees with the language of both the SH Exod

[372] The first lacks meaningful variant, while the second has some hexaplaric correction in the MS tradition: ημας δουλευειν] ημιν δουλ. 707^{oII} 118′-537^{b} 527^{y} ^{Lat}Cyp *Fortun* 7 = 𝔐; tr 72^{O} 57^{cI} 56′-664^{f} *n* $30'^{s}$ 74^{t}. Note that οπως was translated by ܕ- ܕܡܝܬ in SH (Perkins, 1980: 38).

[373] *NGTE*, 7-8.

[374] The agreement with מצריים in 4Q22 (DJD 9:64) is circumstantial. The μονον-translation was taken from the G parallel as numerous examples make clear.

[375] See SH^B Gen 15.14 (especially Baars' comments [1968: 47] and Deut 28.64). PExod 14.12 reads ܡܢܚܢܐ ܡܨܪܝ.

[376] Wevers App[I]: + ημας $58'^{O}$ 509^{mx} = 𝔐.

[377] Ceriani, 1863: 153; Lagarde, 1892: 55, n. 10.

[378] Ceriani, 1863: 153; Field, 1: 90, n. 10.

colophon as well as the attribution notes generally, save the collation notes at **Exod 26.35א-י** and **29.20** which specify ܥܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܪܝܐ 'the Hebrew of the Samaritans'.

► citation : The partially quoted speech from 14.12 is from GExod (not SP) and was supplied to reference the parallel. A similar technique was used in the annotation at **Exod 26.35א-י**. Note also the verbal similarity with the attributions in Num (i.e., ܕܡܫܬܐ) which cross-reference Deut (→ **§§2.3.2** at **Exod 18.25-25א-ג** [attribution] and **3.3.1** at **Num 10.10א-ג** [attribution]).

Exod 6.9א (later Syriac tradition)] The present reading was mentioned in the biblical commentary by Isho'dad of Merv, bishop of Ḥdatta (fl. 9th century CE). His was the first exegetical work in the Church of the East to use SH, a western, Syrian Orthodox product.[379] Among the exegetical niceties plundered by Isho'dad from the margins of SH were a few μονον-passages, including the present, which he described as follows:

ܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܠܐ ܫܡܥܘ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܩܨܪ ܪܘܚܐ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܠܡܨܪܝܐ ܣܝܡ ܗܟܝ ܒܣܦܪ ܚܕ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܬܘ ܫܒܘܩܘ ܠܢ ܘܢܥܒܕ ܠܡܨܪܝܐ ܕܛܒ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܕܢܡܘܬ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܘ

knowing the precise state of the marginalia of Isho'dad's source, one cannot be sure.[380] Given his late testimony, it would be improper to use Isho'dad as evidence *e silentio*.

Second is Isho'dad's description ܗܘ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܣܝܪܝ ܕܝܘܢ: As Van den Eynde previously detected,[381] this differs from the citation formula used throughout SH Exod.[382] However, in light of Isho'dad's rewriting, the semantic alteration should not be taken as evidence against SH Exod's underlying Greek as written by the Caesarean collator(s).

The Plague of Frogs

Exod 7.29(8.4)ד-א] In what is easily one of the more entertaining parts of the Plague Narrative, the present passage betrays both septuagintism and a lack of familiarity with the Samaritan reading/exegetical tradition. Despite these typical, μονον-type features, the translation was clearly based on an unvocalized Samaritan source.

7.29(8.4)א] Both the presence of Aaron[383] and the use of דבר signal the translator(s) were using a true Samaritan source; MT and GExod lack these in the parallel.

► ܕܢܦܠܚ ܠܝ / ινα λατρευσωσι μοι : The translator(s) produces septuagintism here both in the use of the subjunctive but, more importantly, in rendering the third plural.[384] For both Samaritan vocalization and ST[385] understand ויעבדני as *wyābbᵊdᵊni* (third

---

[380] Salvesen proffered the possibility Isho'dad's SH exemplar was in fact one of those produced by Timothy I (1997: 231-32, n. 5; ter Haar Romeny concurs [2001: 505]). If so, Timothy's description of his copies may provide a hint of the state of the μονον-readings: ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܠܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܠܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܠܝ

singular), both here and in the parallel.[386] This uniquely Samaritan vocalization also occurs at Exod 7.18א, **8.19(23)א**, 9.5א, 9.19א, and 10.2א where the μονον-translation similarly disagrees with the reading tradition.

► ܡܚܐ / ΠΙΠΙ : The μονον-translation utilized וחוה for the *nomen sacrum* in conformity with common hexaplaric practice. It need only be mentioned here that ܡܚܝܐ does not occur in SH Exod's μονον-texts, while the situation is more mixed in SH Num. The implications of both ܡܚܐ and the inconsistency in Num will be discussed below (→ **§§3.3.2** at **Num 21.11א**), especially with respect to the Samaritan practices.

29ב] The plural ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܕܡ̈ܝ can reasonably be surmised as a septuagintism. In fact, GPent does not exhibit the singular, save Deut 3.16-17 (twice).[387] No Greek revisers supplied the singular.[388] Oddly, Wevers adopted SH^{V}'s ܐܠܗ ܕܡ̈ here in App^{II}. This is curious as it does not equal SP itself nor the majority of G MSS at 7.28 (8.2).[389] SH^{V} here is 'ex par' and thus secondary.

29ג] This verse in particular demonstrates the three main elements of μονον-septuagintism: lexical equivalents, syntactical construction, and preposition election.

► ܡܚܐ / εξερευξεται : The use of ܡܚܐ 'to vomit, to belch forth' represents a wholly septuagintized interpretation, being an imprecise translation for שרץ.[390] The

[386] Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 409; T-F, 667.
[387] See Wevers, *NGTE*, 106.
[388] Ceriani's comment "*quae ut reapse nil differeunt*" (1863: 164) is quite correct.
[389] εξαποστειλαι] + τον λαον μου 120′-128″. This is clearly 'ex par'.
[390] See SH Wis 19.10 (ܡܚܐ ܒܡ̈ܘ) where the literary context is the Plague themselves. See PS 1:757-58 and Brockelmann-Sokoloff, *Lexicon*, ܡܚܐ, for additional examples, some from medical contexts.

idiosyncratic equivalency was taken from GExod as traditionally rendered, in opposition to a more normative translation of שרץ.[391]

► בחל ° .סהד שלמ / και αναβαντες ° εισελευσονται : Verse **29ג** continues to demonstrate syntactic influence from the G parallel, here ignoring the *waw* and using a typical GPent construction (participle + indicative; *e.g.*, Exod 1.10, 2.2, etc.).

► Use of the plural : As Wevers previously noted, GExod "quite properly"[392] utilized the plural for בית (twice), חדר, שכב, and מחה, reflecting MT's collective singular. Presuming septuagintism, it is unclear whether the translator(s) consciously provided the plural in accordance with SP or if this was done as the result of GExod. The *yod* in Samaritan script is more difficult to overlook than in square script: 𐤌𐤁𐤉𐤕𐤉𐤌 𐤅𐤌𐤇𐤃𐤓𐤉 𐤅𐤌𐤔𐤊𐤁𐤉 𐤅𐤌𐤇𐤉𐤌𐤉.

► prepositions : The selection of prepositions for ב- strictly adheres to the GExod parallel, producing in v **29ג**: εις, εις, επι, εις, a genitive, εν, and εν, respectively. Apparently, the μονον-translator(s) could not be bothered to level these forms or vary from the guiding hand of GExod.[393] The cribbing is so rote that the translator(s) missed (?) the preposition at ובעמך, producing ܣܗܕ / και ° του λαου σου. Ceriani suggested that perhaps SH's ܣܗܕ had been corrupted from ܣܗܝ.[394] However, as the G parallel (7.28[8.3]) reads without ב-, presuming corruption feels forced.[395] As is typical of the μονον-translation's septuagintism, the G parallel's selection of prepositions nearly always

[391] See Wevers, *NGTE*, 107. *LEH* omits this occurrence of εξερευξομαι, perhaps by mistake (?). Muraoka omits this sole use of εξερευγομαι for שרץ (2010: 375) disagreeing with H-R's earlier judgment (491).

[392] *NGTE*, 107.

[393] Note Wevers: "Exod uses different propositions […] to show where the frogs go to, but why he did so is not always clear" (*NGTE*, 107).

[394] 1863: 164. This is of course graphically possible in Syriac.

[395] Cp. PExod's ܣܗܝ and all Tgs. As Ceriani pointed out, JExod (fol. 124ר) reads ܣܗܕ confirming SH's reading.

prevails. (Compare the use of εις *vs*. εν in the "Samaritan Itinerary" at Deut 10.6-6א-7-7א-6 [for MS 767, not groups d t] matching those in GNum 33.33-36 [→ **APPENDIX**]).

► ܠܬܦܘܪܡܣܝ / τοις φυραμασι σου : This specific rendering is also from the parallel as the Syriac makes clear. Compare that at Deut 28.5, where G understood the Hebrew differently.[396] The order of the parallel was corrected to conform with SP, presuming the hexaplaric text was not consulted.[397]

29ד] The verse continues the septuagintism in **29ג** to a fault.

► prepositions : Again, as in v **29ג**, the selection of prepositions is entirely that of the GExod parallel the translator(s) was using. Here is it found in επι (three times).

► omission of כל : Presumably, כל was in the Samaritan source text as no SP or ST MS omits it. Thus this omission too is possibly based on the GExod text, though caution is required because GExod transposes עמך and עבדיך, seemingly to level with the forthcoming references in 8.5(8.9) and 7(11).[398] Whether or not the translator had MSS with the popular variant 'correcting' this order is unknown.[399] Presumably, if the translator(s) corrected the order himself, he would have noticed the missing παντα found only in MS 458^{n}. For a theory on how small words such as this could have been 'omitted' as a result of the process of the μονον-collation itself, see below (→ **§3.5.2**).

Exod 7.29(8.4)ד-א (attribution)] Of the 14 μονον-attributions in Exod seven use ܐܬܐܡܪ (*ettafal* = φερω)[400] while the rest use ܐܡܪ (κειμαι). As discussed above, ,ܐܡ reflects εκδοσις.

---

[396] See Wevers, *NGTD*, 428.
[397] See App^{I}.
[398] *NGTE*, 107.
[399] τους θεραποντας] et τον λαον tr F M *O*$^{'-376}$-15-29-135^{oII} *C*$''$ *d* 53′-56*-246^{f} 75^{n} *s t* 121′^{y} 68′^{z} 18^{mx} 59^{mx} 76′^{mx} 509^{mx} 646$^{mx\ Lat}$Aug *Loc in hept* II 40 Aeth^{-c} Arab Arm Bo Syh = 𝔐
[400] PS 1:416-17.

The Plague of Flies/Ravens

Exod 8.19(23)ד-א] The nature of this passage is very similar to that in **Exod 7.29(8.4)ד-א** above, containing both septuagintisms and an ignorance of the Samaritan reading tradition. For discussion of the effaced reading in SH^{V}, see note in → **APPENDIX** and below (→ **EXCURSUS A**).

19(23)א] As above, both ܠܥܡܪܐ and ܥܡܪܐ (being pl.) show the translator(s) used a Samaritan source; particularly ܠܥܡܪܐ as neither MT nor GExod mention Aaron by name during the fourth plague.[401]

► ⲙⲁ / αυτω : Note the translation of אליו in the μονον-Plague Narrative:

	SP	SH	SH's Greek	GExod parallel
7.18א	אליו	ⲙⲁ	αυτω	προς αυτον
7.29(8.4)א	אליו	ⲙⲁⲓⲁ	προς αυτον	προς αυτον
8.19(23)א	אליו	ⲙⲁ	αυτω	προς αυτον
9.5א	אליו	ⲙⲁ	αυτω	αυτω
9.19א	אליו	ⲙⲁⲓⲁ	προς αυτον	προς αυτον (αυτω 376^{O})

Table 2.3.1: אליו in the μονον*-type Plague Narrative*

Despite the rote septuagintism of the μονον-translation, the translator(s) adhered to the GExod parallel only 60% of the time with respect to אליו. This, of course, presumes αυτω did not at one time exist at GExod 7.16 and 8.16(20). One might also suggest that perhaps ⲁⲩⲧⲱ fit the margins of the target MS better than ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲁⲩⲧⲟⲛ.

► ⲓⲛⲁ ⲗⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲥⲓ ⲙⲟⲓ / ινα λατρευσωσι μοι : Here too, the same comments concerning ויעבדני at **7.29(8.4)א** apply. The GExod parallel evidence is more convoluted. If the translator'(s) parallel read λατρευσωσι(ν) μοι (i.e., the word order was not corrected), fewer MSS extant produce the translation verbatim.[402] Thus, it is more probable the order

[401] See above note at **7.29א**.

[402] See App^{I} *ad loc*.

was corrected by the translator(s). Note further that λατρευση, which would have artificially reflected the Samaritan vocalization, is strongly represented in the MS tradition.[403]

19(23)ב] Both septuagintism and a lack of Samaritan tradition continue.

► ܠܐ ܬܫܕ ܠܐ / μη βουλη : The Hebrew אם אינך משלח (= SP and MT) is certainly not literally represented as it was in GGen 43.5 (ει [δε] μη αποστελλεις / ܐܢ ܠܐ ܬܫܕܘ [ܢܝ] ܠܐ ܐܝܟ). This is a septuagintism cribbed from the parallel.[404] מאן is simply not in SP here as in **7.29ב**, Exod 9.5ב, and Exod 10.2א.[405]

► preposition ܥܠ / επι (four times) and ܒܝܬܟ / τους οικους σου : Again, the choice of preposition adhered to whatever the GExod parallel had. This is not a disagreement with SP per se, but rather a consequence of the μονον-translator'(s) method. Against such GExod influence, οικους σου was produced in conformity with the SP text. Given the strength of the variant in the G MS tradition, it is difficult to know if the translator spotted and adjusted his translation accordingly or if the revised text[406] lay in front of him.

► ܟܠ ܚܕ ܕ / κυνομυιαν (twice, once in v **19ג**) : Perhaps the most striking differentiation between Samaritan exegesis and the product of the μονον-translator(s) is the very nature of the plague. For—as has been often pointed out since the SIXTINE—

[403] See App[I] *ad loc*.

[404] Previously, Ceriani rightly pointed out the GExod influence (1863: 172).

[405] See Wevers (*NGTE*, 116) for the rendition in GExod. Given the frequency of the phrase in the plague narratives later corruption 'ex par' is not impossible.

[406] App[I]: σου $O^{'-64mg}$-15-29-135^{oII} $C^{'}$ 121^{y} 68$^{'z}$ 55^{mx} 59^{mx} 76$^{'mx}$ 509^{mx} Or IV 184 ^{Lat}Aug *Ex* 26 Aeth Bo Syh = 𝔐.

Samaritan exegetical tradition[407] does not vocalize the Hebrew ערב as עָרוֹב 'pest' (especially, '[dog-]fly')[408] but עוֹרֵב ('raven')! This is of course a *very* different interpretation of the consonantal text. Noticeably, SH Exod, whose hexaplaric marginalia were very rich, lacks the σαμαρειτικον reading κορακα 'ravens, crows' (present in later, mostly catena MSS), despite listing the Three at v 17 (21) for the lemma (→ **§1.3.1.3**).[409] Thus, had the σαμ΄-type reading been available to the Caesarean collator(s), it is very unlikely that it would have been left out. As discussed above (→ **§1.2.2.1**), Kohn's theory, that this Samaritan understanding was somehow removed by Jewish revisers, is too complicated and entirely unsupported by evidence. Rather ܟܢܡܘܬܐ / κυνομυια was simply one septuagintism among many others. No further historical gymnastics are necessary.

► ܘܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ / και εις την γην : The phrasing, again from GExod 8.17(21), is not a literal representation of וגם האדמה (= 4Q365, 4Q14).[410]

19(23)ג] The guiding hand of GExod continues strongly in v 19ג.

► ܐܫܬܒܚ / παραδοξασω : The use of the verb 'I will render glorious'[411] is an interesting reading as it presumes, with GExod, the base root פלא instead of פלה.[412] Both MT וְהִפְלֵיתִי and the Samaritan exegetical tradition (*wāflīti*; ST: ואפרש [J and A; cf. Tg^{O}])[413]

---

[407] Vocalized *ʿārəb* in vv 17, 18, 19ב (twice), 19ג, 20 (twice) (Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 410); ST: ערבה (J [ערב for 19ג, 20 (2°)] and A, *passim*). Compare the *Tībåt Mårqe* I.8 (→ **§4.3**).

[408] 4Q22, whose attestation of the μονον-passage is fragmentary, reads וב[הער in v 17 and הערובּ for v 20 (2°). Presumably the same understanding was in vv 19ב and 19ג as well. Q365 reads ה[עָרוֹב in v 17 (2°; whether the plus is present is unknown as the fragment breaks off after י[ושמתּ in v 19).

[409] This was curiously not pointed out by Ceriani (1863: 171-73); Field did, citing Nobilius (1: 94, n. 26).

[410] Clearly a septuagintism as Ceriani pointed out (1863: 172; see also Wevers, *NGTE*, 117).

[411] Wevers, *NGTE*, 117; also Le Boulluec and Sandevoir, *BA* 2:34. But compare *LEH* and *LSJ, s.v.*, 2 (the latter of which Le Boulluec and Sandevoir criticize).

[412] *BA* 2:34-35; 127 and *NGTE*, 117. The discussion in the former is more thorough.

[413] Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 410 (vv 18, 19ג), and 225 (sub √ פלי; cp. those from √ פלא).

understood the root here as from פלה/י. Granted, the semantic or exegetical differentiation between the two could be and was blurred (*e.g.*, $Tg^{PJ\ N}$). Nevertheless, as is typical of the μονον-passages, the rendition of GExod guided the translator(s) when the base-root was unclear or a Hebrew word was ambiguous (*e.g.*, גור in **18.25ב** [→ **§2.3.2**]; דבר **Num 13.1ג** and **ד** [→ **§3.3.2**]). And often (as here), this was in opposition to the Samaritan understanding of the text.[414]

► ܓ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܝ / ? : Despite the SH's very regular translation policy, the more common proper names transmitted in SH were often those of P.[415] Essentially, the orthographic peculiarities of the Greek exemplar(s) were not reflected in SH as long as the P form was close. Thus, ܐ ܠ ܗ ܝ cannot be used to reconstruct the μονον-translation, though one assumes whatever orthography present in the μονον-translator's MS(S) was also reproduced. Discussion of this issue is more relevant below (→ **§2.3.3** at **Exod 20.17ג**).

► ,ܥ ܡ ܕ / εφ ης and ,ܐ ܦ ܣ ܛ ܐ ܝ / επεστιν : Both are septuagintisms, pointed out here merely as an indication the μονον-translator made no effort to represent עמד literally.

► ܒ ܡ ܨ ܥ ܬ ܐ / εν μεσω : While thoroughly septuagintistic, the Caesarean translator(s) curbed such influence within the consonantal framework of SP. Thus for תדע כי אני יהוה בקרב הארץ GExod is only used insofar as it can reflect SP. Because ειμι κυριος, ο κυριος πασης της γης does not fit בקרב (especially the double divine name), a more literal

[414] Compare the situation Exod 9.5ד. There Le Boulluec and Sandevoir (*BA*, 2:35; Wevers followed [*NGTE*, 125]) held that GExod was in agreement with SP's והפלא (vv 9.4, 5ד) as opposed to MT's והפלה. But, there guttural confusion obtains as both ST and the Samaritan reading tradition reflect פלי (Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 411 [vv 9.4, 5ד] and 225 [*wā̆fla* from √ פלי]; cf. ST). The μονον-translation in Exod 11.3א agrees with SP (*yifla* from √ פלא; cp. ST: יפרש) but only via the G parallel.

[415] See Wevers, *THGN*, 59; Weitzman, 1998: 324; Perkins, 1980: 348ff.

representation was adopted. Whether or not the θ′ reading (ܐ.ܚ ܘܫܒܝ ܚܫܘܟ SH^{L}) was used is unknown, though certainly possible (cp. παραβασις → **§2.5.1** at **Exod 23.19א**).[416]

19(23)ד] The μονον-translator(s) continue to bear the peculiarities of GExod.

► ܦܫܝܚܐ / διαστολην : The lexical choice διαστολη has led some commentators to suggest GExod read פְּלֵת in the parent text.[417] Samaritan exegesis accords with MT here, both in the reading tradition (*fă̊dot* = פְּדוּת)[418] and ST (פרקן).

► ܕܝ / δε : The graecism is clearly from the GExod parallel.

Exod 8.19(23)ד-א (attribution)] Nothing is unusual about the attribution. The verbal compound ,ܐܡ ܨܦܝܚ is found also at Exod 10.(2)2ד-א, **Num 21.11א** (SH only), and **Num 21.12ג-א** (SH only) reflecting κειμενα.[419]

2.3.2 – The First Parallels from Deut

Certainly the samples of the μονον-type readings from the Plague Narrative demonstrate the above supposition of Montfaucon, that the parallel passages from G were more or less adapted for the Samaritan readings. And while such is understandable when the parallel passage is in very close proximity to the SP reading itself, it can also be demonstrated for those passages whose parallel is found in a different book of the Pent.

The Appointment of the Elders

Exod 18.25-25ג-א] While the complete μονον-passage includes Exod 18.24ו-א, only the latter half of this passage is examined for the sake of the present endeavour. Unsurprisingly, as Ceriani previously noted,[420] septuagintism abounds.

---

[416] Cp. App^{I-II}: εν (ε 58*) μεσω 58-426^{O} and θ′, but not α′ (ܒܝܢ ܕܒܚܘܪ ܫܚܠܝ, cp. PS 1:665-66) or σ′ (ܒܚܘܪ).

[417] Especially, Le Boulluec and Sandevoir ("*diastolē, «séparation», est liée à une aporie textuelle*," [2: 127-28]); also *HALOT*, פְּדוּת, and literature, as well as *LEH*, διαστολη, and literature.

[418] Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 223.

[419] PS 2:2559-60; → **§2.4.2** at **Notation at Exod 29.20**.

18.25] Interesting for the verse is the choice of parallel by the translator(s). Clearly, the passage was Deuteronomic in origin, and the Caesarean collator(s) understood this. However, v 25 is also found in Exod 18, where certain departures from MT align with SP (*e.g.*, επ αυτων, και 3°). Despite these, the more significant omission by SP of —ובחר ישראל and the presence of SP's ושוטרים לשבטיהם probably confirmed GDeut 1.15b as the proper parallel, and the μονον-translation confirms this was the translator'(s) understanding.

► ܩܐܡ / κατεστησεν : Again, the agreement with GDeut is noted merely in contrast to the use of ποιεω in Exod 18.25, which Wevers properly described as exceptional.[421]

► ܗܘܝ ܪܫܝܢ / ειναι αυτοις and ܡܕܒܪܢ / ηγουμενους : The μονον-type translator(s) seems to have run into a problem with the GDeut parallel. Verse 15 lacks the designation ηγουμενους, instead offering ηγεισθαι. Thus, it seems he decided to maintain an infinitive, modifying it with the substantive participle taken from v 13.[422] This results in a kind of double translation, which while unnecessary, does communicate the appointments.[423] As for ܗܘܢ / αυτοις, Ceriani[424] earlier suggested MS 72^{oII}'s reading υμιν influenced the translation.[425] The overall MS tradition militates against this. One wonders if the μονον-rendering was perhaps due to reading עליהם as אליהם, though Samaritan script should not have encouraged it (𐤏𐤋𐤉𐤄𐤌 → 𐤀𐤋𐤉𐤄𐤌). As it stands, the μονον-translation cannot be accounted for by a specific, extant GDeut reading.

---

[420] 1863: 248.
[421] *NGTE*, 290.
[422] See Wevers, *NGTD*, 9, on the translation method of GDeut.
[423] Cp. SH Deut 1.13, (15): (ܚܟܡܝܢ) ܘܢܒܝܢ ܘܡܕܒܪܢ ܗܘܢ (ℵ)ܩܐܡ.
[424] 1863: 248.
[425] See App^{I}: υμιν 85^{mg}-344$^{mg\ s}$ (v 13) ; υμιν 72^{oII} ^{Lat}cod 100; cp. εφ υμιν *d t* 68′-120^{z} (v 15).

► ܘܢܨܒ 1° / και 2° and ܘܢܨܒ 2° / και 3° : While former agrees with SP, the latter is due to GDeut influence.[426]

► ܣܦܪ ܡܚܟܡ / και γραμματοεισαγωγεις : This neologism, exclusive to GDeut,[427] meaning something like 'scribal-magistrate' (or 'Torah-litigator'?),[428] certainly adheres to GDeut's exegesis. ST rendered the Hebrew שפרים, while all Jewish Tgs offered סרכין. The Syriac term, meaning 'book carriers' or 'interpreters of letters', is unique; the occurrences of the same Greek in Deut 1.15, 16.18, 29.10, and 31.28 are translated only with ܣܦܪ.[429]

► ܟܬܠ / τοις κριταις : Critics have differed on whether or not GDeut's rendering in 1.15 is intentional or mistaken, reading שפטיכם for שבטיכם.[430] Wevers seemed to believe it was done intentionally, "which in view of their designation as שפטיכם in the next verse is a reasonable improvement."[431] Dogniez and Harl were less certain.[432] McCarthy believes the confusion was unintentional, perhaps under the sway of the next verse.[433] As for the μονον-reading, confusion is certainly possible given 𐤔𐤑𐤟𐤈𐤄 / 𐤔𐤑𐤟𐤋𐤄 in Samaritan script. However, the translator(s) probably adhered to whatever his GDeut

[426] See Wevers' comments on this (*NGTE*, 290).

[427] See the immensely popular variants at GExod 18.21 and 25, clearly 'ex Deut 1.15' as Wevers marked them.

[428] The Greek is variously interpreted: "governors" (Wevers, *NGTE*, 287), «scribe-instructeur» (Dogniez and Harl, *BA*, 5: 114-115 and 55), "some kind of interpreters of the law is probably meant" (Wevers, *NGTD*, 10 [here under the influence of the α΄ ܣܦܪ and σ΄ παιδευτας ?]), "instructor, schoolmaster (minor official)" (*LEH*), or "minor official (military or civil)" (*LSJ*, *s.v.*, citing only GDeut). Modern GDeut translations use "recorders" (M.K. Peters in *NETS*) or "scribe-instructors" (N. King, following Dogniez and Harl).

[429] Compare, PS 1:1541, who appear to read the Syriac here into Deut 1.15, which SH^{V} shows cannot be correct.

[430] Ceriani, 1863: 248.

[431] *NGTD*, 10.

[432] *BA*, 5: 114-115. They tend towards the graphic confusion in Hebrew.

[433] See *BHQ* for her argument against it being intentional.

MS(S) contained, and it is important to observe that though α′ and σ′ corrected the reading (see App[II]), the μονον-translator(s) made no effort to do so himself.[434]

25א] The verse is a fairly straightforward adaptation of the GDeut parallel.

► ° ܗܘ̈ܢ / κριταις ° : For whatever reason the pronoun is missing. At what level this occurred is unknown. Parablepsis would have been easier in Greek than Syriac: ΚΡΙΤΑΙCΑΥΤΩΝΛΕΓΩΝ *vs.* ואמר הם למו הבו. An error by the translator(s) via Samaritan Hebrew is not absurd ואמרתי אליהם הבו. Only GDeut MSS 19[b] 799[t] omit the pronoun.

► ܫܡܥ / διακουετε and ܕܝܢ / κρινετε : Both are presumably taken over from GDeut 1.16. Although the Syriac cannot confirm the first, διακουω occurs only here and Job 9.33 in G. (See note for the reconstruction in → **APPENDIX**.)

25ב] The verse displays great septuagintism both in word choice and inflection.

► ܐܝܟ ܕܝܥܬܐ / επιγνωση and ܘܐܝܟ / και κατα : Septuagintism here appears to have dictated the inflection, which does not reproduce SP's (and ST's) plural.[435] The addition of ܘ / και is without variant in the G MS tradition.

► ܬܕܝܢܘܢ / κρινειτε : While it is tempting to suggest GDeut's evaluative translation κρινω for תשמעון was adopted by the μονον-translator(s),[436] the resulting use of the plural contradicts the parallel's singular.[437] When Samaritan Hebrew is considered, it is interesting to observe that תשמעו(ן) / תשפטו(ן) confusion is quite plausible in Samaritan script: 𐤕𐤔𐤌𐤏𐤅𐤍 → 𐤕𐤔𐤐𐤈𐤅𐤍. Still, given the overall septuagintism in the verse,

---

[434] Note also 4Q22 reads ם]בַּטִּיהָ[לש in v **25** (DJD 9: 98).

[435] See App[I] for the very strongly supported plural variant.

[436] Wevers believed this a "stylistic" rendering due to εν κρισει and the following η κρισις (*NGTE*, 11).

[437] App[I]: *iudicate iuste* (> G) Aeth[CG]; *audietis* [Lat]codd 91 92 94 = 𝔐.

evident mostly in the word choice (see υποστελλω below), presumably the GDeut text was determinative here as well.

► ܐܬܬܪܚܩ / υποστειλητε : The μονον-translator is clearly influenced by the parallel υποστελλω, here the only time in GPent where it translates גור[III].[438] For a different equivalent, also taken from the GDeut parallel by the μονον-translator, see **Exod 20.21ז** (→ **§2.3.3**) below. Again, the *recentiores* were not consulted: α΄ κρυφης and σ΄ δολιευη{ς}.[439]

► ܓܒܪ / ανδρος : The translation is correct but disagrees with GDeut's ανθρωπου.[440] It is possible that this resulted from the μονον-translator'(s) levelling equivalents in **Exod 18.24א-ו—18.25-25ג-א**. Of the four occurrences of איש in the joined passages, the parallel offers ανηρ for all save here. It is also possible that the legal context described here influenced the translator. Presumably the majority of cases would be between male litigants. Compare further below (→ **§2.5.1** at **Exod 3.22+**).

► ܕܐܠܗܐ / του θεου : The genitive is not so much incorrect as cribbed from GDeut.

► ܡܠܬܐ / το ρημα : For a discussion of the importance of ρημα / λογος (which SH did not differentiate), see the discussion at **Exod 20.21ד** below (→ **§2.3.3**).

► ܬܩܪܒܬܐ / ανοισετε αυτο : The translation equivalent αναφερω for קרב (*hifil*) is rare, being at the parallel and Lev 3.14 only.[441] προσαγω, προσεγγιζω, προσφερω, and

[438] Num 22.3 (φοβεω), Deut 18.22 (απεχω), and 32.27 (from גור[I], see McCarthy [*BHQ*]; cp. *NGTD*, 524). Le Boulluec and Sandevoir: "[υποστελλομαι] *est bien atteste dans les inscriptions d'époque hellénistique, au lé sens de «reculer» (devant un danger) ou de «redouter»*" (*BA*, 2: 239).

[439] On which, see Wevers' comments (*NGTD*, 11, n. 32).

[440] See Deut 1.17 App[I]: om ανθρωπου 72[oII]. The lemma is otherwise without variant.

[441] See H-R 84-85. On the latter, see Wevers who believed the GLev translator had והקטיר in mind (*NGTL*, 30).

προσερχομαι are more obvious choices. Additionally, Wevers found the extraneous αυτο 1° most odious as it has no counterpart in the Hebrew.[442] It too is a septuagintism.[443]

25ג] ► ܠܗܘܢ ° / ° τους λογους : Somehow the כל was lost. For an hypothesis involving the method of the μονον-translator(s) which may account for this, see below (→ **§3.5.2**). Possibly this occurred at the Greek level, due to parablepsis by either a Greek scribe or the Syriac translator(s).[444]

Exod 18.25-25א-ג (attribution)] While this is the first μονον-passage in Exod which corresponds to Deut, the attribution formula conspicuously does not point this out. In fact, none of the μονον-attributions in Exod for readings corresponding to GDeut parallels denote the phenomenon. This is curious as the attribution formulae for the Deuteronomic μονον-passages in Num *do* make clear that their respective passages are recalled by Moses in Deut (→ **§3.3** *passim*). In addition to this cross-referencing mentioned in the Num μονον-attributions, the corresponding passages in (SH^{V}) Deut 1-3 were also labelled by the Caesarean collator(s), being cross-referenced back towards SP Num (→ §**3.3.1** at **Num 10.10א-ג** [attribution], with ***Table 3.3.1.2***). If there were ever cross-references pointing back towards the Samaritan passages in Exod 18 and 20, these have not survived in SH Deut.

► Later hexaplaric witness : Despite any such lacuna in the MS evidence, Procopius of Gaza (ca. 475-ca. 538 CE) produced a Samaritan cross-reference related to this precise passage:

Deut 1.9-15 & 16-18 (cf. Exod 18.24א-ו–18.25א-ג)	Procopius (also Cat^{Nic}) (> $SH^{[V]}$)
Procopius' *scholion*, ind at Deut 1.9 (PG 87/1.896; Cat^{Nic} [1/3.1424, sub **ΠΡΟΚΟΠΟΥ]): Ου δυνησομαι μονος φερειν υμας. Ταυτα εν τη Εξοδω προσκειται τοις Σαμαρειτικοις	

[442] *NGTD*, 11.

[443] Previously identified by Ceriani (1863: 248).

[444] This may have been facilitated by the majority variant word order: ΤΟΥΣ**ΠΑΝΤΑΣ**ΛΟΓΟΥΣ (see App^{I}). Only MS 131^{C} omits παντας.

αντιγραφοις, οτε και ο πενθερος αυτω συνεβουλευσε μερικωτερους αρχοντας καταστησαι. Και καθολου, τα λεγομενα μεν ειρησθαι, μη ειρημενα δε φανερως, εν τοις Σαμαρειτικοις αντιγραφοις ευρισκεται και το περι των υιων Ισραηλ, ως αυτων ειρηκοτων τω Μωυσει περι των κατασκοπων. Εικος γαρ ην αποστατουντας αυτους τω Θεω, την γην εθελησαι μαθειν. Διο και ερωτησαντος Μωυσεως τον Θεον, μετ εμβριμησεως φησιν, «Αποστειλον σεαυτω ανδρας, και κατασκεψασθωσαν την γην,» ως δη απιστουμενος.

Procopius[445]: *'I will not be able to bear you alone.'* [Deut 1.9] *These are in Exod in the Samaritan* (Σαμαρειτικοις) *copies,* [at that part] *when* (Moses') *father-in-law advises him to appoint subdivision leaders. Generally speaking, implicit dialogue, while not spoken explicitly* [sc. in Exod in the Jewish exemplars]*, is found in the Samaritan exemplars. The same happens in the* [pericope] *about the sons of Israel, when they had talked to Moses about the spies* [Num 13]*. For it was probable they* [the people] *were spurning God,*[446] *wanting to learn about the land. And thus, when Moses asked God, with indignation* [God] *said, 'Send for yourself men and they shall spy out the land'* [Num 13.3]*, as if he* [i.e., Moses] *disbelieved.* [In other words, it is the people's fault—not Moses'—that God was angry.]

As the below will argue (→ **§§3.3.1** at **Num 32.1+** and **29+**; **§4.2.1** at the **ⲭⲟⲗ *scholion***; **APPENDIX** at **Deut 27.4**), Procopius' 'Samaritan' textual information does not relate to the so-called σαμ΄-readings (as is often supposed); rather his information reflects the μονον-data he gleaned from *hexaplaric* sources. The present cross-reference, notwithstanding its lack in SH^V, is very likely one such case. Most likely, Procopius did not construct his annotation based off the present μονον-attribution, but rather he utilized a Samaritan cross-reference from Deut now lost. This present *scholion* in fact transmits two of the three Samaritan cross-references mentioned by Procopius:

	$SH^{(V)}$	Procop
Deut 1.6-8	x^{*+}	x^{*+}
Deut 1.9-15 & 16-18		x^{*+}
Deut 1.20-23	x^{+}	x^{*+} (at 1.9)

Table 2.3.2: 'Samaritan' Cross-Reference Annotations in Procop
(* = Explicit mention of SP; $^{+}$ = "in Numbers" or "in Exodus")

Judging by his jointly discussing the latter two, one of which SH^V *did* preserve (→ **§3.3.2** at **Num 13.1א-ד**), it is probable that Procopius was working from an hexaplaric Deut MS which still had all three of these notes. Unfortunately, it cannot be proven that the Deuteronomic passages beyond Deut 1-3 were marked with Samaritan cross-references.[447] Alternatively, it could be that the Caesarean collator'(s) desire to cross-reference SP Exod

[445] Translations of Procopius provided here were made in consultation with the Latin in PG.
[446] The Latin in PG renders this clause "*eos diffidentes Deo*", presumably in light of απιστουμενος.
[447] I.e., the corresponding passages in Deut 5, 11, 18, and 27 were apparently not supplied with any such notes.

and Num with (common) Deut was limited to the Mosaic speech in chh 1-3 only, and Procopius had recourse to a copy of hexaplaric Exod with the μονον-passage in ch 18. For a linguistic discussion of the first Procopian Samaritan cross-references, see discussion below (→ **§3.3.1** at **Num 10.10א-ג** [attribution]).

2.3.3 – The Samaritan Decalogue

Without doubt, the most important μονον-passages in the hexaplaric tradition of Exod are those found in ch 20—particularly the so-called Samaritan Tenth Commandment (or "Gerizim florilegium"), that detailing the mandate to build the altar on Mount Gerizim after entering the Promised Land.

Samaritan Tenth Commandment (*Das Garizimgebot*)

Exod 20.17(13)ו-א (Samaritan Considerations)] Before examining the passage's textual minutiae, there are two external, religio-canonical issues germane to the background of this specific μονον-reading, both of which concern the history of the SP itself and the Caesarean collator'(s) understanding of his *Vorlage*.

► 4Q22's witness : As described above (→ **§1.1.2**), text-critical scholarship on the place of the SP in the *Textgeschichte* of the Pent has generally regarded this passage as *the* Samaritan contribution *par excellence* in excess of, or in addition to, a pre-existent pre-Samaritan text-type which the Gerizim-centred community, at some point, adopted as their own. This theory was developed from the work of P. Skehan, who argued that **Exod 20.17(13)ו-א** could *not* be read into any tenable reconstruction of 4Q22. While throughout the Plague Narrative the μονον-readings show some limited textual differentiation[448] from

[448] Compare the following culled from the μονον-readings in Exod:

ויאמרו (7.18א)]]וי[א]ומר 4Q22 (Sanderson reconstructs without ואהרן [DJD 9: 75; 1986: 215-16])

ביאר (18ג)]]בת[וך היאר 4Q22 (= v 18)

Somewhere in **7.29(8.4)ד-א**]○]בכל[ו 4Q20 (→ **§2.3.1**)

the pre-Samaritan texts, it is this passage, along with the variations from the pre-Samaritan witnesses in **Exod 20.21(17)א-ט** (see below), which confirms the incontestable connection between the hexaplaric μονον-translation and the canonical SP extant in medieval codices. Thus, despite the typical, rote septuagintism, the passage's very presence is 'Samaritan' in that this florilegium is unique to the canonical SP when compared to the pre-Samaritan data. This confirms the claims of the SH Exod colophon (→ **§2.2**) and assists in illustrating the state of SP at the time of the Caesarean collation (→ **§4.3**).

► The Samaritans' *Tenth* Commandment:[449] There is, however, one very substantial problem in attempting to form secure historical conclusions based on the hexaplaric data; namely, did the Caesarean collator(s) recognize that **Exod 20.17(13)ו-ד** = **Deut 5.21(17)ח-ה** was understood by the Samaritans as the *Tenth* Commandment?[450] Or, alternatively stated, was the enumeration of the Decalogue exhibited by extant Samaritan MSS (cf. von Gall, *ad loc*) a later phenomenon, one which post-dated the Hebrew Samaritan exemplar(s) used in the production of the Caesarean εκδοσις?[451]

Here some caution is required due to the nature of the wider Christian evidence. For enumerations in Greek and Syriac Christian MS traditions are profoundly inconsistent (when they are provided).[452] Insofar as SH Exod is concerned, each command is

---

אנכי (18.24א)] > 4Q22

[449] Ceriani did not discuss the following point (1863: 258-60).

[450] For the traditional ordering of the Decalogue by various religious groups, see the comparative analysis by Bowman and Talmon (1951: 220-22). In short, the Samaritans reckoned vv 2-7 as the first two commandments with vv 1-2 serving as a preamble (see Kartveit, 2009: 291).

[451] Ideally, the Samaritan Decalogue inscriptions would resolve the matter as they include the *Garizimgebot* (though in varying abbreviated forms). Yet, scholars differ on when to date the various inscriptions, at times even resorting to the 'Hexapla' (or SH!) as a kind of external control (*e.g.*, Bowman and Talmon, 1951: 235-36; Dexinger, 1977: 132-33). Most Samaritanologists seem to favour an early date for the Beit-el-Ma inscription (1st-3rd century CE; see Baillet, *DBSup* 11: 867; Dexinger, 1977: 117, 132).

[452] For the enumerations of the Decalogue in G MSS, see Swete, 1914: 360 (re: CODICES A and B). MSS G^{O} and $W^{I\,n}$ (Deut only) lack numbering. Later, CODEX M enumerates both Decalogues (fol. 52aβ-bα; fol. 130bα-β). Peshitta MSS lack any uniformity whatsoever in the numbering of the commandments (see Koster, 1980, concerning PExod MSS). JExod's listing (fol. 148ר-ס) equates that of SH Exod.

assiduously numbered (1-4 in-text; 1-9 marginally) save the tenth; there the scribe of SH^L opted instead to use the margin to record the readings of the Three at v 17.[453] Altogether, the SH Exod MS's ordering best reflects that in CODEX M (fol. 52aβ-bα, marginal) and may very well be based on its Greek exemplar, though this supposition is impossible to confirm.

Nevertheless, no evidence from SH Exod (or JExod) suggests that **Exod 20.17(13)ו-ד** was understood to be a part of the *Samaritan* Decalogue.[454] One would certainly expect the special Samaritan reckoning to have been explained in the attribution annotation, or some other *scholion* attached to the readings, if this was understood. This expectation comes from the place of the Decalogue in early Christianity's re-appropriating of the Torah as ethical teaching *only*, specifically the use of the Decalogue, evident not only in early catechesis[455] but also probably in liturgical practice.[456] The Samaritan inclusion of the *Garizimgebot*—being strictly an element of cultic, ceremonial ortho*praxy* as opposed to divinely decreed ethical instruction—*as one of the Ten Commandments* certainly would have struck early Christian readers as odd, perhaps even shocking. And this should have prompted some kind of comment, even if only to polemicize against the notion that worship on Gerizim somehow fulfils one of the δεκα λογια (cp. John 4.20-24). As the evidence stands, however, any such notion is absent. Was it purposely left out by the Caesarean collator(s) or did their copy of SP fail to make this very important, para-textual distinction obvious? (→ **§2.6.3**) At this point, all that can be claimed insofar as the

[453] Such was Ceriani's assessment (1863: 257). SH^V marks the tenth commandment (fol. 39a).

[454] It ought also to be observed that Masius' transcription of the reading for **Deut 5.21(17)ח-ה** (→ **§1.1**) also fails to make this distinction. While his description was ambiguous, Masius' "*veluti supplementum decem verborum*" appears to correspond to something like ܬܠܬ ܠܚܡܪ ܕܐܬܦܣܩܘ ܡܢ ܫܒܥ [...]; but nothing from this suggests it was understood this was a commandment.

[455] For a survey, see Grant, 1947.

[456] This is based on Pliny's comments in his letter to Trajan (*Ep.* 10.96); see Kraemer's analysis of the term *sacramento* (1934; also W.J. Josling, "Decalogue" *DCB*, 1: 797). Use of the Decalogue continues today in traditional Christian liturgies.

SH evidence is concerned, is that the *Garizimgebot* was present in Exod 20, in canonical form, before Eusebius died (→ **§2.2**). There is no evidence it was enumerated as in medieval SP codices (→ **§4.3**).

Exod 20.17(13)א-ו (with **Deut 5.21[17]א-ח** variants where relevant)] In accordance with those passages surveyed above, the present verses are marked by septuagintism, particularly so in vv **17ד** and **17ו**. This, in addition to the Samaritan-specific considerations just discussed, make it very difficult to propose the μονον-translator(s) had any knowledge of Samaritan exegetical traditions.

17א] ► ܟܢܥܢܝ / Χαναναιων : The designation 'Canaanite' is not in any version of the parallel (or variant thereof) including SP Deut. It is thus an entirely Samaritan reading in which the μονον-translator(s) still managed to septuagintize by rendering with the plural.

► ܠܡܥܒ ܕܥܒܪ / συ εισελευση : Here, the translator(s) appropriately rendered SP in opposition to the GDeut parallel which has διαβαινεις, a translation more suitable for עבר than בוא.[457]

► °ܠܡܝܪܬ / κληρονομησαι ° : SH Exod lacks the direct object. Excepting a mistake on the translator(s), perhaps the Greek ought to be reconstructed κληρονομειν as in some MSS.[458] Then it could be explained as a short eye skip ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜ**ΕΙΝ**ΑΥΤ**ΗΝ**, possibly on the part of the SH's translator.[459] **Deut 5.21(17)א** (→ **§1.1**) represents the pronominal suffix ܗܠܡܝܪܬ supporting its original presence here.

17ב] The verse is in conformity with both SP and the GDeut parallel.

[457] McCarthy, *BHQ* and literature cited there; also Wevers, *NGTD*, 202.
[458] App^{I} and ^{II}: κληρονομειν (-μην 376^{O}) *O*$^{-426}$ b 321$^{'mg\ s}$ 509^{mx} ο΄ κληρονομειν οι λ' κληρονομησαι 344^{s}.
[459] This is particularly so with the iotacism in MS 376. Neither Ceriani nor Field comment.

17ג] The verse is important for its introduction of Mount Gerizim, the sacred temple-mount of the Samaritans. A great deal has been written about the place of Gerizim in the Samaritan textual tradition, particularly as it concerns the original reading in **Deut 27.4** (→ **APPENDIX**), the present GDeut parallel.[460] Discussion here, however, will centre primarily on the evidence as it concerns the μονον-reading in SH Exod and its historical implications.

► חבורה ברכה / εν ορει Γαριζειμ (= **Deut 5.21ג** → **§1.1**) : Field correctly retroverted, producing a *translated*, separated rendering ορει Γαριζειμ. The reading is historically interesting for three related, though separate, areas: **1)** the μονον-translator'(s) knowledge of Samaritan reading traditions; **2)** the textual history of the parallel, GDeut 27.4; and **3)** the specific form of the toponym contained in the μονον-translator'(s) SP exemplar.

1) It is clear that ορει Γαριζειμ, being both translated (as opposed to *transliterated*) and in two, separate words (in opposition to the form αρ[?]γαριζειμ), stands against discernible, historic Samaritan practice.[461] This is demonstrated from the preserved Samaritan reading tradition *(b)ărgārīzəm*,[462] the older ST tradition: בהרגריזים (J, *vs.* בטור גריזים A), and the majority of Samaritan codices, reading בהרגריזים (see von Gall, *ad loc*).[463] In addition to the Semitic evidence, two ancient, Greek Samaritan synagogue inscriptions from Delos read αργαριζειν in reference to the Samaritan Temple site.[464] This transliterated, and perhaps unified (?) form also occurs in the GDeut parallel in Gie (→

[460] *E.g.*, McCarthy, *BHQ*; Schenker, 2010; Ulrich, 2012.

[461] See Yadin and Talmon, 1999: 142-43, who discuss the practice at length.

[462] Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 423 (Exod), 525 (Deut 5), and 545 (Deut 27).

[463] Important is the unified form found in the Beit-el-Ma inscription: רגריזים[בה] (Pummer, 1987: 20-21).

[464] Baillet, *DBSup* 11: 860. Originally published Bruneau, 1982: 468, 470, 472-73 (photos); 469, 471-72 (transcriptions). Bruneau dated the first to 150-50 BCE and the second to 250-175 BCE (485).

§1.2.2.1). Thus, it can be held that the retroverted form ορει Γαριζειμ certainly fails to conform to attested Samaritan practice when making reference to their own[465] sacred temple-mount, and that the μονον-translator(s) either was unaware of this practice or had in his possession a *Vorlage* which attested the separated form, precluding him from producing the transliterated αρ—.[466]

2) Given the pronounced relationship between the μονον-translation and the G parallels, it is also valuable to consider how the present reading relates to the history of the GDeut 27.4. Does the present rendering suggest that the μονον-translator'(s) GDeut MS(S) read εν ορει Γαριζειμ at 27.4? While this is possible, the extant evidence militates against this suggestion. Certainly the μονον-reading is unrelated to that in Gie; and while the OL's *in monte Garzin*[467] undoubtedly agrees with SH's Greek, the bulk of the GDeut MS evidence indicates the GDeut parallel the μονον-translator was basing himself on read Ebal. This is confirmed by the Samaritan reading at **Deut 27.4** (→ **APPENDIX**), which can be assuredly restored to the Caesarean μονον-collation in SH Deut based on the joint witness of JDeut 24.7 (fol. 389ت), Isho'dad of Merv's *Commentary*, and Barhebraeus' *Scholia*, all of which attest to the reading 'Gerizim' in "the Samaritan ܫܟ ܝ of Deut" and each of which can be shown to have used SH.[468] As the μονον-collation generally provides readings which are *not* in G (i.e., μονον), it is more likely that the Caesarean

[465] Kartveit has recently argued that the αργαριζειν of the Delos inscriptions show the transliterated toponym carried with it "overtones of [socio-religious] identity" (2014: 467-68).

[466] While proper names in SH often deviate from the Greek (→ **§2.3.1** at **Exod 8[23].19**ג), the present case may, by analogy from the Harklean translation of Rev 16.16, be viewed as a possible exception to the general rule. The Harklean translated Αρμαγεδων ܗܪ ܡܓ ܕ ܗܪ ܡܓ ܕ ܗܪ ܡܓ ,ש, glossing in the margin ܗܪ ܡܓ ܕ ܗܪ ܡܓ ه (Vööbus, 1978, fol. 155a). Thus, it is perfectly reasonable to presume that *if* the SH Exod translator(s) had ΑΡΓΑΡΙΖΕΙΝ in his base-text, a transliteration similar to the Harklean's would have been used (see below).

[467] For useful analysis of the OL reading here, see Schenker, 2010: 106-08.

[468] Jacob of Edessa's witness is particularly effective in this argument (→ **§1.3.2.2**; **APPENDIX**). If the original SH attribution or *scholion* at 27.4 claimed that SP read *in agreement* with GDeut, Jacob would not have cited the ܫܟ ܝ ܕ ܒ ܗ as a textual authority for his reading as he did for the majority of the other μονον-passages he integrated into his recension. For Jacob, the authority of G was uncontested and needed no corroboration.

collator'(s) GDeut MS read Ebal, not Gerizim. This would then conform with the most recent text-critical conclusions on the matter, that Ebal was a proto-MT emendation, revised in Deut 27 against the claims of the Samaritans.[469] Thus, the Caesarean collator(s) worked at a time after the emendation had been introduced, and, as such, his MSS had already been altered.

3) Assuming the present reconstruction, this then naturally leads to the Samaritan source the μονον-translator(s) used: Was 'Mount Gerizim' represented as a single lexeme as the majority of extant Samaritan codices or was the toponym represented by two separate and distinct Hebrew words, perhaps with a word divider? The evidence from the present case appears to support the latter and, as such, follows the minority reading. It should be observed that the unified, transliterated form is attested by non-Samaritan sources. Among those septuagintal instances of this (or a similar treatment of הר) previously pointed out by Pummer (→ **§1.2.2.4**), he also discussed a number of other examples including the Pseudo-Eupolemos quotation from Eusebius' *PE* 9.17.5,[470] the account by the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (333 CE),[471] and Damascius (fl. 5th-6th century CE)[472] producing Αργαριζιν (-ειν), *Agarzaren*, and Αργαριζω, respectively, to name a few of the earlier occurrences.[473] These suggest that this toponym, though used particularly by Samaritans,[474] was also understood amongst non-Samaritans, *viz.*, Christians were adept enough to both comprehend and reproduce the form. Thus, presumably, had the μονον-

[469] Schenker, 2010; McCarthy, *BHQ*; Tov, 2012: 88, n. 140 and literature cited there, among others. Ulrich's theory (2012: 371), that neither Ebal nor Gerizim was the original reading, could still be maintained in the present reconstruction.

[470] Pummer, 1987: 18-19.

[471] Pummer, 2002: 111-13.

[472] Pummer, 1987: 21-22; 2002: 429 (cited in Photius).

[473] Another early instance is Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* 5.25: *mons argaris* (cited by Pummer, 1987: 21). Note also Αργαριζειν in Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* 1.63 (Niese[App]: αργαριζην A αργαριζιν (ιν ex ειν corr. V) MV αργαριζειν N γαριζιν C *argarizim* Lat).

[474] Here Pummer's argument, that the transliterated form need not necessitate a Samaritan source (1987: *passim*), is irrelevant as the μονον-readings are described as '*only*' (حلسمد) Samaritan.

translator(s) seen בהרגריזים without a word divider, he should have had the capability to produce ϵNAPΓAPIZϵIM (-ZJM), which then could have ably been rendered ܒܓܪ(ܝ)ܙ̈ܝܡ by the SH Exod translator(s).

All of this, of course, presumes that the translator(s) did not simply take the form from GDeut 27.12, or some other place attesting the name (*e.g.*, GDeut 11.29, GJosh 8.33; Eusebius' *Onomasticon*). If this was the case, then the μονον-type evidence from Deut 27.4 and both Decalogues should be thrown out with respect to this last point of discussion.

17ד] ► ܡܢ / εκ : The preposition is a septuagintism in accordance with GDeut 27.5.[475]

17ה] ► ܚܣܕܐ : As a point of interest for the Syriac only, Masius recorded ܚܣܕܢܐ in **Deut 5.21ו** (→ **§1.1**).[476] Both are synonyms and do not represent different Greek. Of the three occurrences of ολοκληρος in GPent, SH translates those at Deut 16.9 and 27.6 with ܚܣܕܢܐ (ܚܕ- in 16.9), while Lev 23.15 utilized ܚܣܕܐ. Different Syriac translators are likely responsible.

► ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ / ΠΠΙ τω θεω: The dative, as Ceriani earlier observed,[477] is due to GDeut influence. The use of ܐܠܗܐ / ΠΠΙ in this passage is curious with respect to **Deut 5.21(17)א-ח** (→ **§1.1**). Five times in the present passage ܐܠܗܐ / ΠΠΙ is used, while ܡܪܝܐ / κυριος is found for the corresponding *nomina sacra* in the Masian excerpt. Given the likelihood that this was recorded *within* the SH Deut colophon (→ **§1.1**), it is likely that the ΠΠΙ's were changed to $\overline{\text{κc}}$ for the sake of saving space (→ **§§3.3.1** at **Num 10.10א**;

[475] Ceriani, 1863: 259; also Wevers, *NGTD*, 417. Ironically, only Gie omits εκ.
[476] *CS* col. 286.
[477] 1863: 259. Ceriani observed that MS 75^{n} read $\overline{\text{κυ}}$ του $\overline{\text{θυ}}$ σου, to which may be added MSS 799^{t} Gie Arm (see App^{l}).
Wevers, *NGTD*, 417.

Table 3.3.2.2 at **21.11א**). Thus, while there is some small evidence suggesting that the Greek underlying both the present passage and that of **Deut 5.21(17)א-ח** was different (*e.g.*, ܟܠܥ ܟܕܡ [s. sey.], ܦܟ?, ܗܠܠ ܟܕܘ),[478] the ܦܥ / ΠΙΠΙ :: ܟܘ / κυριος variance is not one of them.[479]

17ו] The verse contains much more septuagintism than the others, some of which presumably should not have gone uncorrected by a Samaritan or Hebrew speaker.

► ܟܫܥ ܟܫ / θυσιαν ειρηνικην : The difficulty obtains in both the use of ܟܫܥ and the singular, the latter of which hardly translates SP's plural ܝܡܝܫ.[480] As Ceriani reasoned, the current reading probably comes from both the GDeut parallel and the *recentiores*.[481] Undoubtedly, in accordance with the μονον-translator'(s) usual procedure the GDeut parallel was consulted in the first instance, resulting in the singular. Then perhaps σωτηριου was judged as improper for √שלם prompting the translator to consult the Three. By analogy from those preserved at Lev 3,[482] it is plausible that they read similarly in GDeut 27 or another analogous context (*e.g.*, Exod 20.24, Lev 3 and 7, etc.) familiar to the translator(s).

► ܐܡ ܟܘܗ / το ορος εκεινο : 'That mountain' is unique to the Samaritan reading.

---

[478] The omission of ܟ from SH Deut 5.21ח is not evidence of different Greek (so Perkins, 1980: 88). SH^{M}'s ܗܠܠ ܐܡ ܟܟ (v 17א) may betray αυτος (see Perkins, 1980: 127); no MS evidence supports it (see App^{I} *ad loc*)

[479] Another Syriac based variation is the alteration of ܗܠܠ instead producing the simplex ܗܡܟ. This rote change may be due to a *Syriac* scribe wanting to save space .

[480] While the loss of a *seyame* is hardly unimaginable, the same singular is also recorded by Masius (**Deut 5.21ו**). JExod's plural resulted from Jacob's blending with the PDeut parallel.

[481] 1863: 259.

[482] See App^{II} Lev 3.1, 6; 7.1, 4. See Wevers, *NGTL*, 24, n. 1 where he follows Harlé and Pralon, *BA*, 3: 37.

► ואחיכ / Χανααν (= **Deut 5.21ח**) : As with the previous gentilic in v **17א**, the GDeut 11.30 parallel influenced the μονον-translator(s).[483] Compare the Three preserved in SH at the parallel.

► ואחרי שמשו / δυσμων ηλιου (= **Deut 5.21ח**) : While in agreement with SP and the GDeut parallel, note that Aquila's literalism (App[II]: α΄ εισοδου M) was *not* adopted.

► אל מבוא (≠ בואה **Deut 5.21ח**)[484] / επι δυσμων : The septuagintism here reflects a confusion between √ערב[V] 'to set (the sun)' → ערב[I] 'sunset' and ערבה[III] 'steppe'.[485] Wevers argued the GDeut translator "was probably misled by the context in which οδον δυσμων ηλιου had just been mentioned."[486] Compare **Num 10.10ב** below (→ **§3.3.1**).

► אצל (= JExod) / παρα (or προς?) : The reading preserved by Masius in **Deut 5.21ו** אצלה ואת בהמתה (→ **§1.1**) has the more usual (or more correct) form, reflecting the parallel. If the change to Field's retroversion is maintained (see note → **APPENDIX**), it departed from the parallel; H-R lists only that occurrence for πλησιον representing אצל.[487] One might suggest that perhaps the translator(s) read the Hebrew as אל instead of אצל (which may support retroverting προς). But this is unlikely since צ in Samaritan script 𐤑 is quite distinct. Thus SH's אצל likely reflects παρα (cp. GGen 39.15, Lev 1.16, Deut 16.21, et al).[488]

---

[483] Ceriani: "[…] *LXX videntur non animadvertisse literam* י *in fine vocis* הכנעני *ac male reddiderunt locum*" (1863: 259). Also, Wevers, *NGTD*, 203.

[484] According to Perkins' study, the SH's use of אל here might reflect προς , περι, or επι (1980: 83, 93; cp. PS 1:279).

[485] Wevers, *NGTD*, 203. Ceriani argued similarly (1863: 259). Compare the data listed in *LEH*, δυσμαι (ref. Num 22.1). This too opposes the extant Aquila reading from SH (אל מבוא השמש), which Wevers retroverts as εν ομαλει (203, n. 49).

[486] *NGTD*, 203.

[487] H-R 1148.

[488] See App[I]: *adfinem quercus altam* [Lat]cod 100. See below note.

► 𐤓𐤄𐤉 𐤄𐤋𐤋𐤄 / την δρυν την υψηλην : The most profound element of septuagintism is 𐤓𐤄𐤉, and it is very difficult to see the μονον-translator'(s) rendering as coming from an understanding independent of GDeut's.[489] Representation of אלוני מורה / אלון מורא was quite diverse in Antiquity, as the Tgs and *recentiores* demonstrate.[490] Presumably, at least the Three would have been available to the translator(s), who opted rather to adhere to GDeut's reckoning. Certainly a Samaritan, informant or convert, would not have produced the μονον-translation.[491]

► 𐤔𐤊𐤌 𐤅𐤔𐤊𐤌𐤄 (≠ 𐤔𐤊𐤌 וסמוכ **Deut 5.21ח**)[492] / εχομενον του Συχεμ : While there was no GDeut parallel to crib, unquestionably the μονον-translator's treatment of מול parallels that of מול הגלגל.[493] The directional modifier 'מול Shechem' is only found in SP.

Exod 20.17(13)ו-א (attribution)] The same comments outlined above concerning the attribution note at **Exod 18.25ג-א** (→ **§2.3.2**) apply here as well, both with respect to the interpretation of the annotation itself and the lack of any corresponding cross-references in the Caesarean εκδοσις in Deut 11 and/or 27. Note that the excerpts from the catena and Procopius discussing SP reading Gerizim in **Deut 27.4** (→ **APPENDIX**) make no reference to those passages being repeated in SP Exod 20.

---

[489] Wevers held that G perhaps metathesized מרה → רמה in an attempt "to make sense out of the name" (*NGTD*, 204); see also his comments on the understandings in Gen 12.6 (*NGTG*, 166, with n. 11). McCarthy called Wevers' construal of GDeut "attractive" (*BHQ*).

[490] For a complete outline of the diverse understandings of אלוני מורה / אלון מורא, see McCarthy's discussion (*BHQ*).

[491] N.B., *contra* ST: מישר חזבה 'plain of vision' (A and J; cf. Tg^N).

[492] One gets the impression that the Greek prepositions modifying 'oak' and 'Shechem' were reversed somehow in **Deut 5.21ח**. (Why would the original μονον-translation have differed on two renderings of מול in such close proximity?) Whatever the case, **Deut 5.21ח** reflects either εγγυς (Perkins, 1980: 75) or πλησιον (see the notes → **APPENDIX** on 𐤀𐤋 in v **17ו**).

[493] So Ceriani, 1863: 259.

A Prophet Like Moses

Exod 20.21א-ט (17א-ט)] As before, the μονον-translation's rote septuagintism is demonstrated here both in lexical decisions and deviations from SP which agree with GDeut. Additionally, with respect to the pre-Samaritan text-type, the present exhibits continued disagreement, especially with the text form represented by 4Q158. Aside from whatever one may reconstruct just previous to v **21ג**, both הלבב (**21ב**) and או אשר (**21ה**) disagree with μονον-reading. Lastly, in accordance with the best reconstruction of its fragments, 4Q158 places the corresponding request for the prophet, i.e., Exod 20.19א-ד (15א), *before* the end of the Decalogue, not after as SP and μονον-collation.[494] Further, the ostensible agreements with 4Q175 (וידבר [21א],לאמור [21א], כול [21ב], דברי [21ד], and הנבי [21ד]) are balanced by a couple of discrepancies (שמעת [21א] and כול [21ג]). Unless 4Q175 was Samaritan, the agreement with the present passage should be viewed as circumstantial.[495]

21א] ► 𐤋𐤃𐤁𐤓 / και ελαλησε and 𐤀𐤌𐤓 / λεγων : Both are veritable evidence of the translator'(s) use of a SP MS, as the lexical disagreement with the former (*vs.* אמר) and the lack of the latter in all parallel textual witnesses[496]—including SP Deut—attests, save 4Q175 which reads both here with SP and the μονον-passage.

[494] On 4Q158's rearrangement, see Zahn, 2011: 63-67.

[495] See Fitzmyer's discussion of the "Septuagintal tendency" of 4QTestimonia (1957: 536-37 and literature). Such likely renders agreement between the μονον-passage and 4Q175 coincidental, especially as the μονον-translation is otherwise shown to septuagintize, not based on some Hebrew text other than SP, but by means of cribbing the GDeut parallel. Therefore, both the μονον-passage and 4Q175 produce 'septuagintized' readings but by different means.

[496] וידבר (**21א**)] ויאמר (Deut 5.28) MT 4Q41 4Q129 4Q135 G P V $Tg^{O\ N\ PJ}$ CG^{D}; 4Q137 is reconstructed [ו]ואמר. None include לאמר where extant, though Tg^{N} CG^{D} add אמר משה after לי.

► ܟܠܝ ̈ ܝ ̈ ܐ / ορθως : The rendering exclusively reflects the septuagintal technique of translating יטב adverbially against the verbal renditions of the *recentiores*.[497]

21ב] ► ܗܕܐ / ουτως and -ן ܗܕܐ / ταυτην : Wevers discussed GDeut's treatment of MT/SP's זה, which was translated adverbially: ουτως (την καρδιαν αυτων …).[498] The μονον-translator(s) adopted this but mechanically. Thus, when this same זה was seen *after* לבבם in SP, it was translated again leading to a second 'this'. However, it does not truly represent a second זה but is merely a by-product of the translator'(s) cribbing GDeut *and* trying to render SP as he read it. As such, this double attestation for זה is both a septuagintism and a true effort to render the Samaritan Hebrew text. Note also that the μονον-passage supports the order ειναι ουτως not the majority variant which transposes the two (see App[I] *ad loc*).[499]

► ܒܗܘܢ / εν αυτοις : Correctly identified by Ceriani as a septuagintism.[500] Wevers argued GDeut selected this equivalent for להם in order to avoid dative confusion with that which followed in the ινα clause.[501]

► ܟܠܗܘܢ / πασας : It seems reasonable to presume the addition as ultimately coming from the Greek scribe(s) or collator(s) responsible for the hexaplaric MS(S) SH Exod was translating. If it is unlikely that the μονον-translator(s) of the passage would have consulted *hexaplaric*[502] Deut when trying to render the *Samaritan* Exod passage, then

[497] Wevers, *NGTD*, 108; App[II] at Gen 4.7, Deut 5.28, and 18.17.
[498] Ceriani, 1863: 262.
[499] Wevers expressed uncertainty concerning which order was original (*NGTD*, 109).
[500] 1863: 262.
[501] *NGTD*, 109.
[502] See Wevers' App[I]. *Contra*, Ceriani (1863: 262), who seems to suggest so. There are a number of key variants where the μονον-translator fails to follow the hexaplaric parallel even when it would have equated SP (*e.g.*, **26.35ב** below → **§2.4.1**).

it is more probable that a Greek scribe included πασας out of habit from the stock phrase during transmission.[503] It is not impossible that the SH translator(s) could have committed the error. As such, concord with 4Q175 is coincidental and does not represent a variant Samaritan reading.[504]

21ג] Septuagintism continues.

► ܡܫ̈ܚ̈ܝ / μεσου : Whether or not the μονον-translator(s) text read μεσου as the majority GDeut variant is unknown nor does the MS tradition attribute it exclusively to hexaplaric activity.[505]

► ܡܠ̈ ܡܫ̈ܚ̈ / το ρημα μου : Technically speaking, the μονον-translation renders the unvocalized SP just fine, but as the GDeut MS tradition largely transmits the singular in opposition to MT and others,[506] this could also be considered septuagintistic. Wevers argued that GDeut utilized the singular "since it is God's spoken word [which is specified]."[507] See additional comment below (v **21ד**).

► ܟ̈ ܡܫ̈ܚ̈ ° / ° καθοτι αν : For whatever reason, reflections of SP's כל have a tendency to suffer in the μονον-passages, though normally this could be explained on the Greek level, be it the G parallel itself (possibly in conjunction with μονον-translator'(s) method [→ **§3.5.2**]) or successive scribal transmission (*e.g.*, **Exod 7.29[8.4]ד**, 10.2ד,

[503] πασας τας εντολας is found in GDeut 15 times (all after ch 6). Hence, the suggestion this was added during transmission, as opposed to the initial translation.

[504] See McCarthy (*BHQ*) for the fairly equally divided witness for (מצ״) כל at Deut 5.29.

[505] See App[I].

[506] The Samaritan reading tradition *dēbå̊ri* is ambiguous (Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 424; see his introductory comments [xv]); cp. ST: מלי (J [pl.]), ממללי (A).

[507] *NGTD*, 303.

18.25ג). The omission is probably due to the GDeut parallel which has surprisingly very little MS evidence including the form.[508]

21ד] The verse exhibits much variation from the SP.

► ܗܘܝ°ܐ / και ° ο ανθρωπος : The omission of היה conforms to the GDeut parallel.[509] No variant SP reading ought to be proposed.

► ܠܘܓ ܡܠܝ / των λογων μου : The present issue is problematic. GDeut followed a specialized practice whereby divine speech (ρημα) and prophetic communication of that speech (λογοι) were differentiated in the Greek.[510] However, SH reveals no knowledge of this specification, translating both λογος and ρημα with ܡܠܬܐ.[511] This is unfortunate as it prevents further analysis of the μονον-translator'(s) technique—whether or not he recognized this distinction from GDeut and sought to imitate and perpetuate it. The matter is further complicated since it is difficult to know precisely what the translator'(s) GDeut parallel read here, as the MS tradition is so varied.[512] In particular, hexaplaric Greek cannot factor into the present case; and if CODEX B et al, which omit των λογων αυτου altogether, represent the translator(s) GDeut MS(S), then the variation could be explained at the Hebrew level. The difference between the μονον-translation and the extant SP is but a single *waw*. It is not impossible that the translator(s) misread his Hebrew or had a MS which really read ܡܐܦܢ. Alternatively, confusion in Greek transmission, or the Syriac translator'(s) misreading of such, is also possible via *scripta continua*.

► ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܒܝ ܗܘ / εκεινος ο προφητης επι : The preposition is obviously based on the GDeut parallel (**7.29[8.4]ג → §2.3.1**). More difficult is the mention of 'the/that prophet'.

---

[508] See App[I]. It is interesting that nearly all of the witnesses are patristic, suggesting 'ex par' or stock phrase. See *NGTD*, 303.
[509] See Wevers' discussion (*NGTD*, 302, 118).
[510] See the discussion in Dogniez and Harl, 5: 41-43; 231 (Deut 18.18). Wevers concurred (*NGTD*, 303-304).
[511] Cp. G and SH Exod 4.15, 28, 30; 5.9; 18.19; 19.6, 7, 8, and 9.
[512] See App[I] (των λογων αυτου). Note the hexaplaric witness is split.

No surviving SP MS reads נביא (𐤍𐤁𐤉𐤀) as 4Q175 and GDeut; presumably this resulted from GDeut influence.[513] Alternatively, it is also possible that NT interference is responsible for ܗܘ ܕܡ whether alone or in tandem with GDeut. If the Caesarean collator(s) and the μονον-translator(s) were one and the same, as the extant *scholia* claims (→ **§§2.6**, **3.5**), then it is possible that, at the very least, Acts 3.23 may have contributed to the μονον-translation as a kind of unconscious Christianizing of the Samaritan passage.

► ܐܬܒܥ ܥܡ / εκδικησω : The use of εκδικεω for דרש is unique here in G; the verb is much more frequently used to render forms of נקם or פקד.[514] Again, the GDeut parallel was cribbed. (εκ)ζητεω would have served better (see App^{I}: εκζητησω 120^{z}: cf 𝔐).

21ה] Lexical equivalencies, prepositions, and conjunctions are influenced by GDeut.

► ܢܨܒ / ασεβηση : The word choice is clearly that of GDeut, used for זיד only in the present parallel and in 17.13.[515] Wevers' described this rendering as "free, but not incorrect."[516] Note that Aquila's use of υπερηφανευω was not employed.[517]

► ܒܫܡ ܠ / επι (τω) ονοματι (twice) : See above comments for επι at ܠ ܗܘ ܕܡ (**21ד**).

---

[513] Whether or not Field's εκεινος should be maintained in this verse is uncertain. If GDeut was cribbed, no extant MS reads εκεινος ο προφητης, and only B 106^{d} Cyr VI 768 ^{Lat}Cyp *Quir* I 18 Aeth read ο προφητης εκεινος (cf. Acts 3.23). Syriac ܗܘ here may correspond to the article; cp. SH Deut 18.19 where ܗܘ ܕܡ̇ equates ο προφητης. Field's is retained here in part on analogy of that in v **21ה**, which has much better MS support.

[514] H-R lists only this occurrence (422).

[515] See H-R 170; note Dogniez and Harl's comments (*BA*, 5: 231).

[516] *NGTD*, 285.

[517] See App^{II} (Deut 18.20): α΄ υπερηφανευσηται (+ *dicere* Syh) M Syh^{m} ([ܗ]ܠܡܗܕ ܕܢܨܒ ܗܘ).

► ܐܘܬܘ / αυτω : The variant, in agreement with SP here and MT in the parallel, has enormous MS support against Wevers' reconstructed GDeut.

► (ܕܝ ܐܡ)ܐ / και (ος εαν) : The reading conspicuously differs from 4Q158's או אשר.[518]

► ܐܡܬ ° / ° αποθανειται : The omission of the conjunction (conj. = SP MT Tgs ≠ PDeut) equates the GDeut parallel, which no extant witness in the MS tradition has corrected.

21ו] ► ܢܕܥ / γνωσομεθα : The construal of the Hebrew נודע / ܣܕܥܠ here accords with GDeut. While no SP MS (in Exod or Deut) spells the form defectively, it is but one *waw*'s difference.[519] The overall tendency of the passage suggests this is a septuagintism.

► ° ܐܠܚ / ελαλησε ° : The suffixed ܐ̲ܒܕ was not translated in accordance with GDeut. Compare the same in v **21ז** below.

21ז] Septuagintism characterizes the verse, especially with respect to lexical selection.

► ܥܠ / επι : See comment above (**21ה**).

► ܘܠܐ / και μη : As Ceriani earlier noted, the conjunction is due to GDeut infiltration.[520] No SP or ST MS supports it.

► ܫܪܒ ܒ / συμβη : συμβαινω is not an unacceptable rendering given the context, however, H-R lists only GDeut 18.22 as the only place where it equates בוא.

---

[518] Only MS 58^{oII} reads η.

[519] It is naturally a *nifal* third singular in the reading tradition: *nūda* (Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 117, 424). ST largely supports this vocalization: אתעכם JC; אתחכם BA; חכים E. Note, however, MS V producing נחכם which perhaps suggests either an unexpectedly defective Hebrew form, influence from Jewish Tgs (נידע Tg^{O} ^{PJ}), or perhaps even Greek infiltration. 11Q19 (col. 61, ln. 2) reads נדע.

[520] 1863: 262. See App^{I}: και 1°] > 509^{mx} Aeth Bo.

► ° ܐܠܠ / ελαλησε ° : See comment at v **21ו**.

► ܒܥܣܒܝܐ / εν ασεβεια : As discussed previously (ܒܥܣܒܝ / ασεβηση at v **21ה**), the present translation is not wrong so much a demonstrably septuagintal. As Wevers observed, the use of ασεβεια for זידון occurred only here in G.[521] Observe further, the μονον-translator(s) ignored the reading of the *recentiores*: οι λ΄ 'with haughtiness' [ܒܐܠܥܡܐ] Syh^{m} (*CS*, col. 128; see App^{II}).[522] He explained GDeut's decision: "[…] a word such as υπερηφανια [from 17.12] was not strong enough to characterize speaking a word which the Lord had not spoken […]."[523] Logically, once the μονον-passage adopted ασεβεω in v **21ה**, it would have been only natural to continue the cribbing as here.[524]

► ܐܠܠ / ελαλησεν αυτο : Why the μονον-translator(s) finally decided to translate the suffixed pronoun ܐܡܪ (cp. above) is unknown. Influence from the GDeut parallel, while possible, is unlikely (see App^{I}). Perhaps this specific instance was deemed necessary for the sake of specifying it is the word (*viz.*, that which the prophet claimed was spoken by the Lord, but was not) which is explicitly impious, as opposed to everything such a prophet might proclaim. But this is purely speculation.

► ܢܬܩܛܠ / αφεξεσθε : McCarthy rightly calls attention to the variation in verbal number, as well as the unique equivalent GDeut used here for גור^{III}.[525] This is one of the

[521] *NGTD*, 305 and 285; See H-R 169-70.

[522] I.e., υπερηφανια; see PS 2:4292; note also Rahlfs comments (1892: 23) .

[523] *NGTD*, 305.

[524] Compare ST: בזידנו J; בעצפו A; באתרשעו B.

[525] See McCarthy (*BHQ*): "The change to 2 pl. in [11Q19 col. 61.4], and in G [P] T[g], probably reflects an understanding that the implied death penalty will be executed by the community, not the individual." (See also Wevers, *NGTD*, 306.)

passage's most forceful septuagintisms.[526] Unmistakably, the parallel guided lexical decisions, especially where homonyms were involved (→ **§2.3.2** at **Exod 18.25ב**).[527]

21ח] ► ܘܝܬܟܘܢ / υμεις and ܠܒܝܬܟ / τους οικους : Both are due solely to the parallel. Wevers' description of GDeut's handling of לכם is interesting: "[LXX] found לכם awkward to translate and used an otiose υμεις to show its presence in the Hebrew."[528] Thus, in this verse the μονον-translation reproduced both a GDeut calque as well as an Alexandrian modernization (τους οικους υμων ≠ לאהליכם),[529] the latter of which obscured the nomadic life proper to the Hebrews' context in the desert.[530]

21ט] The cribbing of GDeut continues.

► ܟܠ / πασας : Whether or not the GDeut MS(S) used by the μονον-translator(s) already contained the hexaplaric πασας cannot be determined.[531] Certainly, he was capable of adding it, though his previous record of translating כל is spotty at best (see v **21ג** above). Barring more widespread influence from hexaplaric Greek on the μονον-translator(s), it seems best to reckon this כל as independently translated.

► -ו ܬܦܣܩܬ / τας εντολας και : Both the plural and the following conjunction disagree with SP (both here and in SP Deut). The first understandably adheres to GDeut's

---

[526] There are some variants in SP Deut MSS, and one MT Deut MS (Kennicott's MS 13), to which Ceriani earlier referred (1863: 262), reading with the plural. 11Q19 (col. 61, ln. 4) reads תגורו.

[527] Cp. ST: תמור 'you shall [not] fear [him]' (MS J); תמרע 'you shall [not] wither' (MS A); תבאת (MS V) and בגת (MS B) both 'you shall [not] fear' (so Tal, *DSA*, 1:84-85).

[528] *NGTD*, 109.

[529] App[II]: οικους υμων] σ′ (+ *in* Syh) σκηνας υμων 108[b] Syh.

[530] So Dogniez and Harl (*BA*, 5: 152). Wevers held that GDeut's lexical choice was determined by contemporary concerns as tents in the Jewish quarter of Alexandria would be "an odd statement" (*NGTD*, 109).

[531] See App[I] (τας εντολας); note the hexaplaric witness is divided. Presumably the *recentiores* would have read πασας. 4Q158 cannot be determined (at **21ט**), though Zahn reconstructs with כל (2011: 252).

"correct" rendering, taking the Hebrew singular as a collective.[532] As for the conjunction, certainly the GDeut parallel influenced the μονον-translation's prepositions and conjunctions. SP and ST MSS, furthermore, do not support any such variant. Perhaps it is possible to view Samaritan script as partly responsible: 𐤋𐤊𐤓𐤔𐤄 𐤀𐤕𐤌 → 𐤋𐤊𐤓𐤔[𐤀𐤕] [𐤀𐤕]𐤌.

► ܠܚܕ / εν κληρω : The use of εν κληρω 'by lot/portion' for לרשתה (or לרשת אתה) 'to inherit it' is septuagintistic.[533] This is particularly so in GDeut where repetition abounds and the phrase follows διδωμι 17 times.[534] Wevers previously stated[535] the form usually represents ירשה or נחלה; however, in Deut 3.18, 5.31, and 12.1, it was used to render לרשתה.[536] Observe also that the Samaritan reading tradition vocalized *alrišta* (= לְרִשְׁתָּהּ in the MT parallel).[537] Compare **Exod 20.17א** above and **Num 21.11א** below (→ **§3.3.2**).

Exod 20.21א-ט (attribution)] See comments for the attribution for **Exod 20.17(13)א-ו** since they also apply here.

2.4 – Syriac Collation Notations with Commentary

In addition to the μονον-passages added into the Caesarean εκδοσις, as described by the colophon, SH^L also transmits a number of collation annotations whereby the

[532] See Wevers, *NGTD*, 110. Compare also McCarthy's comment (*BHQ*).

[533] Wevers: "[…] in the context of God's gift of land, the set idiom is simply εν κληρω" (*NGTN*, 568 [for לרשת אתה in Num 33.53]).

[534] See Wevers' list 56 (*THGD*, 99).

[535] *NGTD*, 30.

[536] *NGTD*, 60 and 206. Wevers did not list the instance in 5.31 nor comment on this *ad loc* (110). Note that he judged the majority variant εν κληρω at 19.14 to be ex par (315; based on MS 848 [*NGTD*, 79]; see App[l]).

[537] Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 424 and 130; ST: למירתנה (J and A).

'Samaritan Hebrew εκδοσις' was compared to the hexaplaric text of the Seventy. These include notes discussing 'omissions' and one, large-scale transposition.[538]

2.4.1 – The Samaritan Text Transposes

First examined is the notice stating that SP places the instructions to build the incense altar (**Exod 26.35א-י**) in a location different from that which GExod records.

The Incense Altar Transposition Notation at Exod 26.35

Exod 26.35א-י] The incense altar notice is interesting in that in addition to the collation annotation, it also supplied some of the Samaritan passage. This too, however, despite its brevity, contains the septuagintism typical of the μονον-passages.

26.35א-י (attribution)] The reading is sandwiched between two halves of the attribution, producing the following form: **1)** Source at variance with GExod; **2)** present variant location; **3)** abbreviated reading; **4)** location of reading in GExod, demarcated by the verse just previous to the proper GExod placement. It is odd that the Caesarean collator(s), after having filled the margins with so much repetitious text, would have contracted this one. Perhaps the reading was abridged because of the somewhat cumbersome attribution note, thankfully no longer required with modern versification schemes.[539]

---

[538] Omitted from the present analysis is the annotation at Exod 22.4(5) (fol. 70a, top mg):

÷ ܚܦܝ ܒܗ ܡܫܠܡ ܡܢ ܫܕܐ ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܝ ܢܫܬܪ ܒܫܕܐ ܕܐܟܠ ܒܗ ܡܫܠܡ ܡܢ ܫܕܐ ܐܚܪܢ ܡܫܠܡ ܒܗ ܡܫܠܡ ÷ ܚܣܪ ܒܟܬܒ ܒܥܪܒܝ ܒܣܦܪ ܒܫܠܡ ܒܗ ܡܫܠܡ ܒܗ ÷ 'He shall certainly repay according to the field and its produce; with everything of the field which was fed upon': *This* [sentence] *was in the Hebrew, in a supplement*; *it is transmitted in exemplars sub obeli.* Ceriani believed that somehow a scribe had "incautiously omitted" ܡܫܠܡ ܒܗ (1863: 273). His suggestion is rejected here mainly because it contradicts the chief criterion of the μονον-readings (→ **§1.3.2.2**). Also insisting this was part of the μονον-collation, requires one to explain the translation's departure from the G parallel. Given the reading's presence in wider Hebrew MSS (*e.g.*, 4Q158, 4Q22, 4Q366, 4Q418 [frag. 172 ?]), assuming mistaken omission of των Σαμαρειτων feels forced. Probably, it is a Theodotion (or Symmachus?) reading which lost its attribution (cp. the note for θ΄ at SH 4 Kgdm 2.24 [fol. 14b RH mg, ind at ܡܫܠ ?]).

[539] Was this a decision made by the original Caesarean collator(s) or later scribes? (See below discussion → **§2.6.**) Strictly speaking, no Samaritan readings are provided in SH's tradition after the Decalogue, excepting this verse and a half.

► ܣܡ : Ceriani interpreted this as shorthand for ܣܡܝܢ.[540] Generally when ܣܡܝ is intended in the μονον-attributions, ܣܡ obtains as in those in SH Num (→ **§3.3.1** at **Num 10.10א-ג** [attribution]).

26.35א-י (Samaritan reading)] As Ceriani[541] earlier observed, the Samaritan passage is peppered with septuagintism.

► ܩܛܘܪܬܐ ܕ / θυμιατηριον (**35א**) : The reading is at variance with the Samaritan Hebrew (as confirmed by the Samaritan reading tradition as well as ST). The μονον-translation reads 'and you shall make an altar, *a censer of* incense'; however, SP's is a *hifil* participle מַקְטִיר (*måqṭər*),[542] *viz.*, 'an altar *burning* incense'.[543] Since the GExod parallel was insufficient to provide this, one of the *recentiores* was consulted, explaining the agreement with MT's מִקְטַר.[544] In light of the μονον-translation for **Exod 23.19א** (→ **§2.5.1**), Theodotion's reading may have been adopted, though the use of a different Syriac equivalent in Exod 30.1 casts some small doubt on this suggestion.

► ܡܢ / εκ (**35א**) : As before, prepositions often come directly from the G parallel.

► ,ܘܥܒܕ̈ܝܬ / και ποιησεις (**35א**): The Syriac punctuation makes clear that the μονον-translation, in agreement with the GExod parallel, construed תעשה אתו as introducing the next verse (≠ SP, MT parallel).[545] As such, και is unrepresented in MT/SP.

---

[540] 1863: 304.

[541] 1863: 304.

[542] Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 430, 247; also T-F, 681. Note that many SP MSS read defectively with MT; von Gall, who was widely criticized for adopting readings in SP MSS which agreed with MT's text (so Tov, 2012: 78), adopted the defective reading for his edition (see *ad loc*).

[543] See ST: מדבח מועדה אועדו (J; מתואד אועדו A) 'an altar of the burning of incense' (so Tal, *DSA*, יעד). Further variants: מועדה] מועד (VC); מועאד (B); מועדו (E); מתועד (N).

[544] See the hexaplaric tradition's strong support of θυμιατηριον (see App$^{I\,II}$). Observe that Aquila's reading (ܐ.ܩ.ܛ) differs from the μονον-translation (Wevers, *NGTE*, 489; Field 1: 137, n. 2).

[545] Wevers held this as a translational decision made to give v 2 a verb (*NGTE*, 489; also Le Boulluec and Sandevoir, *BA* 2: 305).

► ° ܕܟܘܪ / το ευρος ° and ° ܕܒܚ / το μηκος ° (**35ב**): Both pronouns are missing; this too is septuagintistic. The first may have been missed via parablepsis, but this could hardly have happened twice by accident. The MS evidence shows the hexaplaric text added both of the missing αυτου's—something the translator(s) did not adopt.[546]

► ° ܬܐܪܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܟ̈ܪ / τετραγωνον ° (**35ב**): Field represented the end of the reading with an ellipsis (τετραγωνον …),[547] implying the passage was truncated purposefully. As Ceriani observed, little Hebrew evidence supports the absence of יהיה.[548] The second half of the attribution immediately following ܬܐܪܒ̈ܥ̈ܐ supports this notion.

26.35א-י (the GExod anchor)] Lastly, there is the verse indicating the location where the corresponding μονον-passage is found in GExod proper. Ceriani pointed out the discrepancy between the text of the note and GExod 29.46 itself.[549] No known variant for v 46 equates the Syriac (see App^{I}). There seems to have been a blending of GExod's 39.45's verbal forms with v 46—a bizarre commixture. It is perhaps best viewed as a confused fusion of vv 45 and 46 by subsequent scribe(s) and not a proper textual representation of GExod 29.45.

2.4.2 – The Samaritan Pentateuch "Omits"

In addition to the annotation indicating a transposition in ܕܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܥ̈ܫ̈ܪ, there are two other collation notes in SH^{L} which describe instances where the SP lacks a given portion of text.

---

[546] See App^{I-II}. The pronouns were adopted in-text in SH's exemplar.

[547] 1: 128. They seyame is perhaps extraneous here (PS 1:684). SH Exod also transliterated the form (*e.g.*, 28.16; 30.2).

[548] 1863: 304; he noted only two Kennicott MSS (181 and 294) lack יהיה in Exod 30.2. Von Gall records two MSS missing יהיה, one of which records it in the mg (see *ad loc*).

[549] 1863: 304.

Notation at Exod 29.20

► To what portion of Exod 29 does the annotation apply? : Previously Ceriani explained the *scholion* by theorizing that the notation originally did not apply to the portion of v 20 to which it is aligned (→ **APPENDIX**); rather he argued that it may have meant to designate the SP's lacking v 21, which a later scribe confused due to the note's mention of ܣܘܟܠܐ.[550] However, his reconstruction is problematic for the following reasons: **1)** Verse 21 is not *missing* in the SP—the verse is *transposed*, being 29.28א.[551] Since the hexaplaric method of marking *transposition* is known from the notation concerning the incense altar (i.e., **Exod 26.35א-י**, occurring *before* this note in the MS), if v 21 was that which the Caesarean collator(s) meant to indicate as ܠܐ ܫܡܝܫ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܒܬܪܬܐ, the notation should not only have been differently expressed, but also probably[552] ought to have been in the margins at 20.29, a folio later, where the verse is actually located in SP. **2)** This is not the first 'SP Omits' annotation; the first occurs at **Exod 8.6-7 (10-11**). There the range of the passage SP lacks (in comparison with GExod) is denoted by unique in-text markers (ܣ ܠܨܠܒܐ '*cross*'). However, the present annotation is missing any such marks precisely describing the extent to which the SP omits. Furthermore, the ܣܘܟܠܐ (mentioned in both notes) meant to define the limits of SP's omission are not present in the running text of 8.6-7. Presumably, scribes understood this and made no effort to supply them or move the note to the nearest location already sub ÷. **3)** When the already established transposition and omission collation notes are compared, only that which alerts the user of the MS to an omission, states that text is 'missing' or 'not there'. The form of

[550] 1863: 323.

[551] Sanderson is confident that 4Q22 also witnesses this order; see her analysis of col. 34 (DJD 9:118).

[552] Would the note have occurred at the place where Samaritan reading is located, or the corresponding GExod location, if the latter came first in the running text? As there is only one μονον-transposition, the methodology of the collator(s) cannot be verified.

the transposition note does not state SP is 'missing' anything—it only transposes. Thus, as the evidence stands, there is nothing to suggest that the text of vv 21 or 28א was the subject of the note.[553]

Therefore, the question remains: If the present annotation, like that at **Exod 8.6-7 (10-11**) before it, meant to denote a Samaritan 'omission', why was the omitted text not explicitly demarcated as before? Why would the hexaplaric collator(s) alter the already established method of marking the text?

In reality, anyone reading the hexaplaric text is in fact reading two texts continuously juxtaposed, with which several other εκδοσεις were collated. One of these εκδοσεις in SH Exod was SP. As a result, when there is any ambiguity, the annotation should be viewed *within* its immediate context as it concerns the *constructed hexaplaric* text. For, the Samaritan collation was secondary, as the SH Exod subscription explains (→ **§2.2**). Thus, the text of 29.20 must be unknotted before the adjoining μονον-note can be clarified.

Wevers believed Origen was "somewhat lost" with respect to the first part of the verse:

> He placed the entire section about the sons under the obelus, i.e., as not being in the Hebrew. Then he tried to fix up the extra text dealing with Aaron by adding additions. […] What he should have done is to have placed του 3°… δεξιου 2° under the obelus, and nothing more.[554]

While Wevers' criticism is just (the hexaplaric reading here is cumbersome), the text as it stands can still be understood with reference to Origen's expressed purposes and *modus operandi*, *viz.*, **1)** to heal the Septuagint *with the aid of the recentiores* in order to

---

[553] Ceriani's attempt to explain the annotation came from the difficulty of the phrase ܒܥܒܪܝܐ ܣܡܝܟ. How could an obelus ܣܡܝܟ (÷ / ÷) be 'in the Hebrew'? Such would contradict the very character of the siglum. He suggested, in conjunction with his hypothesis that the note originally applied to v 21, that the MT and SP were collated against each other, and in this comparison, the MT was marked with ÷ where MT > SP. This meaning cannot apply here as the annotation applies to v 20 only, for the text sub ÷, itself = G ≠ MT(!). Ceriani's hypothesis, including the mention of ܣܡܝܟ, will be addressed in full further below (**SP Omits Notation** at **Exod 8.6-7 [10-11]**).

[554] *NGTE*, 474.

approximate the 'Hebrew' *and* **2)** to not omit any of the G text as he received it.[555] When Origen came to Exod 29.20, he surely took note of the divergent traditions GExod and MT transmitted. His duty and expressed goal, however, was to preserve both. This resulted, according to SH Exod, in a double reading (underline = MT only; **bold** = G only; my English here is meant to 'mirror' SH):

> And you will slay it, the ram; and you will take from the blood of it, and you will put it upon the lobe of the ear of Aaron. ※[θ΄]And upon the lobe of the ear of the sons of his,↙ the right. And upon the thumb of hand ※of them,↙ the right. And upon the big toe ※of them,↙ the right. ÷**And upon the lobes of the sons of his, the right. And upon the thumbs of hands of theirs, the right. And upon the big toes of theirs, the right**.↙ ※[θ΄]And you shall dash the blood upon the altar all around.↙

What must be kept in mind is that the Caesarean εκδοσις was meant to be an edition of G which comparatively represented 'the Hebrew' *and* G as much as possible. Assuming the user of the MS understood the sigla, this goal was accomplished. If the reader wanted to know only how the Seventy read (or 'the Hebrew'), omitting all words sub ※ (or ÷) would reveal as much. Yet the SH Exod colophon states there was another, further collation—one with SP. And when the collator(s) responsible came across this verse, the Samaritan text was diligently, *quantitatively* compared with the running text of the *hexaplaric edition* of the Seventy (see ln. **5** of the colophon, → **§2.2**). As a result, all text sub ÷ would be 'lacking' in SP, *because SP agrees with MT for v 20*. This meant that the Caesarean collator(s) had a ready-made demarcation within v 20 to which he could attach his collation note. Thus, the specially made distinction (ܗܟ ܝ ܠܒܟ ܚܕܟ ܠܝ ܠܒܟ) from the 'SP Omits' at **8.6-7 (10-11**) was not supplied because it was not required.

Why this particular sub ÷ section would be compared with SP as such is difficult to determine. It must be stressed that sub ÷ portions of the running hexaplaric text are not meant to indicate any information vis-à-vis SP (*e.g.*, ÷ܠܚܬܟ at 1.22, ÷ܚܬܟ ܕܦܬܚ ܡܫ at

[555] Of course that Origen specifically edited this part of the text is an assumption. Though his mention of the complexities in GExod in his *Ep. Ad Africanum* (SC 302, §7 [11: 57, §4]) does support the notion he was ultimately responsible for at least the reading of the running text (→ **§4.2**).

2.6, and ܘܐܬܝܗܒ ܐܬ ܕ at 3.8, all agree with SP). Perhaps the collator(s) sought to avoid confusion should an attentive reader presume that the repetitious nature of SP (i.e., as in the Plague Narrative and Decalogue) extended into the latter part of the book. Alarmingly, the present interpretation of the note ostensibly violates the μονον-typology. However, this annotation does not make the same claims the attribution notes do—the annotation does not claim SP 'only' omits this portion of text. For discussion on the relationship between these collation notes and the μονον-collation and translation process, see further below (→ **§3.5.2**).

Even more opaque is how the transposition in 20.21 / 28א was seemingly ignored given it follows immediately after v 20. Unquestionably, there were more μονον-type eligible passages than the extant SH Exod tradition records (→ **§§2.5**, **2.6**). One wonders whether or not scribes would have bothered to faithfully transmit all of the μονον-texts and collation notes given the complex chain of transmission and collation leading up to SH Exod (→ **§2.2**). Perhaps, the transposition annotation regarding the incense altar was viewed as more worthy of transmission than that recording the transposition of a verse describing further sprinkling of blood and anointing with oil, especially as SP's location is in the same chapter.

Notation at Exod 8.6-7 (10-11)

Ceriani discussed the annotation and its implications at length.[556] Two elements prompted evaluation: **1)** the mention of two 'crosses' ܨܠܝܒ; and **2)** the idea that there could be obeli in 'the Hebrew' ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܒܪܝܐ ܣܝܡܝ ܠܝܬ. The latter is of interest as it relates to the history of the μονον-passages and the collation from which they were drawn (→ **§3.5.2**).

[556] 1863: 166.

► What does ܨ̇ mean? : Ceriani held the cross ܨ̇ corresponded to the stray asterisks present in the MS just previous to vv 6 and 8 (10 and 12). This, he stated, was exceptional, for SH describes the asterisk as ܐܣܛܪܣܟ[557] and ܨܚܒܚ[558] but never ܨ̇; he blamed an amanuensis for the alteration, stating he must have erred in changing the cross into an asterisk.[559] Indeed, SH MSS were peppered with various indexing sigla including small crosses. And the circumstances under which the present markers had been altered are unclear. One is tempted to propose that during the course of transmission, perhaps a scribe was influenced by the constant association between the μονον-passages and the (albeit marginal) asterisk throughout the Plague Narrative. Surely, the alteration must have been intentional.

► Why/how are there ܨܐܒ̈ in 'the Hebrew' ? : Most disconcerting in this note, as with the notice at **29.20** above, is that the annotation ostensibly claims that obeli were placed in 'the Hebrew'! How is this so, if the usual hexaplaric rubric for the obelus (÷ / ÷)—ubiquitous throughout the whole of the hexaplaric text—related exclusively to the text of the Seventy? In response Ceriani formulated a clever hypothesis: the hexaplaric sigla usually applied to the Hebrew vis-à-vis Greek were "adapted" for the purpose of juxtaposing 'the Hebrew' (i.e., the MT) vis-à-vis the SP (cp. **Voss**, → **§1.2.1.1**). Thus, the repurposed asterisks and obeli represented Samaritan passages exceeding MT ("*Hebraeus*") sub ※, while those elements lacking in the SP were marked sub obelus "*in Hebraeo textu*". He admitted this process could have taken place at any stage of the hexaplaric endeavour, be it in the Hebrew column of the *Hexapla Maior*, *Secunda*, "*sive*

[557] *E.g.*, the annotation at SH Jer 34.15 (27.18).
[558] See the collation note at SH Exod 23.22 (fol. 75a; see App[II]), and at 25.16(18) (fol. 79b).
[559] 1863: 167.

horum recensorem Eusebium", though his discussion favoured the first.[560] This process, Ceriani believed, was reflected in the μοvοv-collations integrated into the SH texts of Exod, Num,[561] and Deut—but especially so here and at **Exod 29.20**.

There is however evidence from the Samaritan texts in SH Deut which militate against Ceriani's theory vis-à-vis the obelus. Specifically, the μοvοv-passage recorded at Deut 10.6-6א-7-7א (recoverable jointly from JDeut and SH^V) makes mention of 'obeli in the Hebrew' in reference, not to an omitted passage,[562] but rather a large-scale variant reading from SP which is both *qualitative* and *quantitative*.[563] Thus, the use of the 'obeli' need not apply to an omission *only*, but may indeed refer to an alternative reading for a particular length of a given passage.[564] Thus, the use of an obelus in the μοvοv-collation was used for *both* omissions and *qualitatively* significant replacement text vis-à-vis GPent.

Despite this adjustment to Ceriani's theory, the notion that said marks are ܚܙܚܢܐ seems odd. What does ܚܙܚܢܐ mean in this context? Ceriani proposed that perhaps SH^L's plural ܚܙܚܢܐ (*contra* SH^V which is preferable) stood for a two-fold source, "*unum*

---

[560] 1863: 167. Ceriani was unclear as to what precisely this implied. Did his suggestion require a Samaritan column per se? It would appear so as using collation sigla in the first column of the *Hexapla Maior* without supplying the corresponding μοvοv-passages would have been confusing. Compare his explanation of ܚܙܚܢܐ below.

[561] Ceriani recognized his theory's biggest problem—that SH Num records the μοvοv-passages sub ⫟ (→ **§3.3**). He blamed the inconsistency on scribal error (1863: 167). While 'scribal corruption' is perhaps too easy an explanation, in fairness to Ceriani, MS 344, which records two μοvοv-passages sub ※ in Num (→ **§3.3.2**), was not yet then known.

[562] There is however omission-like language in the collation note accompanying the Samaritan Itinerary (Deut 10.6-6א-7-7א). Observe that extant in SH^V (fol.164b RH mg, ind at vv 6-7 sub ÷ [pr ܗܘ ܕܝ and post ܐܬܪܐ]):

÷ ܡܠܝ ܗܘܝ ܕܝ ܡܫܬܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܚܙܚܢܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܠܐ ܗܘ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܟ ܚܙܚܢܐ ⋄

However, SH^V's testimony has been corrupted as JDeut confirms (fol. 363ב, encircled in minuscule):

ܡܠܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܚܙܚܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܬܪ ܡܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝ ܒܗ ܕܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܬܪ ܕܐ ܒܗ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܬܪ ܕܐ ܒܗ ܡܫܟܚ ⋄ [the Samaritan reading is provided] ⋄ ܡܠܐ ܚܣܪ ܡܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝ ܚܙܚܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐ ܒܗ ܡܫܟܚ ÷

While Jacob never reproduced the μοvοv-attributions verbatim, he usually faithfully transmits the *information* they contained (when he bothered to include them). As a result, it can be proven that SH^V's annotation is incomplete and Jacob's represents the fuller form of the annotation with the variant reading.

[563] Masius' description of the SH^M at Deut 34.1b-1א-2 probably mislead Ceriani (see below → **§4.2.1**).

[564] See SH^M Deut 34.1b-1א-2 (*CS* col. 285). While technically v 3 is 'missing' in SP, the character of the reading can hardly be described as only an omission (see below → **§4.2.1**).

Hebraeis literis, alterum Graecis […] *uterque in Hexaplis erant*",[565] i.e., in the *Hexapla Maior*. This is certainly possible, but it is not the only way of construing the data. None of the μονον-annotations require such an interpretation. Undoubtedly, ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ is best understood as referring to the *source collation itself* from which the μονον-data was taken (→ **§3.5.2**). When adding that data to the Eusebian exemplar, the Caesarean collator(s) probably viewed the use of the asterisk in the margins as self-explanatory but rightly did not reproduce the 'obeli' used in the Samaritan collation so as to avoid confusion with the regular usage of the siglum (→ **§§3.5.2**; **4.1**).

► What textual value does the note have? : Later scholars, with the exception of Lagarde and Brooke-McLean,[566] have referenced Ceriani's interpretation of the present case.[567] Ceriani asserted that while no SP MS (extant in his time) read as such, two Masoretic MSS from Kennicott's collations[568] exhibited the omission of vv 6-7 via *homoioteleuton*; he suggested that perhaps a similar error obtained in the present case.[569] Most recently, Pummer interpreted the situation as a mistake on the part of the collators who misread their *Vorlage*.[570] When compared with modern SP collations, there is at least one extant MS which displays this very, haplographic error, corrected interlinearly by a second hand.[571] Thus, it is certainly possible that the Samaritan MS used in the μονον-collation of the Caesarean εκδοσις did contain this error.

2.5 – Greek-Only μονον-Type Evidence

In addition to those found in the margins of SH, there are some scattered passages, reading in agreement with SP, which were at some point integrated into the running text of

[565] 1863: 167-68.
[566] Br.-M. merely note: "10, 11 om ed. Sam. 𐤔" (1909: 177).
[567] Wevers' App^{II}.
[568] The MSS (Kenn 2 and 75) were not provided by Ceriani.
[569] 1863: 167.
[570] 1998: 305.
[571] Note von Gall, App^{I}: "**6** et **7** om G^{1*} (*int. l. s. m. vid*)".

select Greek MSS. Though these readings lack attribution, they can be confidently ascribed to the same Caesarea-based, Greek hexaplaric activity which produced the attributed Samaritan readings in SH (→ **§1.3**). This supposition is based not only on their concord with μονον-typology (i.e., septuagintism, lack of Samaritan exegesis), but also on the fact that the readings are predominantly transmitted by *hexaplaric* witnesses.

	MS(S)	Parallel
Exod 3.22+	58^{O} (partially)	cf. Exod 11.2
Exod 23.19א	58-767^{O}	cp. Deut 14.20(21) (some MSS)
Exod 27.19א 4Q22	58^{O} 707^{oII} f^{-56txt} 527^{y}	→ **APPENDIX**
Exod 32.10א 4Q22	58-767^{O} 318^{y}	cf. Deut 9.20

Table 2.5: Summary of Unattributed μονον*-Type Readings in GExod MSS*

Of course there is not always a direct relationship between the marginalia of a MS and its text-type. MSS of various groups often incorporated hexaplaric readings in their margins (*e.g.*, the *C* or *s*-groups) without having a genetic relationship to the Caesarean text. The same can also be said of the reverse, *viz.*, just because a MS' running text is hexaplaric does not then mean that its marginalia need be hexaplaric (or exist at all). Scribal sources for marginalia varied and became more complex with the passage of time. Nevertheless, the below argues these passages can be confidently connected to the μονον-collation.

Before detailing specifics for each reading, several facts may be observed based on the data presented in ***Table 2.5***: **1)** The typology of these texts clearly aligns with the μονον-collation as illustrated by those in SH's exemplar(s). Namely, the passage in question may be defined as a 'plus' to which G does not attest but is 'only' in SP. **2)** MSS 58 and 767 each exhibit an unattributed, integrated μονον-passage in Num (→ **§3.3.1**), both of which are also found *attributed* in the margin of SH. **3)** 767 is the sole Greek MS extant containing integrated μονον-readings in each of Exod, Num, *and* Deut—a phenomenon paralleling only that of the margin in SH's exemplar(s) and JPent (mostly

integrated, → **§3.5.3**). Both of 767's μονον-passages in Deut (→ **APPENDIX**) correspond with the same in SH (restored via JDeut). This construal of the data is much more straightforward than what was earlier proposed by Kahle (→ **§1.2.2.3** [B]). Aside from his theory's unfounded presumptions, the collation data for the MSS in question is now much more complete due to the research undertaken by the Göttingen *Unternehmen*. As a result, the pedigrees of the important MSS in this section have been identified, and they are all bearers of the hexaplaric legacy.

2.5.1 – SP Snippets in Other Hexaplaric Witnesses

The first two readings listed are found exclusively in hexaplaric MSS.

'...and every man his neighbour…'

This particular integrated μονον-segment prompted one of Wevers' few comments regarding SP readings in G MSS. After briefly describing the addition, he pronounced: "[A] stemmatic connection between MS 58 and [SP] is, however, most unlikely."[572] Notwithstanding Wevers' assessment, the following will attempt to illustrate that while Wevers' judgment is correct, a connection between the SP and 58 *can* be established, indirectly, via the hexaplaric, Caesarean μονον-collation. First, the MS will be profiled to determine its historical, scribal context. Second, the reading itself will be scrutinized.

MS 58: A Brief Profile] MS 58^{O} (Rom, Bibl. Vat., Regin. gr. 10.; Br.-M.: "k") is an entirely hexaplaric witness dated to the 11th century CE.[573] The MS is nearly complete for Exod (lac. 39:40 τα 3°—40:17 σκηνην) and represents the *O* text for Exod 36-39.[574] It exhibits not a few readings from the *recentiores*, though by no means the most when compared to other MSS of the hexaplaric tradition.[575]

[572] *NGTE*, 38-39.
[573] Rahlfs, 1914: 246.
[574] *Exod*, 51-52.
[575] *Exod*, 47.

► 58's post-hexaplaric activity : While 58 exhibits a thoroughly hexaplaric text, the MS itself, or rather its ancestor MS(S), was subject to an intense level of post-hexaplaric activity. This activity resulted in the deletion of words and passage segments from the MS's running text which were originally transmitted sub ※ or ÷ / ÷. Wevers discovered abundant evidence for such practices in 58 in the collations for Exod, Lev,[576] Num,[577] and Deut,[578] and believed that this probably stemmed from a lack of understanding as to what the hexaplaric symbols meant.[579] This scribal abridgement makes it all the more remarkable that vestiges of μονον-texts survived in 58 (or its ancestor) given the likelihood they too were originally transmitted sub ※.

Exod 3.22+] The reading itself presents a few philological issues when compared to the overall μονον-typology.

► Why is 22+ incomplete? : The reading in 58 represents only a part of the quantitative variation between SP and GExod, *viz.* מאת רעותה is absent. Presumably, the original passage read ανηρ παρα του πλησιον αυτου γυνη παρα της πλησιον αυτης along with an attribution formula. Yet, it would appear that 58's ancestor[580] integrated only the first part of this reconstructed reading, an act all the more odd when compared with those other μονον-integrations the MS preserves at **Exod 23.19א**, **32.10א**, and Num 21.24+ (→ **APPENDIX**), each of which were provided in full, as well as that at Exod 27.19א, where 58 further interpolated the μονον-reading with glosses taken from the *recentiores*. In this case, either **a)** the scribe intentionally added only that part which was conceptually

[576] *THGL*, 27.
[577] *THGN*, 65.
[578] In Deut, Wevers only documents the evidence for omissions sub obelus in 58 as asterisked plusses are common for *O*-58^{oII} (*THGD*, 31-35 and 46). He does not comment on how or why the practice found in Exod—Num had changed in Deut (43).
[579] *THGE*, 39.
[580] The haplography in 58 at **Exod 23.19א** (see below) makes it far more likely the integration occurred before 58 itself was copied.

lacking, reckoning της πλησιον αυτης as more or less equivalent to γειτονος και συσκηνου αυτης; or **b)** the passage had already been integrated in 58's *Vorlage*, and 58 committed an haplography (παρα ∩ παρα): […] [22] γυνη [22+] παρα της πλησιον αυτης [22] παρα γειτονος […].[581]

► ανηρ : In accordance with the septuagintism of the μονον-type, 58's ανηρ appears overly literal (cp. typical καιγε practice). In accordance with the parallel at 11.2, εκαστος ought to have been used as it occurs in all GExod MSS together with γυνη. The μονον-translator(s) here probably desired to juxtapose male and female acts, as does SP, perhaps in parallel with 'sons and daughters' later in the verse. Thus, the use of ανηρ in 3.22+ need not militate against the septuagintism which commonly characterizes the μονον-group (→ **§2.3.2** at **18.25בּ**).

► και : The και before γυνη here may be a septuagintism from the parallel, an invention introduced by 58's ancestor for the sake of integration, or even possibly a misreading of the Samaritan source assuming misdivision and a graphic confusion between ו and ה in Samaritan script (𐤅 / 𐤄). The second possibility is most likely.

► Relation to the σαμ΄ passages : Lastly, it should be stressed that while an hexaplaric source presently preserves this verse's μονον-reading, the exegetically distinctive (and much more interesting) σαμ΄-reading from this *same* verse is nowhere to be found (→ **§§1.3.1.1**; **1.3.1.2**).

'…in its Mother's Milk, for such is…'

With the exception of the *Garizimgebot*, no Samaritan passage has stimulated more scholarly discussion than that which follows the injunction against 'boiling a kid in its

[581] Again, compare 58 at **Exod 23.19א**.

mother's milk'.[582] The mysterious sanction prompted numerous comments from early Christian exegetes, as can be seen when surveying early Christian exegetical writings.[583] It is then certainly understandable that scribes would have integrated the 'Samaritan' addition, both here and in **Deut 14.20(21)**, into their MSS. However, in light of the categories established by the present study, both readings require revisiting, especially with respect to the 'Samaritan-ness' presumed by earlier studies.

Exod 23.19א] Altogether the passage neatly aligns with the demonstrated characteristics of the μονον-translation as found in the Caesarean collation; namely: **1)** an absence of proper Samaritan exegesis, as identified by the reading tradition and ST, and **2)** the hexaplaric pedigree of the MSS transmitting the reading.

► MS attestation : It is important to observe that both MSS 58 (see above) and 767 are wholly[584] hexaplaric. Additionally, as noted above, each witness separately attests at least one other μονον-reading in both Exod and Num; those in Num, parallel attributed μονον-passages preserved in the margins of SH.[585] Moreover, 767 itself transmits two μονον-readings in Deut also corresponding to the same in SH. This calls into question the classification "Sam.-Gk. [= το σαμ΄]" (and the implications thereof) for the present reading used by previous scholarship.[586] When viewed within the broader context of the μονον-type in hexaplaric MSS, it is far more likely that the present passage belongs to the original Caesarean collation described by the SH Exod colophon than representing remnants of either the original GExod reading or some kind of Samaritan Greek translation.

---

[582] The literature regarding this passage is considerable. The best recent study is **A. Teeter**'s (2009, with substantial bibliography), who reviews previous scholarly opinion, in addition to performing due diligence with respect to text-critical matters. As such, this section is much indebted to his work.

[583] For examples, see Boulluec and Sandevoir, *BA* 2: 238.

[584] The issue of 767's allegiance is detailed below (→ **§3.3.1**).

[585] For data, see ***Table 2.5*** above and ***Table 3.3*** below.

[586] Teeter (2009: 46), unlike Kohn (1885: 177-78; 1894: 58 and esp. 62, n. 1), was more reticent to apply this term to the reading in Exod; however, he supported this designation for that in Deut 14.20(21), on which see below. Field's listing was neutral in Exod (1: 121, n. 17; → **§2.1.2**); Kahle (→ **§1.2.2.3**), viewed it as "in accordance" with SP (1947: 145).

► 'Samaritan' quality : In agreement with the μονον-translation's character, the present passage fails to provide conclusive evidence that the translator(s) was familiar with or had any knowledge of Samaritan exegesis or reading traditions.[587] Observe the following:

μισος : The μονον-rendering here differs considerably from both the Samaritan reading tradition and ST. The former vocalizes שכח *šā̆ka* (*qal* inf.) 'forgetting'[588] whereas the latter attests אנשהו (J) or שחי (MSS A and N).[589] Of course neither of these can straightforwardly be represented with μισος, unless one understands μισος as a gross "generalization", originally developed (or devolved) from the corresponding term ασπαλαξ found in **Deut 14.20(21)**.[590]

However, speculation of such a "generalization"—really an inexplicable leap in logic—is unwarranted. If the passage is reclassified under the μονον-type, then one only need explain how the translator(s) arrived at μισος for this specific rendering from their Hebrew exemplar—no connection with the passage's exegetical development or any presumed knowledge of Samaritan traditions on the part of the translator(s) can be anticipated or developed. Admittedly, the case is difficult, but a mechanical misreading of the Samaritan Hebrew *is* possible (𐤏𐤔𐤄 → 𐤔𐤄, via guttural and כ [𐤏] / נ [𐤍]

---

[587] The similarity between ποιων and the Samaritan reading tradition, *ʿāši* = עֹשֵׂה (Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 427 and 220), is circumstantial.

[588] Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 427 and 248; T-F, 678. Also, Ben-Ḥayyim, 2000: 207.

[589] Teeter discusses the interpretation of ST at length (2009: 43-44, n. 13). He concludes that MS J means 'forgetting' while MS A understood 'delaying', i.e., J equated the Hebrew while A opted to translate interpretively 'a delayed/neglected sacrifice'.

[590] Again Teeter helpfully summarizes both Geiger (1866: 445) and Kohn (1894: 58). Geiger rather facilely described the Greek: "*Das drückt der Grieche (in cod. Bas.* [= MS 85^{s}]) *aus mit* ασπαλαξ, *Maulwurf, hier allgemein*: […] *während die Wiedergabe in cod. Vat.* [= MS 58] *mit* μισος *verallgemeinert ist*." (1866: 556). How, specifically, μισος follows from (or alongside of) ασπαλαξ as a 'generalization' is unclear. Certainly, as Teeter pointed out (2009: 49), the logical development Geiger proposed from שכח to ασπαλαξ does make sense in the context of a 'found' fetus (see below); but how μισος is supposed to be related remains obscure (see below).

confusion).[591] And attempts to explain 58-767's μισος otherwise have proven unsuccessful.[592] Probably (see below), the Caesarean translator(s) lacked a G parallel, i.e., any reading comparable to **Deut 14.20(21)א** was unavailable to crib. Thus, the translator was left to his own devices.

παραβασις : Correspondingly, the translation παραβασις is only slightly more explicable than μισος. Here also the translation differs significantly from Samaritan understanding, vocalized (*w*)*ǎ̄bā̄rå* (= עֶבְרָה)[593] 'enragement', rendered מרגזה (J) / רגזה (A) by ST. Differently, as previous commentators have observed, the translation in 58-767 represents עֶבֵרָה 'transgression'.[594] How might παραβασις be explained in the context of the μονον-type passages? For while it shows a demonstrable lack of knowledge regarding Samaritan exegesis, it is difficult to surmise how the μονον-translator(s) would have arrived at 'transgression' without consulting, or being himself, a Hebrew speaker, since the lemma עֶבֵרָה 'transgression' does not occur in MT.[595]

If one presumes, as the present study, that the μονον-translator(s) had access to the *Hexapla Maior* and actively used it in the μονον-endeavour (→ **§3.5.2**), then παραβασις could be explained by appealing to the *recentiores*. Of course, G equivalencies were generally preferred by the translator(s) in exclusion to those of the *recentiores*, and something akin to οργη, θυμος, or even μηνις (GGen 49.7, see below) should have

[591] Kohn's criticism, detailed and approved by Teeter (2009: 46-47), of M. Heidenheim's earlier attempt to read שנא by way of the above-mentioned corruption in Samaritan script, is only legitimate if the translator(s) is assumed to have been familiar with Samaritan exegesis. The present analysis begs no such understanding.

[592] Teeter noticeably makes no attempt beyond assenting to Geiger's generalization theory (2009: 50). Geiger, after his initial publication in 1866, only described μισος as "*sehr frei*" (1876: 126). He viewed the passage as represented in Deut 14.20(21) as "*deutlicher noch*" and more rightly translated than that in Exod (1876: 126).

[593] Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 427 and 200.

[594] Geiger, 1866: 556; Kohn, 1885: 178; 1894: 58 and n. 3. Teeter: "both readings [still] possess a certain contextual logic" (2009: 50).

[595] This is balanced by a complementary question: If the translator had been (or consulted with) a Hebrew, how did his work result in μισος?

obtained. Nevertheless, it seems the wider hexaplaric data was consulted here, resulting in παραβασις, most probably from θ′ in some other analogous context.[596] This resulted in his translating עברה as 'transgression', as opposed to 'anger' which occurs rather frequently in the Pss and Prophets.

Exod 23.19א (overall)] Unfortunately, 58-767's passage is of no value whatsoever for historical *halakha*, Samaritan or otherwise. What *can* be concluded is that the passage's origin lies with the μονον-translation, originally connected with the Caesarean Samaritan collation, and that the translator(s) had no proper parallel to hand to crib. By extension, this implies that the parallel 'Samaritan' readings at **Deut 14.20(21)**, the earliest of which must date to the 5th century CE (see below), were unavailable to the μονον-translator(s).

Deut 14.20(21)א's relationship to Samaritan exegesis] Contrary to the reading in Exod, the analogous passage transmitted by many GDeut MSS can be more easily related to Samaritan exegesis.

► θυσει / כזבח and om. *waw* : While the Greek fails to represent the *waw*, the verbal translation of כזבח accords with the Samaritan reading tradition *kå̄zēba* (= זוֹבֵח).[597] Teeter holds the insertion of οτι in *C*'' et al as secondary, which is correct as the earlier MSS omit it.[598]

[596] As Teeter mentions (2009: 62, n. 64), one fairly well attested example where θ′ reckons a word derived from √עבר with παραβασις is GGen 3.17 (see App^{II}). There is also another παραβασις reported for θ′ at SH 4 Kgdm 2.24 (see Br.-M.). Perhaps there are other locations where θ′ translated עברה similarly which have not survived but would have been available via the *Hexapla Maior*. One wonders if perhaps the sacrificial context of the passage also influenced the translator'(s) rendering.

[597] Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 427 and 84. Teeter translates the reading tradition as if it were a noun (2009: 43).

[598] 2009: 45, n. 16.

► μηνιμα / עברה and μιασμα : As noted above, Samaritan exegesis reckoned עברה as 'anger / enragement' (= עֶבְרָה; מרגזה / רגזה ST), and this is represented here by half of the witnesses: F^{a}, M^{mg}, et al. Wevers' recorded SH as if 𐡏𐡀𐡇𐡀𐡋 agreed, but this cannot be maintained. Rather, SH better supports the reading μιασμα 'defilement' (cp. SH Ezek 33.31), not μηνιμα '(cause of) wrath'.[599] This pushes the date of the 'incorrect' reading back considerably. More difficult is from where μιασμα came. Both Geiger and Kohn saw μιασμα as somehow related to παραβασις / עֶבְרָה.[600] However, Teeter's[601] judgment, that μιασμα is the product of *lectio facilior*, should be upheld, as the MS evidence supports it:

ωcειθγcειαcπαλλακαμιαcμα (repl. of μηνιμα with μιασμα [graph. sim. & *lect. facil.*])
→ ωcειαcπαλλακαμιαcμα (tr. of θυσει / ασπαλακα [*lect. facil.*])
→ ωcειαcπαλλακαοτιμιαcμα (ins. of οτι [*lect. facil.*]).

► ασφαλακα / שכח : There have been two attempts to connect ασφ[/π]αλαξ 'mole' to Samaritan understandings of the passage. The first was by A. Geiger, who argued that the Greek derived from an Aramaic understanding of שכח, which resulted in a generalized translation meant to imply the fetus, described in biblical literature as lacking the ability to see.[602] This interpretation was approved of and adopted by Kohn,[603] as was Geiger's assumption that μισος was a further alteration in reaction to the oddity of a mole sacrifice.[604]

A second and more recent proposal was proffered by Teeter. He suggested that perhaps the reading ασπαλαξ was not related to Hebrew but rather ST. Paralleling Wevers' and D. Fraenkel's proposed stemmatic relationship between 74 anonymous readings in the

[599] *LSJ* also lists '*guilt*, esp. *blood-guiltiness*' as an equivalent for this term (*s.v.*, I. 2).
[600] 1866: 556; 1885: 178.
[601] 2009: 45, n. 16.
[602] 1866: 556; outlined in full by Teeter, 2009: 49-50.
[603] 1894: 58, n. 1.
[604] 1894: 58, n. 3.

margins of CODEX M and ST in Lev,[605] he suggested "[…] the graphic similarity between the reading of ST^{J} here (אנשהו) and the Aram. equivalent to ασπαλαξ, אשו/אשות, is suspicious […]. Could this be evidence that the Sam.-Gk. marginal reading in Deut 14:20 related to Sam^{Aram} rather than שׁשׁ?"[606]

Deut 14.20(21)א (origins)] Teeter's proposal that the reading in F^{a} M^{mg} et al ought to be reckoned not with SP but ST is thought-provoking. It is, however, not without issue.

► Is the reading even Samaritan? : Ultimately, Teeter's suggestion, while attractive, depends too much on the reading's presence in the margin of CODEX M. Rather, the wider GDeut MS tradition suggests this was a more common (variant) reading than Teeter admits and, as such, should not be defined by its presence, unattributed, in the margin of one 7th century codex. Observe the list of early witnesses:

	Marginal	In-text
5th century CE[607]		W^{I}
?[608]	F^{a}	
7th century CE	M^{mg} (pr m)[609]	
ca. 616-17 CE		SH (unmarked)
705 CE	JDeut (unattributed)	

Table 2.5.1.2: The 'Samaritan' Mother's Milk Passage in early GDeut MSS

Of particular interest is the attestation found in MS W^{I}—a fact somewhat disguised in the Göttingen App^{I} due to the MS's place in the n-group.[610] The reading is fully integrated into the running text (fol. 50α) without any indication whatsoever that the reading may be exceptional. If it may be assumed the reading was originally marginal, this would imply a

[605] *Lev*, 30-31. These are marked in App^{II} as "= Sam^{Aram}" or "cf Sam^{Aram}". Of course, some disagree with the findings of Fraenkel/Wevers in this respect (*e.g.*, Pummer, 1998: 287-95).

[606] 2009: 50, n. 35. The graphic similarity is less acute in Samaritan script. He also claims the reading μηνιμα, as opposed to παραβασις in Exod, as support for ST underlying the Greek; this also agrees with the Samaritan reading tradition עֶבְרָה.

[607] Swete discussed (1914: 507) various dates for the MS from the early 5th (following Sanders) to the 6th century CE (so Brooke; but cp. Br.-M., 1911: v); see Rahlfs, 1914: 312.

[608] Codex F is from the 5th century CE; F^{a} is a subsequent uncial corrector (Rahlfs and Fraenkel, 2004: 231).

[609] Per Field's assessment (1: 295, n. 23).

[610] It would be interesting to know if 767 (in the n-group from Lev) also had this reading. Unfortunately 767 suffers lacuna from 12.6-18.22.

previous MS generation, indicating the reading is older still. This, in combination with the attestation of F^a (who betrays no special relationship with SP or ST), militates against any proposition that the M^{mg} reading might be related to ST. Additionally, SH Deut records the reading without any obeli or mention of the Samaritans.[611] And this of course only accounts for the pre-10th century witness. The catena MSS, as well as many of the s-group, transmitted Samaritan readings of both the μονον and σαμ΄-types (→ **§§3.3.2**; **3.4**). However, here the reading is unmarked and integrated into their running text. All of the MS evidence indicates this is just an old GDeut variant, despite its ostensible conformity to 'Samaritan' exegesis.

Then there is of course the fact that neither SP nor ST records any such reading *in Deut*. Kohn, for his part, attempted to account for this significant obstacle insisting that the reading was originally only in GExod 23 and was subsequently moved to GDeut by reason of the repeated לא תבשל גדי;[612] such was, to him, but another example of the inexhaustible work of the "Interpolator" who displaced original GPent with Greek Samaritan readings (→ **§1.2.2.1**). The reading, furthermore, remained in some GExod MSS (i.e., 58-767) but was transformed due to a lack of understanding of precisely what "*das 'Opfer eines Maulwurfs*'" actually meant.[613] Altogether Kohn's is a desperate reconstruction. Though he could not have known of MS W's witness (in 1894), he makes no effort to explain why the passage was not similarly moved to Exod 34.26. Nor is it clear how the reading in Exod would have been altered while that in Deut remained untouched.

---

[611] JDeut^{mg} records the reading: ܕܐܡܪ ܡܫܐ ,ܡܫܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܬܒܫܘ ܓܕܝ ܒܚܠܒ ܐܡܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܬܐܟܠ ܒܣܪ (fol. 371ר, between the columns, ind at ܠܐ ܬܨܥܕ). The reading is clearly SH verbatim (save lacking ܐܠܗܐ) and without attribution. Given Jacob of Edessa's normal treatment of SP readings exhibited in his recension (i.e., commonly directly integrated into his own running text, often with attribution), the *marginal*, *unattributed* representation of the verse is indicative of an ordinary G variant.

[612] 1894: 58.

[613] 1894: 58 and especially n. 3.

As Teeter[614] notes, Kahle took a different perspective on the matter, albeit greatly aided by the collations made available by Brook-McLean (including MS W). He believed these two passages to be vestiges of the diverse *Vulgärtexte* used by both Samaritans and Jews up through the first century CE (→ **§1.2.2.3**).[615] Given that 1Q4 may well have contained this reading—in Deut—his assessment may be justified (for **Deut 14.20[21]א** only, not **Exod 23.19א**), a point Teeter concedes.[616] Yet given the fragmentary nature of 1Q4, it is difficult to know whether the Greek reading in Deut should be labelled 'Samaritan' or not.[617] Perhaps, it ought to be granted that it *could* be Samaritan. Undoubtedly, the Samaritans were not the only group within the Judeo-Israelite spectrum pondering the mysterious command from the Second Temple period onwards.[618] As such, it is most likely improper to refer to the reading in **Deut 14.20(21)א** as "Sam.-Gk.".

Exod 23.19א and **Deut 14.20(21)א: Their Interrelationship**] In summary, given the wider context of μονον-readings in MSS 58-767, it is safer to postulate the passage from **Exod 23.19א** was the product of the hexaplaric, Caesarean μονον-collation. If this is so, it is also likely that the parallel passage from **Deut 14.20(21)א** (attested from the 5th century CE) was not available to the μονον-translator(s). While it should not be assumed that the Caesarean critic(s) had access to each and every GPent reading or exemplar, he cannot be shown to have known this reading. Thus, the passage in Deut may have gained wider currency only *after* the μονον-translator(s) worked (i.e., it is post-Eusebian), perhaps adopted from some textual source (à la 1Q4) or even an *halakhic* gloss later

614 2009: 53, n. 40.

615 1947: 145-46; also 1915: 18.

616 2009: 53, n. 40. He did not extrapolate, however, on what this might mean for his theory for a proposed relationship between the M^{mg} reading and ST.

617 Note Tov's discussion, 2012: 80, n. 130.

618 Such is Teeter's point when surveying related passages in Second Temple literature (*e.g.*, 4QMMT, 11Q19, 4Q270) and Rabbinic sources, whether citing the text directly or demonstrably alluding to it (2009: *passim*).

received due to its perceived exegetical usefulness.[619] However, in light of the foregoing analysis, neither reading should be understood as "Sam.-Gk." (= το σαμ΄) properly.

2.5.2 – Wider Attestation: SP Snippets in Non-Hexaplaric Witnesses

In this section one reading with additional, non-hexaplaric MS support is discussed, with focus on how such might have been transmitted beyond the hexaplaric fold.

'And the Lord was very angry with Aaron…'

Exod 32.10א (58-767)] This is the last instance of the hexaplaric MSS' 58 and 767 joint testimony to a fully integrated μονον-reading. Previous editors either ignored (*e.g.*, Field) or were baffled by (*e.g.*, Wevers) this reading.[620] However, the scribal activity which led to these texts is clearly of the same type as those discussed above (→ **§2.5**).

► $\overline{\text{κς}}$: Of the μονον-type passages in Exod, only the present case preserves a *nomen sacrum* in Greek. Unlike the ubiquitous יהוה in SH Exod, the abbreviated form ΚϹ is found in 58 and 767. Did the μονον-translator(s) produce this or was it rendered יהוה as in SH? Since SH Exod very strongly supports the latter, in conformity with common hexaplaric practice, it is more likely that the 58-767 scribes (or their respective ancestor scribes) normalized the Name at the time of integration (→ **§3.3.2** at **Num 21.11א**).

► επι … εθυμωθη and ηυξατο … περι : Both verbs and their accompanying prepositions have been taken from the GDeut parallel. This is particularly so for the first verb as other prepositions were possible.[621] Use of the G parallel prepositions is a hallmark of the μονον-translation. 767's επι 2° is an error, perhaps by means of attraction from the first instance (επι ααρων—επι ααρων).

---

[619] Thus Teeter, 2009: 62-3.

[620] "How this gloss came into the Greek tradition remains a mystery" (*NGTE* 523). On Field (1: 141), see above (→ **§2.1.2**).

[621] Ευχομαι generally couples with περι (*e.g.*, Exod 8.8, 9; 9.28). As for θυμοω (pass.), different propositions are used to indicate the focus of said anger, επι (Exod 4.14; Lev 10.16; et al), εις (Num 11.33), or a dative (Gen 30.2; Deut 1.37; 4.21).

► του εξολοθρευσαι : While minor, the translator(s) appears to have departed from GDeut influence in articulating the infinitive.[622] A majority variant does articulate the verb, though the earliest attestation is MS G^{O} (4th-5th century CE). It is difficult to know who is responsible for the articulation. Perhaps later scribes were the perpetrators.

Exod 32.10א (318)] While it is not strange that MS 58 or 767, both hexaplaric witnesses, evince this reading, how 318, a y-group MS, would have encountered the reading is more difficult.

► εθυμωθην σφοδρα as contextualization : Explaining 318's variant reading is problematic. Presuming the abridged *nomen sacrum* in an uncial source, a mechanical explanation may be possible ϵΘΥΜΩΘ<u>ΗΚϹϹ</u>ΦΟΔΡΑ → ϵΘΥΜΩΘ<u>ΗΝϹ</u>ΦΟΔΡΑ.[623] Another possibility is that 318 represents a contextualization the scribe himself implemented at the point of integration. The change reads more vividly, as though the Lord is still speaking to Moses about his wayward brother. Presumably, however, a scribe would be hesitant to remove κυριος.

► Provenance : How did 318, a y-group MS (Athos, Βατοπαιδιου, 598; written 1021 CE), come to include such a reading? A possible solution may be found in the MS' location of origin, Athos. By analogy of the other Athos MSS containing μονον-passages in Num (→ **§§3.3**; **3.4**), namely s-group MS 344 (10th century CE) and its congeners, it could be suggested that scribal activity on Athos was ultimately responsible for the resultant reading in 318, via an intermediary source no longer extant.[624] Similar circumstances may also explain 527's reading at Exod 27.19א, though the witness is far younger (14th century

[622] See *NGTD*, 150 and *THGD*, 103.

[623] Certain later cursive scripts could permit κ / ν confusion.

[624] Here I have appropriated a parallel argument offered by Wevers in his attempt to explain how the running text of MS 319^{mx} had, in Num, conspicuously absorbed elements also known from the margin of the Athos-based, s-group MSS (321-323-344-346). He hypothesized that 319's locus, Athos, permitted its scribe to come into contact with one of the s-group's sources of marginalia (1981: 717). On this, see below (→ **§3.4**).

CE) and the passage is attested in more MSS, allowing for other possibilities via intermediaries no longer extant.

2.6 – Conclusions

Now that selections of the hexaplaric data have been examined in detail, it is important to try to summarize any historical implications thereof. While incomplete and at times imprecise, the extant data permits some limited conclusions insofar as Exod is concerned. These pertain to **1)** the nature of the μονον-translation, **2)** the selection of data, intentional or otherwise, from the Samaritan Hebrew εκδοσις included in the Caesarea-based collation, and **3)** the nature of hexaplaric transmission vis-à-vis retention of these Samaritan passages.

2.6.1 – The μονον-Translation: A Short Profile

It can be stated, without qualification, that the μονον-translation, as illustrated by the readings in hexaplaric Exod MSS, in conformity to the characteristics outlined above (→ **§1.3.2**), was **i)** principally cribbed (i.e., septuagintism) from the relevant G parallels (as opposed to the *recentiores*, → **§4.2** [#2]) and **ii)** lacked utterly any evidence betraying knowledge of either a Samaritan reading tradition or para-textual exegesis (i.e., the Samaritan *Tenth* Commandment). Additionally, **iii)** the *Vorlage* for this collation was indeed textually closer to the now-extant *canonical* SP as opposed to the so-called pre-Samaritan text-type (*e.g.*, 4Q22, 4Q158). On the basis of the above-examined samples, it seems **iv)** very unlikely that either native Samaritans or Semitic speakers had developed or were otherwise consulted in the production of this 'translation'.

Unfortunately, the SH Exod colophon (→ **§2.2**) did not offer any further information about the μονον-collation other than: **a)** the *collation* was carried out in connection with Caesarea-based hexaplaric MS activity, and **b)** that such was ultimately subject to Eusebius' editorship. Nothing further is provided. Despite this, the hexaplaric

remains for Num (and Deut) *do* provide information related both to the identity of the translator(s) as well as his methodology in constructing these μονον-readings (→ **§§3.3.1**; **3.3.2**; **3.5**).

2.6.2 – The Hexaplaric μονον-Collation: Selection and Inclusion

Perhaps one of the more striking aspects of the μονον-collation in hexaplaric Exod MSS is the demonstrative selectivity of the Samaritan data. That is to say, if the Caesarea-based μονον-collation was expressly directed by a *quantitative* dictate (i.e., μονον), the extant collation for Exod is incomplete. Observe the following sampling of textual snippets which conform to the μονον-collation's typology but are missing from extant hexaplaric sources:

	added / omitted 'only in SP'	Notes
12.25	+ בחדש הזה	n/a
14.18	+ ובכל הילו	+ και εν παση (om εν π. Sa) τη στρατια αυτου (> 619) 619^{x} Sa "= Sam: ex 17"[625]
18.7	+ למשה	n/a
18.12	om. כל	= 72^{O} Aeth "= Sam"
19.12	והגבלת את ההר סביב ואל העם תאמר	και αφοριεις τον λαον κυκλω λεγων
19.25	+ מן ההר	^{Lat}cod 104's addition is unrelated
20.24	om. כל	n/a[626]
21.18	om. באבן או באגרף	λιθω η πυγμα
21.20	om. בשבט	εν ραβδω; מות יומת similarly not noted
21.28	+ וכל בהמה	also at vv 33, 35 (twice); cp. 'half tribe of M.' (→ **§3.3.1** at **Num 32.1+ and 29+**)
22.3(4)	+ עד כל בהמה	n/a
22.19(20)	+ אחרים om. בלתי ליהוה לבדו	אחרים has substantial support (see App^{I}). Would this have been noted while the other unnoticed?
24.1, 9	+ אלעזר ואיתמר (cp. 4Q22 at v 9)	App^{I}: και ελεαζαρ in MSS 314-537^{b} ": cf Sam"[627]

[625] MS 619's text may be independently harmonizing; compare 619 at 14.8, 13.12, and 18.21 each of which lack agreement with SP.

[626] Gallagher attaches great importance to this omission in SP (2015: 100-01, 115). Whether or not the Caesarean collator(s) would have cared is another matter.

[627] και ελεαζαρ present in MSS 314-537^{b} at Exod 24.1 is perhaps best seen as an addition 'ex par' (cf. 28.1?). It is not impossible that the addition ultimately does stem from μονον-type evidence which is no longer extant. However, the occurrence is too vague to include here. (Compare Wevers' discussion [*THGE*, 26] suggesting that group b is not a significant preserver of hexaplaric additions originally sub ※.)

25.21(20)	om.אשר אתן אליך	α αν δω σοι
26.25	om. תחת הקרש האחד ו	τω στυλω τω ενι και
27.19	+ ועשית את	cp. Exod 27.19א in **APPENDIX**
28.23	+ שתי משבצות זהב ושתי	cp. v 23 in θ΄ (i.e. δυο συσφιγκτων v 25)
28.30(26)	+ ועשית את הארים ואת התמים	n/a
29.5	+ וחגרת אתו אבניט והלבשת אתו	sundry corrections to MT, not SP
29.28א	+ ולקחת משמן — בגדי בניו אתו	a transposition, → **§2.4.1** at **26.35א-י**
39.21א (36.28)	+ ויעשו את הארים ואת התמים כאשר צוה יהוה את משה (cf. 4Q17)	n/a
40.27	+ לפני יהוה	n/a

Table 2.6.2: Sampling of μονον*-type Snippets Missing from the Hexaplaric Collation*

Naturally, the MS history is incomplete. Nevertheless, when the above sampling is compared with the extant evidence (from both SH and other scattered hexaplaric MSS), the recoverable Caesarean collation has conspicuous gaps. Namely, readings such as those which are 'only' in SP at 24.1 and 9, 28.30(26), and 39.21א each clearly conform to the μονον-type. Furthermore, by analogy of the transposition of the Incense Altar (→ **26.35א-י**), it could be argued that the similar phenomenon occurring at 29.28א also ought to have been marked (→ **§2.4.2**, *pace* Ceriani). Even the smaller prospective μονον-texts (*e.g.*, 14.18; 21.28, 33, 35) have comparable extant examples which were recorded elsewhere (→ **§§2.5.1** at **Exod 3.22+**; → Num 21.24+ in **APPENDIX**) indicating that the Caesarean collator(s) cared to mark smaller, seemingly insignificant (but phrase-level) quantitative SP variations. This contradicts any view which would hold that only 'important' or exegetically meaningful readings were collated and preserved.

Whatever the motives behind the collated readings may have been, the character of the recoverable readings is striking, particularly with respect to the set preserved by SH. When those μονον-passages preserved by SH Exod's exemplar(s) are compared with those found in the wider hexaplaric tradition (→ **§2.5**), the former selection clearly exhibits preoccupation with texts which explicitly focus on Moses' role as prophet (in the

Plague Narrative), the immediate context of the Decalogue itself, and Deuteronomic speech.[628] Other texts, such as those which centre on the more *halakhic* aspects of the Law (*e.g.*, Exod 21.28+, **Exod 23.19א**), the construction of the Tabernacle and its parts (*e.g.*, Exod 28.30+, 27.19א), the inclusion of Aaron's sons in activities (*e.g.*, 24.1+, 9+), and other sundry texts (*e.g.*, **3.22+**) were not transmitted in the version of the μονον-collation which was eventually included as part of Paul of Tella's translation project.[629] The character of these selections—an emphasis on Moses as prophet, the lack of concern for the more legal aspects of Torah,[630] and the focus on Deuteronomy—betray a distinctively Christian theological and/or exegetical *Tendenz*. Thus, it must be admitted that it is possible that the scribal activity previous to SH may have been motived by theological concerns.[631] Perhaps readings such as **Exod 23.19א** or **32.10א** 'fell out' of the SH's exemplars' stream of transmission during the collation of E^1 with E^2. Or, it is just as possible the μονον-passages were only selectively copied by the scribe(s) of E^2 from the original Eusebian exemplar (E^3). Conceivably even some unknown intermediary exists for which the colophon does not account.[632]

2.6.3 – Hexaplaric Retention: By Chance or Design?

Regardless of the process whereby some of these passages dropped out during MS transmission, the motives underlying the retention of those which did survive should be

[628] Where **Exod 32.10א** fits within these categories is uncertain: Is the passage meant primarily to reference Deut or juxtapose a righteous Moses (as prophet) with a sinful Aaron (as priest)? See Sanderson's discussion of the possible theological motive of the mention of Aaron here (1986: 209).

[629] The Syrians ought not to be accused of *intentionally* omitting μονον-type passages or collation information. What would have been the point of purposefully excluding a text like **Exod 32.10א** while bothering to transmit the **'SP Omits' Note at Exod 8.6-7 (10-11)**?

[630] Even the μονον-translation at **Exod 23.19א** is not really exegetically useful. Why would the μονον-translator(s) have not consulted a Samaritan or Jew for this reading?

[631] Is this yet another case of theologically inspired use of ancient versions? See Kamin, 1992: 251-52.

[632] Compare the μονον-passages in SH Num with the wider hexaplaric MS tradition: Is the smaller discrepancy between SH and other MSS due to fewer levels of transmission as described by the SH Num colophon (**§3.2**)? Or is the matter more fundamental, having to do with the non-legal nature of the μονον-readings in Num?

explored. What might the Christian scribes responsible for the hexaplaric tradition have had in mind when they encountered these long, repetitive, marginal passages described as 'only [extant/transmitted] in the Samaritan Hebrew εκδοσις'?

Christian Theology and the 'Prophet like Moses'

The most important of the μονον-passages in Exod, in the eyes of Christian scribes, would have been the request for Moses to serve as prophetic intermediary and the complementary granting of a future 'prophet like Moses' (Exod 20.19א-ד and **20.21א-ט [17א-ט]**). For when a Christian reader would have come across the second of these lengthy passages, they would have been reminded of at least two specific NT passages partially quoting (or alluding to) the parallels for these μονον-texts, namely Peter's Temple speech in Acts 3.22-23, 26 and Stephen's speech in 7.37-38.[633] These two early Christian testimonies of the earliest kerygmatic preaching, the first by the leader of the Disciples/Apostles, the second by the first Christian martyr, construe Moses' provision for a future prophet (or prophets?) "like" himself as ultimately pointing towards Jesus.[634] This Lukan exegesis was continuously appealed to and further solidified from the time of the early Apologists onwards.[635] But what is noteworthy about the second of these μονον-passages is its 'new' context in Exod 20. As Sanderson explains:

> From the viewpoint of the narrative involved, [the] interpolations were intrusive *in the theophany*, in the sense that neither Exodus nor Deuteronomy claimed that Yahweh had promised the prophet to come […] *during the theophany at Sinai*. Both words of Yahweh came from a very different context in Deuteronomy.[636]

---

[633] See also Meeks who (following T.F. Glasson) interpreted John chapter 7 as an extended allusion to Deut 18.18-22 (1967: 45-59). He also noted other "fairly plain" allusions to the passage in other parts of the Gospel (*e.g.*, John 8.47; 12.47-50). Also Purvis, 1975: 189-90.

[634] So Keener, 2013/2:1113-17 (Peter's) and 1402-03 (Stephen's).

[635] See the short discussion in Dogniez and Harl, *BA*, 5: 230 (at Deut 18.15, with references). A sampling from early Christian literature shows many followed this line of thought: **Clement of Alexandria**, *Pedagogue*, 1.60.3; **Ireneus**, *Adv Haer*, 3.12.3; **Origen**, *Comm. in John*, 6.45-46; 88-92, and 13.26.154; cp. *Contra Celsum*, 1.57 (so Pummer, 2002: 45; cp. Eusebius, *Theophania*, 4.35); **Eusebius**, *General Elementary Introduction* (*Eclogae Propheticae*), 1.15; *DE* 3.2-3 and 9.11.8-9 (on which, see Bruns, 1977); **Chrysostom**, *Against the Anomoeans*, 12.5; among others.

[636] 1986: 236 (*emphasis* mine).

As always, context is crucial. For the μονον-collation here attests to a unique placement,[637] one which elevates the traditionally exegeted passage, not as a provision contracted by Moses in the plains of Moab, but one specifically granted in direct connection with the terrors of the theophany at Sinai.[638] Thus, the Sinai event, the very giving of the Decalogue (something which Christians *did* care about), could be viewed as the primary setting for the foretold prophet.[639] In this light, it is easy to see how Christian scribes would busy themselves writing large blocks of repetitive text concerning Moses or prophecy, while seemingly ignoring μονον-eligible snippets detailing unique Samaritan readings regarding the legal or cultic portions of Torah (→ **§2.6.2**).

EXCURSUS A: SH^{V} PECULIARITIES AND THE LATER SYRIAN TEXTUAL TRADITION

As described above (→ **§§2.1.4**; **2.3.1**), the younger SH^{V} attests to a waning interest in the Samaritan passages by Syriac scribes. This is demonstrated not only by the effaced reading in the MS at **Exod 8.19(23)ד-א** (→ **APPENDIX**), but also an independent scribal annotation meant to epitomize Exod 9.5ה-א. There, some scribe one day could no longer bear to continue recording the repetitive μονον-passages, instead providing the following short note (fol. 27a, encircled):

ܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܐܚܪܢ ܡܠܝ ܕܡܘܫܐ ܡܕܡ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝ ܕܡܬܬܝ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܐܟܕܘܣܝܣ ܕܫܡܪܝܐ ✤

The things the Lord says to Moses, these [here] *and the others* [like it, see PS 1:1146]*, Moses reiterates before Pharaoh; this* [repetition] *is only extant in the* [εκδοσις] *of the Samaritans*.

---

[637] While the placement was neither unique nor Samaritan (4Q22, → **§1.1.2**), it was 'Samaritan' to the μονον-collator(s), who presumably had no understanding of a 'pre-Samaritan text-type'.

[638] See Sanderson, 1986: 208 and 318.

[639] Sanderson is correct to point out that the 'expansion' is appropriate to the episode given that the "motif of fear" was already present in Exod 20.19 (1986: 318). However, strictly speaking, nothing in Exod 20.19 or Deut 5.27 suggests that any *further* prophet would necessarily be required: the people only asked for Moses himself (דבר אתה and קרב אתה, respectively) to serve in this role. The provision of a future office, ongoing or otherwise, was not explicitly requested. Further, while there is a connection to Sinai/Horeb in Deut 18.15-16, presumably, Moses' audience in Deut had not yet been born (so Tigay, 1985: 75).

The note is set in the margin, roughly corresponding to the text of Exod 9.1-4 in the running text. As such, the testimony of SH^V for the μονον-materials in Exod, both readings and collation annotations, ceases after 9.5. Curiously, SH^V is an excellent witness to the μονον-passages in Num; Deut's μονον-passages suffered greatly in transmission (→ **APPENDIX**).

SH^V, however, was not the only SH-derived witness to abridge the tedious Plague Narrative μονον-passages. Jacob of Edessa did so in his own recension, omitting the readings at Exod 8.1(5)א and 8.5(9)א, while abbreviating **8.19(23)א-ד** (fol. 125ב), 9.5א-ה (fol. 126ב), and 9.19א-ז (fol. 128ר) with his own summary statements, respectively:

ܡܚܠܗ ܕܡܫܐ ܠܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܠܟ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܟܢܐ.
ܡܚܠܗ ܕܡܫܐ ܠܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܠܟ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ[vid] ܠܡ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ❖
ܡܚܠܗ ܕܡܫܐ ܠܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܠܟ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ❖❖

Then Jacob included only very small traces of the μονον-readings for 10.(2)2א-ד and 11.3-3א-4א-4. From JExod 18 onwards (i.e., the first Deuteronomic parallels), however, his practice is more regular, and he includes most of the μονον-data available to him (→ ***Tables 2.3***; ***3.3***; **APPENDIX**). JPent does not transmit any Samaritan collation annotations.

Much later, Barhebraeus expressed similar exhaustion with the repetitive Samaritan Plague Narrative in his *Scholia* (fol. 30a, after Exod 11.5):

ܘܕܥ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܠܡ ܫܘܒ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܟܢܐ. ܐܙܠ ܠܗ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܠܟ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ❖
ܕܥܒܪܝܐ. ܘܡܠܐ ܐܦ (vid) ܗܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦܠ ܘܐܙܠ. ܗܠܐ ܒܣܦܪ ܕܫܡܪܝܐ ܗܟܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܣܦܪ ܕܥܒܪܝܐ ܘܒܣܦܪ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ.

And know that the words which the Lord said to Moses, namely, Go to Pharaoh and say: The river will become blood and will throw up frogs, etc., they repeat over again in the codex of the Samaritans, then, "He went and said," and so on. But it is not thus in the codex of the Hebrews and (that of) the Greeks and (that of) the Syrians.[640]

Observe that SH^V, Jacob, and Barhebraeus abridged *independently* of one another. Compare the individuality of opinion regarding 'Gerizim' in **Deut 27.4** (→ **APPENDIX**).

[640] Sprengling and Graham's translation (1931: 113).

EXCURSUS B: THE ΚΑΤΑ CΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΩΝ ANNOTATIONS FROM CODEX M

The Evidence from CODEX M

A matter of interest concerning the σαμ΄-passages in Exod is the conspicuous annotation ΚΑΤΑ CΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΩΝ found twice[641] in CODEX M (Exod 3.6, 15). These were first recorded—without meaningful comment—by Montfaucon, whom Field followed.[642] Despite this, later scholars ignored these, save Kohn[643] and Devreesse.[644]

At Exod 3.6, CODEX M (fol. 39bα) produces the curious marginal note as follows:

ΑΚ
ΑΠΕΚΡΥΨΕΝ:
Κ$^{\text{Τ}}$Α
CΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΩΝ:

This annotation is indexed to the running text at απεστρεψεν. It ought to be observed that this instance does not adhere to the regularly occurring format used by the scribe when recording multiple *recentiores* as providing the same reading for an individual lemma.[645] However, unless a second index marker has disappeared (which is not obvious), the proximity of the second designation to the first can be taken as determinative.[646]

Previously Kohn, basing himself on Field's edition, believed that only the Samaritan attribution should be upheld at 3.6.[647] In agreement with his reconstruction (→

---

[641] κατα Σαμαρειτων is also found in an anonymous *scholion* on fol. 111bα (at Num 19.13). The note is Apollinaris' (see Devreesse, 1959: 142) and unrelated to το σαμ΄ (see Dorival's translation, *BA* 4:382).

[642] 1713: 674 (15:352); Field, 1:85, n. 14.

[643] Kohn, 1894: 54; Pummer repeats Kohn's (1998: 305) to whom I express debt.

[644] Devreesse, who adhered to Montfaucon's separation between the σαμ΄ and μονον-groups, claimed the κατα Σαμαρειτων annotations were somehow related to the latter (1954: 130, n. 6), but this is implausible as the following will show.

[645] *E.g.*, α΄ σ΄ της οιμωγης at 2.24 (fol. 39aβ):

ΑΚ CΥ
ΤΗC ΟΙΜΩΓΗC

[646] The differentiation in method may have been what originally led Montfaucon to list the note without comment (1713: 674 [15:352]). Field did not list this as a σαμ΄ reading in either his *Prolegomena* or *Appendix*.

[647] 1894: 54. His doubt of Aquila's attribution was probably based on MSS 85 (επ.) and 127 (both s nom in Field).

§1.2.2.1) of the *Textgeschichte* of το σαμ΄, he claimed that ST (here translating סתר with כסה/י, not טמר as usual) directly corresponded to the marginal reading.[648] Recent MS evidence casts serious doubt on Kohn's rejection of Aquila, which cannot be sustained.[649] Naturally, if both MT and SP produced the same Hebrew, it would not be unusual if both Aquila and 'κατα σαμαρειτων' adopted the same Greek.

A second, much more opaque occurrence of this same designation is found at verse 15 (fol. 39bβ):

ϲн κ$^{\text{т}}$а ϲамарєιтѡн.[650]

The note is unfortunately not indexed to anything in the running text, nor is there any attending variant reading. The part of v 15 immediately adjacent to the note (ουτως—ιακωβ) reads in precise agreement with GExod, and the only variation between MT and SP for that portion is the *waw* before אלהים יצחק. Thus, the MS itself lost something, rendering this latter case inconclusive.[651]

To What does κατα ϲамарєιтѡн *Actually Refer?*

The most challenging aspect of these marginalia is the unique form of the attribution. Strictly the annotation could be read to mean 'against the Samaritans'[652] or 'according [to the (acc.)] of the Samaritans'. Certainly, the situation in 3.6 is more naturally understood as the latter possibility. Kohn believed the laconic annotation was

---

[648] ST: כסה (both J and A); A reads וכבשינון (= Tg$^{\text{O and PJ}}$) in the mg. (Tg$^{\text{N}}$ offers ואטמר.)

[649] Wevers App$^{\text{II}}$: απεστρεψεν] α′ (absc 64 321) απεκρυψεν (επ. 85; …]κρυψεν 64 321) M 64^{oI}-707^{oII} 85′-127(s nom)-344(s nom)^{s}. Pummer, when reiterating Kohn's analysis for this reading, was careful not to deny the attribution to Aquila (1998: 305).

[650] See Field (1:85, n. 14) who may have checked the MS as Montfaucon did not provide ϲн in his edition. On ϲн as used in hexaplaric witnesses, see Field (2005: 181 [1:xcviii]).

[651] Kohn attempted to connect the notation to the anonymously recorded επικεκληται in 3.18. However, his reason for this is unclear; perhaps he misread Field (1984: 54; cf. Pummer, 1998: 305).

[652] Apollinaris' *scholion* at Num 19.13 used it this way. Compare the similar remark ση. κατα ιουδαιων also in CODEX M at Gen 19.24 (see Field 1:35, n. 12; Harl, *BA*, 1: 182).

shorthand for κατα ερμηνειαν Σαμαρειτων.[653] Conceivably κατα την εκδοσιν Σαμαρειτων or something similar is also possible.

As to the relationship between κατα Σαμαρειτων and το σαμαρειτικον: It is important to remain open to possibilities. With respect to 'Samaritan' designations, the MS itself only records these here and a paltry three other instances as follows: Exod 28.9 (fol.38bα): ⲧⲟ ⲥⲁⲙ᾽ ⲥⲁⲣⲇⲓⲟⲩ, Lev 15.3 (fol. 81bα): ⲧⲟ ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣ᾽ ⲉⲥⲡⲓⲗⲱⲥⲉⲛ, and Lev 15.8 (fol. 81bα): ⲧⲟ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ(*sic*) ⲡⲧⲩⲥⲏ. Conspicuously, the fully spelled-out 'το σαμαρειτικον' of later MSS is unrepresented in CODEX M. It is thus probable that, to the scribe of M, ⲧⲟ ⲥⲁⲙ᾽, ⲧⲟ ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣ᾽, and ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲣⲉⲓⲧⲱⲛ were one and the same. Probably the moniker had not yet been standardized. Thus, the reading απεκρυψεν at Exod 3.6 in the margin of CODEX M is best understood as an explicitly attributed σαμ᾽ reading; for ultimately it is the reading's typology and MS pedigree which is most decisive.

Implications for Carl 49 and Gie?

If the present interpretation of the MS can be upheld for the attribution at Exod 3.6, then the marginal rendering απεκρυψεν, as a Samaritan reading, may by extension have further importance for the history of Samaritan Greek. For this reading agrees with a peculiar Greek witness, Carl 49 (Copenhagen, Univ.-Bibl. = Inv. P. Lange 32 A).[654] These fragmentary pieces[655] of parchment, dated to the latter 5th century CE,[656] contain a significantly revised text which was recensionally developed towards some kind of

[653] 1894: 54. While the present study agrees in principle with Kohn's analysis at this point, his comparative construal of the attribution notice at SH Exod 8.5(9) (54, n. 3) is incorrect (→ **§2.3.1**). The SH corresponds to εκδοσις / ܐܬܪܓܡ, not ερμηνεια. While the annotation at Exod 8.5 is unique amongst the others, its reading clearly corresponds to the μονον-type.

[654] Rahlfs and Fraenkel, 2004: 183-84; since assigned Rahlfs number 886.

[655] Fragmentary attestation to Exod 3.2-6, 7-8, 12-13, 16-19 (see Rahlfs and Fraenkel [2004: 184] for specifics).

[656] For the *editio princeps*, see Bülow-Jacobsen and Strange, 1986. The editors compare the fragments' script to that of CODEX A and place it "in the latter half of the fifth century" (16).

Hebrew base, a base Wevers believed to be MT.[657] Yet, among Carl 49's revised readings is απεκρυψεν for απεστρεψεν in v 6, a reading uniquely shared only by MS 458^{n}, Aquila (επ. 85^{s}), and, according to the present analysis of CODEX M, 'κατα Σαμαρειτων', the latter being one of the earliest surviving σαμ΄-readings.

Granted, the revision of απεστρεψεν with απεκρυψεν, is, in isolation, hardly meaningful evidence suggesting Carl 49 contains (or was influenced by) a Samaritan recension. Yet, there are several more striking readings which militate against Wevers' earlier assessment:

	GExod	Carl 49	SP	MT
3.4	κυριος 1°	**θ$\overline{ς}$**	"= Sam"	≠ MT
	κυριος 2°	ο θ$\overline{ς}$	**אלהים**	
3.5	τα υποδημα	τα υποδηματα σου	"= 𝔐^{L}; Sam"	
3.6	αυτω	>	= SP	"= 𝔐"
	του πατρος σου	**των π$\overline{ρ}$ω$\overline{ν}$ σου**	"= Sam"	≠ **אביך**
	απεστρεψεν δε	**και απ̣[ε]κρυψεν**	**ויסת(י)ר**	
3.17	των Χαναν.	του χανα[…	"= 𝔐; Sam"	
	κ. Χετταιων	κ. εθθαιο̣[υ]	**και ≠ SP = MT**	
	κ. Ε. κ. Α. κ. Φ. κ. Γ.	**κ. Ευ. post κ. Γ.**	"= Sam"	≠ MT
	Ευαιων	ευαιου	"= 𝔐; Sam"	
	Αμορραιων	-ρρεου	"= 𝔐; Sam"	
	Φερεζαιων	-ζαιου	"= 𝔐; Sam"	
	Γεργεσαιων	**-σαιου**	"= Sam"	≠ MT
	Ιεβουσαιων	-σεου	= SP	"= 𝔐"
3.18	ερεις	ερειτε (εριται cod)	"= 𝔐^{L}; Sam"	
	ινα θυσωμεν	και θυσιασωμ̣εν	= SP	"= 𝔐"
3.19	Φαραω	>	= SP	"= 𝔐"

Table B.1: Carl 49 and SP

Also valuable is a sample of Carl 49's distinctive Greek renderings:

	GExod	Carl 49	Notes
3.3	τι οτι	pr προς	
3.4	τι εστιν	ιδου εγω	α΄ θ΄ ιδου εγω F^{b}(s nom) 64^{ol}
3.5	μη εγγισης ωδε	**μ̣η ενγισης [συ]ναρπαγ̣η̣ι**[658]	See Bülow-Jacobsen and Strange
3.6	απεστρεψεν δε	**και απ̣[ε]κρυψεν**	See present discussion
3.17	αναβιβιασω	αναξω	See Bülow-Jacobsen and Strange

[657] *Exod*, 16. Bülow-Jacobsen and Strange followed adding: "There is no basis for ascribing the translation to any of the translators quoted by Origen in the *Hexapla*" (1986: 16).

[658] Bülow-Jacobsen and Strange interpret συναρπαγη as a single lexeme (with *LSJ*, *s.v.*), not as two separate words (so Wevers' App^{l}).

3.18	η γερουσια	**[οι] συναιτοι**	**see Gie (Deut 25.7, 8)**	
	πορευσωμεθα	πορευθηναι	= 458^{n}; cp. απεκρυψεν (v 6)	
	ινα θυσωμεν	και θυσιασωμεν	= SP	"= 𐤉𐤆𐤁"
3.19	προησεται	[σ]υνχωρησι	? (rd. -σει[659])	

Table B.2: Greek Renderings of Note in Carl 49

Bülow-Jacobsen and Strange earlier noted that Carl 49 has a few readings where "one may suspect differences between the Hebrew text behind [it] and [MT]".[660] As an example of this, they mentioned but one agreement Carl 49 exhibits with SP (των $\overline{\pi\rho\omega\nu}$ σου). No further examples of agreement with SP were offered, and it is unclear if the Samaritan tradition was taken seriously as a possible textual base.[661]

Concerning the Greek readings, they noted certain oddities, especially Carl 49's μη ενγισης [συ]ναρπαγῃι. This reading, which they translated as "Do not approach hastily", prompted unease, especially as they found that "[the] translator is usually very faithful to the Hebrew". As a result they suggested the reviser's "Hebrew text differed from those known today", struggling mightily to explain it.[662] While [συ]ναρπαγῃι is truly unique, the rendering very obviously stems from ST's exegesis: אל תקרב עטף (J [לית A]).[663]

One could react similarly to their comments on [οι] συναιτοι. Bülow-Jacobsen and Strange suggested this "curious" rendering was selected in order to "remove the idea of 'old' from the normal concept of 'old and wise'".[664] However, this particular terminology has been connected with the Samaritan understanding of Israelite eldership in previous textual studies on the Gießen fragments (→ **§1.2.2.2**),[665] and within the wider context of

[659] Bülow-Jacobsen and Strange, 1986: 17.

[660] 1986: 16.

[661] *E.g.*, the reading γεργεσαιου is compared with PExod not SP (1986: 21).

[662] *Viz.*, their attempt to connect the reading to root הלם (*hlm*), which "like συναρπαγη, has a connotation of violence" (1986: 20).

[663] A: עטיף M*ins; הכה M_1; הלכה m; להכה C; Tal translates ST 'do not come right away' (*DSA*, חטף א, 2, ב).

[664] 1986: 21.

[665] Cf. Rahlfs and Glaue, 1911:45-46 and Tov, 1999: 472-73. Presently, ST Exod 3.19: וסאבי (J) וסהבי (A); וחכימי (VMECB); Tg^{N} וחכימיה; Tg^{O-PJ} וסבי.

the presently discussed evidence from CODEX M, probably ought to be reckoned as such here as well.

It would thus seem then that Carl 49 represents a Samaritan Greek recension and, by extension, may be related to Gie in some fashion.[666] Still, caution is required. In addition to scholarly disagreement on how Gie ought to be understood and classified (*viz.*, Is it a translation or recension or both? Is it Samaritan or not?), Carl 49's provenance is unknown. Bülow-Jacobsen and Strange observed that the fragments came from H.O. Lange's collection, categorized under an inventory designation 'Lange 32 A', which they believed indicates that text was purchased from Egypt, in either 1899 or 1929.[667] They further noted that Carl 49 came from the same codex as Strass 748 (Straßburg, Pap. gr. 748), containing fragments of Gen 25.19-22 and 26.3-4.[668] While it is tempting to directly connect Carl 49 and Gie due their ostensibly similar recensional character and possible place of origin (Egypt, 5th century CE), a more thoroughgoing investigation (beyond the present endeavour) is required to confirm the identity of the fragments.

[666] Fraenkel's assessment is that Carl 49/Strass 748 are somehow related to Gie, though he provided no analysis of Carl 49's readings (Rahlfs and Fraenkel, 2004: 184-85 and 132). Fraenkel appears to follows Tov's analysis of Gie.

[667] 1986: 15.

[668] 1986: 15; Rahlfs and Fraenkel, 2004: 367 (also given Rahlfs number 886). Wevers' assessment for Strass 748 was similar to that of Carl 49 (*Gen*, 29).

CHAPTER III – THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH IN THE (SYRO)HEXAPLA OF NUMBERS: EXTANT PASSAGES WITH ATTRIBUTION AND CROSS-REFERENCE ANNOTATIONS

3.1 – Introduction to Previous Scholarship

Studies have not focused exclusively on SH Num as Ceriani's had for SH Exod;[669] consequently, the μονον-data in SH Num MSS have not been much studied outside of Field's survey. Yet, since a handful of these passages grace the margins of certain s-group MSS, at times scholars have commented on the Samaritan texts in the *Greek* MSS of Num, though generally in a haphazard manner in studies focusing on related topics.[670] More recently, two doctoral theses endeavoured to produce a systematic analysis of the hexaplaric materials in Num for both SH and extant Greek MSS, including the μονον-texts.

3.1.1 – Joseph White's Open Letter Concerning al-Ḥārith's Version

Joseph White (1745-1814), sometime Laudian Professor of Arabic at the University of Oxford, issued a proposal[671] expounding the necessity to publish an edition of the Arabic translation of SH Pent undertaken by Arab Christian scholar **al-Ḥārith ibn Sinān ibn Sunbāṭ al-Ḥarrānī** (10th century CE).[672] White explained that given the disappearance of SH^{M} (→ **§1.1**), it was best to use al-Ḥārith's translation to recoup the loss.[673] In order to whet an appetite for this new edition, White produced samples from various hexaplaric MSS with translation and annotation. In addition to a number of passages from the Milan SH (= SH^{C}), MS 88, and CODEX Q, he also (re)produced[674] a Latin translation of al-Ḥārith's *Prefatory Epistle* (→ **§1.2.1.3**) along with an excerpt covering

[669] It is unclear why Ceriani did not publish an edition of SH Num (1863: vii; Field, 1: 224).
[670] *E.g.*, Kahle, 1915; 1947; Pummer, 1998.
[671] White, 1779.
[672] On al-Ḥārith's work, see now Vollandt, 2015: 60-62; also Graf, 2.251.
[673] White, 1779: v. The textual value of the translation has been questioned (*e.g.*, Baars, 1968: 149, n. 5).
[674] The translation of the *Epistle* was first published by Pococke in 1692, something White acknowledged. The latter only added a small portion of the beginning missing from Pococke's translation (White, 1779: 8ff; Aldrich, 1692: 131-140).

Num 27.12-23. This last specimen included a marginal μονον-passage, **Num 27.23א-ב** (→ **§3.3.2**), the Syriac of which was not recovered until 1964. Al-Ḥārith's Pentateuch remains unedited.[675]

3.1.2 – Frederick Field's *Origenis Hexaplorum*

Regarding Num, Field had recourse to BM ADD. 14,437 (= SH^{L}, 8th century CE), al-Ḥārith (via H-P), and s-group MSS 85 and 130, as well as MS 58^{O}.[676] He specified he used Ceriani's copy of SH^{L}.[677] He did not consult the recension of Jacob of Edessa (→ **§1.3.2.2**). Probably Ceriani did not supply the JNum μονον-passages in his transcription. However, it must be pointed out that had Field used Jacob, the MS would only have served for Num 31.20א-ד and, possibly, Num 21.24+. JDeut's μονον-passages, similarly unused by Field, are much more significant (→ **APPENDIX**).

3.1.3 – The Editions of Paul de Lagarde and Brooke-McLean

Lagarde's 1892 edition presented the text of BM ADD. 14,437, along with the first paragraph of Wright's catalogue entry.[678] He provided only a transcription without comment.

Brooke-McLean's diplomatic edition of CODEX B (Num [1911]), with respect to sources containing μονον-passages, utilized SH^{L}, 58 ("k"), 85 ("z"), 130 ("s"), and, most importantly, 344 ("v", → **§3.4**). The editors included the Samaritan attributions from the s-group MSS in their full Greek form as Field (and Montfaucon) had done.[679] Concerning SH, Lagarde's edition was used generally (→ **§2.1.3**). It is possible they had recourse to the MS itself, as they correctly placed SH's reading for **Num 21.11א** (not at 21.13 as

[675] Both **R. Vollandt** and Prof. **Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala** have confirmed that work on an edition of the text is in process (private communication, March 2013 and August 2013, respectively).

[676] On his utility of MS 58, see above (→ **§2.1.2**). 58 transmits only one μονον-reading in Num.

[677] 1: 224.

[678] *CSMBM*, 1: 31.

[679] *N.B.*: Because Wevers did not produce these, the s-group attribution formulae are taken from Br.-M. in the present study (→ **§3.3.2**).

Lagarde mistakenly had), though they may have simply followed Field.[680] As before, readings and attributions were given in Latin, with limited Syriac, *e.g.*, ܚܒܪ and certain proper names.

3.1.4 – Arthur Vööbus' Discovery and J. W. Wevers' Edition

From the time of Ceriani and Field, the primary source of SH Num was exclusively[681] BM ADD. 14,437 which contains considerable lacunae.[682] Most unfortunately, the MS lacks the colophon. For as the subscription in Exod revealed (→ **§2.2**), the incorporation of the μονον-materials into the hexaplaric recension was deemed worthy of distinction by the Caesarean collator(s) as a special feature of their εκδοσις and was thus underscored in their original subscription. Fortunately in 1964, **A. Vööbus**, stumbled upon a codex in Midyat[683] (→ **§2.1.4**) containing the vast majority of the SH Pent. The edition was published in photo-facsimile in 1975, making its text and marginal niceties available to a wider scholarly audience. With respect to the current study, the codex's chief import is for the recovery of (most of) the SH Num colophon (→ **§3.2**) and the Samaritan cross-references in Deut (→ **§3.3.1** at **Num 10.10א-ג** [attribution]).

Otherwise, the SH^{V} transmits μονον-readings in Num discernible from other sources.[684]

Wevers' Göttingen edition of *Numeri* (1982), in keeping with previous volumes (*Genesis* [1974], *Deuteronomium* [1977]), followed the unfortunate precedent set by Brooke-McLean in rendering the SH texts in Latin translation. However, at the same time, Wevers diverged from that precedent by omitting the s-group attribution notations. As

---

[680] Perhaps they had 'corrected' the placement by means of the G MSS?

[681] Both Field and Brooke-McLean consulted Barhebraeus' *Scholia*, itself lacking μονον-data in Num.

[682] Missing: init-1.32; 2.2-15; 3.9-22; 3.47-7.19; 7.36-10.6; 15.28-16.2; 16.29-41; 27.40-fin (Wright, *CSMBM*, 1:31). See Wevers (*Num*, 29) for more specific delimitations.

[683] Vööbus detailed the discovery of the codex in his *Introduction* (1975: 26-29) to the edition.

[684] While the Syriac of Num 21.24+, **27.23ב-א**, and 31.20ד-א are only recovered from SH^{V}, Greek readings survive for these passages and, strictly speaking, other sources known previously to SH^{V} attested to their existence, namely al-Ḥārith's translation (**Num 27.23ב-א**) and JNum (Num 21.24+ and 31.20ד-א).

before, truncated Latin attributions were provided, *e.g.*, "ex Sam secundum 85′-321′-344 Syh". Even the much discussed *scholion* attached to the s-group's μονον-passage at **Num 13.1א-ד** was nowhere mentioned in the edition (i.e., his *Einleitung*) or its supporting publications (*THGN*, *NGTN*). For SH, Wevers utilized Lagarde's edition[685] in addition to the then published text of the Midyat MS.

3.1.5 – Recent Dissertations by Burris and McClurg

Two recent doctoral theses, conducted under the auspices of the *Hexapla Project* (1994—),[686] also deal with the μονον-passages found in the hexaplaric evidence for the book of Num. These studies, undertaken by **Kevin Burris** (2009) and **Andrew McClurg** (2011),[687] while largely based on Wevers' editions, update and comment on the hexaplaric data, including the passages excerpted from SP found in SH and associated G MSS. Though both surveys still await publication, the following will interact with their analyses, as both make greater efforts to discuss the Samaritan data in Num than has been previously attempted.

3.2 – The Colophon to Syrohexapla Numbers: Transcription, Translation, and Notes

Before analysing samples of the μονον-data in SH Num and related texts, it is essential to first examine the colophon, garnering any historical implications the subscription may have on the present study. The SH Num colophon, extant only in the MIDYAT CODEX, reads:

SH Num Colophon (SH^{V} fol. 151b)
[1] ܥܠܒ ܚܟܬ ܚܟܠܗ ܗܘ ܗܟ. ܗܟܬ ܚܟ ܗܥܟ ❖ [stylized *påsôqå*]
[similarly stylized *påsôqå*]
[2] ܗܟ ܚܟ ܚܟ ܗܟ ܗܟ ܗܟ ܗܟ ܗܟ ܗܟ ܗܟ ܗܟ ܗܟ ܗܟ ܗܟ ܗܟ ܗ **[3]** ܗ.

[685] This is clear from his denoting **Num 21.11א** as "ind ante 13"; cp. Field and Brooke-Mclean *ad loc*.

[686] On which, see www.hexapla.org.

[687] Both supervised by **Peter Gentry**.

[4] ܕܐܦܣܩ ܕܣܦܪ ܒܡܢܝܢ ܕܐܬܬܪܓܡ ܕܫܒܥܝܢ ܒܫܦܪ ܩ̈ ,ܒܗܪ ܫܡ ܝ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܗܟܢܐ.
[5a] ܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܕܐܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܦ ܒܗ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܗܟܢܐ ,ܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܕܐܬܢܣܚ ܒܗ ܕܐܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ

place. If this is so, the attested MS history is extended by another generation allowing more opportunities for scribes to omit (or alter) vulnerable marginalia such as the μονον-passages, whether purposefully or accidentally. Since it would have been exceptional for the Syriac translator(s) to editorialize to such lengths,[693] the present analysis holds that lns. **2**-**3** were Greek, adding another level of scribal transmission.

► ܐܢܛܝܓ (lns. **2**, **3**, **4**) 'αντιγραφον' and ܟܬܒ (lns. **1**, **5a**, **5b**) 'βιβλιον (-λος)' : The use of ܟܬܒ here (ln. **5a**-**b**) is the only attested usage in a *translated* portion of a SH colophon.[694] It represents two distinct senses, *viz.*, **1)** that of the 'book of Num' (ln. **5a**) and **2)** the physical item (ln. **5b**), i.e., the 'book' (here ≈ αντιγραφον), upon which the Samaritan passages were written in the margin. While the Greek subscriptions preferred αντιγραφον over βιβλιον, it is perhaps best to not read anything into the term, materially, as has been previously suggested.[695]

► ܐ ܩܝ ,ܐܟܐ (lns. **4**, **5b**) 'εξαπλων' : As mentioned above (→ **§2.2**), there is some ambiguity as to which 'hexapla' the Samaritan materials were added. Unfortunately, due to both the process of rewriting the subscriptions (here, lns. **4**-**6**) and the incomplete nature of the present colophonic statement (ln. **6**), there is further uncertainty as to what the second mentioning of 'hexapla' represents. The first instance can, however, firmly be identified as an authorized copy of the Eusebian edition of the 'hexapla', bearing the *ex-libris* of the Caesarean bishop himself. The second, though incomplete, probably does not mean the *Hexapla Maior* (as Ceriani might have it [→ **§2.4.2**]). Aside from the lack of conclusive evidence that the larger columned synopsis contained anything in its "margins" approaching the size and scope of the μονον-passages (→ **§4.1**), the Syriac requires that

[693] How could the Syrian translator(s) know the Greek scribe testified truly (ln. **3**) without access to his *Vorlage*?

[694] The only extant Greek subscription to use βιβλιον is that for Est in CODEX S (παλαιωτατον βιβλιον, twice).

[695] Cp. Jenkins, 1991: 264.

ܗ ܩ̈ܝ ,ܗܟܦ̈ ܡ (ln. **5b**) be reckoned as 'that very hexapla', most likely designating the 'hexapla' already mentioned—the Eusebian copy (ln. **4**). However, since the colophon is incomplete, this interpretation cannot be established beyond all doubt. Compare above, the discussion for the term in SH Exod colophon (→ **§2.2**).

► ܐܝܩܣܪ̈ܝ ܕܒܝܒܠܝܘܬ̈ܩ̈ (ln. **4**) 'της εν Καισαρια βιβλιοθηκης' (PS 1:444) : The word for 'library' here ܒܝܒܠܝܘܬ̈ܩ̈ (also in SH Isa) is not the only equivalent used by the Syriac translator(s) (cp. ܒܝܬ̈ ܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ 'house of books' [Gen, 3 and 4 Kgdm]). The variation could perhaps be due to different translators as both represent βιβλιοθηκη.[696] Further, this is not the only subscription to identify the Caesarean library as 'of Eusebius Pamphili' (*e.g.*, Gen), though it is also identified as Origen's (Isa) or just geographically ܕܩܣܪ̈ܝܐ (3 and 4 Kgdm).[697] As the SH subscriptions illustrate, direct connections with the Caesarean library, or rather the original exemplars of Pamphilus, Eusebius, and Origen (→ ***Table 1.1.1.2***) contained therein, was of the utmost importance to Paul of Tella.

► ܕ̈ܐܘܣܒܝܘ ܕ̈ܦܡ̈ܦ̈ܝܠ̈ (ln. **4**) 'του Ευσεβιου (του) Παμφιλου : As already discussed regarding the SH Exod colophon (ln. **6**; → **§2.2**), Eusebius is the only Father mentioned by name in connection with the hexaplaric εκδοσις of the Pent. (All of the implications discussed above apply here as well.) It is perhaps not circumstantial that Eusebius' adopted patronym 'of Pamphilus' only occurs in the Pent subscriptions (→ ***Table 1.1.1.2***). Is this because the Eusebian editions of these texts were issued only after Pamphilus had died and Eusebius had taken his name?[698] Or is this unduly speculative, since scribes might just as easily supply the famous cognomen (though they failed to do so in the other subscriptions)? It should be pointed out that while Greek scribes often rewrote

[696] Note Zuntz, 1945: 14-15.

[697] Subscriptions in other works also associate the library with Pamphilus (*e.g.*, NT MS H^{P} [*H 015; "*Codex Coislinianus*"; *Coisl.* 202). On the history of the library and Pamphilus' role in its development, see Carriker, 2003: 10-16 (→ **§4.2.2**).

[698] On Eusebius' taking of Pamphilus' name, see Carriker, 2003: 19-21.

subscriptions, they tended to adopt the terminology of the colophon they rewrote (i.e., μετελληφθη / εγραφη). Thus, 'Eusebius' should not have been replaced with 'Eusebius Pamphili'. It is further unlikely Pamphilus' name was originally listed separately (i.e., 'of Eusebius *and of* Pamphilus'); on this, see below (→ **§4.2.3**).

► ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒ ܥܠ ܫܡܪܝܢ .ܟܠܗ ܡܠܐ ܟܬܒ (ln. **5a**) : Unlike the terminology in the SH Exod colophon (see ܟܬܒܐ ,ܫ [ln. **6b**] → **§2.2**), this subscription uses the masculine with reference to the 'the Hebrew of the Samaritans'. Additionally, the majority of attribution annotations in SH Num reflect this, though there is some ambiguity here as to whether ܟܫ ܝ (= a 'copy' of SP) or ܟܗ (= SP Num) is implied for ܟܬܒ ܥܠ ܟܬܒܐ. As detailed above (→ **§1.3.2.2**), the μονον-collation as transmitted by SH and other related hexaplaric MSS exhibits a collation where SP was *quantitatively* compared with the (hexaplaric) edition of G—not MT (→ **§2.2**). Therefore, the first 'Hebrew' here should be understood as 'the Hebrew underlying the (hexaplaric) εκδοσις of Numbers (i.e., ܟܗ ܡܠܐ) according to the Seventy'. *Viz.*, the translated base-text was compared, not differing renditions of the same base text. As a result, the 'μονον-like' passage at Num 4.14א was *not* marked because it equates GNum (sub ÷) and thus cannot be 'only' (i.e., μονον) in SP (→ **§3.3.2** at **Num14.45א[b]**). For ܡܫܬܒܚ / αντιβεβληται,[699] see above philological notes (→ **§2.2**).

► ܟܥܕܘܬ (ln. **5b**) 'προσθηκαι' (PS 1:1610) : Vööbus misinterpreted the notion represented by the first half of ln. **5b**, rendering "from which (are) also the traditions to the value",[700] mistranslating both ܟܥܕܘܬ and ܟܢܡܟ (see below). ܟܥܕܘܬ here should be understood as 'additions', or better 'supplements', with reference to the quantitatively

[699] On the use of the pass. ptc. for the Greek perf. mid./pass., see Perkins, 1980: 240-41.

[700] 1975: 43. Perkins did not correct Vööbus' translation (1980: 5). Strangely, Vööbus correctly rendered the term "the additions" in his earlier attempt (1971: 78). Pummer wisely quotes his earlier translation, noting there were "slight differences" between the two (1998: 275).

variant passages, added to the margins of the hexaplaric εκδοσις of Num. Instances of described προσθηκαι, though few, are found in some hexaplaric and related literatures: SH Exod,[701] Isa (exegetical literature),[702] and Pss.[703] The term προσθηκη was used to refer to textual addenda; here in the subscription of SH Num, most likely those of the Samaritans.

► ܟܬܒܐ ܪܝܫܐ ܠܟ (ln. **5b**) '?'[704] (see PS 1:1624-25, ܪܝܫܐ # 5) : Again Vööbus' translation "to the value of this book" fails to appreciate the context of the colophon. 'Upon the margin …' is the correct translation. An appropriately analogous use of ܪܝܫܐ is found in Timothy I's *Ep*. 47 to Sergius (→ **§§1.1.1**; **2.3.1** at **Exod 6.9א** [later Syriac tradition]) describing the reproduction of SH he sponsored: ܠܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܕܣܦܪܐ ܕܫܡܪܝܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܣܪܝܠ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܒܝܬ : ܪܝܫܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܝܠܗ ,ܚܙ. ܕܡ ܟ ܪܝܫܐ ܠܟ ܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܢ ܟ : ܟܬܒܐ ܕܫܡܪܝܐ.[705] Note that Timothy's description ܟܬܒܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܢ ܟ *almost as much as the running text of the Seventy*, quite literally describes the proportion of the Samaritan readings found in extant SH MSS.[706]

► ܟܡ[...]ܟܬܒܐ ܚ (ln. **6**) 'ομοιως …'[707] : The end of the visible text on the folio fades away with at least one ⁘ appearing two lines later; there are also the remnants

---

[701] See SH Exod 22.4+: ܡܫܠܡ ܒܡ ܕ ܟܬܒ ܟܫ ܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ⁘ ܟܬܒ ܟܡ ܒܡ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐ ܡ ܟܬ ܟܬ (fol. 71a top mg ind [not sub] ÷; the text is *not* μονον-type as Ceriani supposed, → **§ 2.5**).

[702] *E.g.*, Isa 2.21(and 22): "*Diese Zusätze erregten auch das Interesse der alten Kommentatoren. So sagt Eus. in seinem Kommentar zu* Is. 2:21 ※ παυσασθε—αυτος: «κατα προσθηκην φερεται»" (Ziegler, *Isa*, 60-61). SH Isa *ad loc*: ܡܫܠ ܒܡ ܐ ܟ .ܟܬܒ ܐ ܐ ܡ ܒܡ ܡܫܠ ܟܬܒ ܡܫ ܡ ܡ ܟ ܒ ܡ. *The asterisked words are in the Hebrew and the other recentiores* [i.e., οι λοιποι], *though not in the Seventy.* See Field (2: 435, n. 19) for other witnesses. Also Isa 6.13: "*Zu dem Zusatz* 6:13 ※ σπερμα αγιον το στηλωμα αυτης *bemerkt Eusebius in seinem Kommentar*: «μετα αστερισκων προσθηκης επι λεγει» und «ου κειται μεν παρα τοις ημετεροις αντιγραφοις»" (Ziegler, *Isa*, 62 and App^{II}). See Field (2: 442, n. 21) for related witness.

[703] For Ps 86.5, cited by Field: Μητηρ Σιων το Ρ κατα προσθηκην εκειτο εις την των Ο΄ εν τω τετρασελιδω εν δε τω οκτασελιδω, μη τη Σιων, ηγουν διχα του ρω (2: 238, n. 8; Rahlfs, *Pss*, App^{I}).

[704] See note in → **APPENDIX**.

[705] Braun's interpretation (1901: 300-302) of the 'others' referred to by Timothy, "*und der Anderen* (Quinta *und* Sexta)", is perhaps too limited and does not account for the actual description Timothy gave.

[706] Petitmengin and Flusin surmise Timothy was mostly exaggerating here (1984: 258, and n. 110). However, in the context of the μονον-marginalia, any such exaggeration is not quite as pronounced.

[707] PS 1.914-15; Mercati, 1941: 45.

of another ⁘ a few lines further (see above note). Without question, several lines of the colophon have not survived.

The term ܟܐܗܕܪ is of interest when viewed within the context of other SH subscriptions. For example, after SH Prov, the colophons to the following Solomonic books (Eccles and Cant) specifically mention that their text was 'similarly' (ܟܐܗܕܪ ܗܟ) taken from 'the very same exemplar' (ܟܫ_ܝ ܡܕ ܕ ܡܕ), presumably one containing the hexaplaric edition of the Solomonic corpus.[708] Was the case similar for SH Num? It is possible that there was a kind of Eusebian αντιγραφον of the hexaplaric Pent? Was this confirmed with snippets of first-person testimony from the original exemplar as in Eccles and Cant?

Whatever the case may be, one may reasonably hypothesize, based on comparison of the wider SH subscriptions, that the next several lines of text were occupied with a snippet of first-person testimony from the Eusebian exemplar, previously excerpted by the Greek scribes who had rewritten the colophon. If so, it is possible such a citation described these μονον-passages, seeing that the text breaks off just after mentioning the marginal Samaritan extracts. Given that most of the passages in Num have a distinct relationship with Deut (see below), it would have been logical for the writer of the original colophon to make mention of this, which might then be excerpted by subsequent scribes. The present study conjectures that this was the case, and that this snippet (μετεβαλομεν—Δευτερονομιω) was later repurposed by the s-group scribes (→ **§3.3.2** at **Num 13.1א-ד** [attribution]).

Historical Analysis

Despite the incomplete subscription, there is some information present in the extant lines comparable to that found in the complete Exod colophon (→ **§2.2**): **1)** the

[708] So Mercati, 1941: 43 and 45.

MS(S)' pedigree is shown through a chain of epigraphs directly (and 'truly' [ln. **3**]) connecting the *Vorlage* of the Syriac translators' with the hexaplaric production of Eusebius of Caesarea. **2)** The 'Hebrew' of the Greek source text was quantitatively 'compared' / 'collated' (ܦܫܛ *pael*) with the 'Hebrew' of the Samaritans. **3)** Some kind of remark is included which indicates that the Samaritan layer of the MS was significant. However, instead of expressing such importance in terms of the *effort* put forth by the ancient hexaplaric collators (as in Exod), the *results*, i.e., ܐܬܬܫܚܗ, of such effort were emphasized. **4)** The master exemplar of the *Eusebian* edition contained a source additional to the (presumably)[709] already established hexaplaric text (the *Hexapla Maior*?). **5)** Regardless of the interpretation adopted for **lns. 2-3**, the colophon unequivocally places the Samaritan collation *before* the translation of SH.

3.3 – Syriac and Greek Readings with Commentary

Given the large quantity of readings surviving in both Syriac and Greek witnesses in Num, this chapter analyses most of the readings with extant Greek.[710] However, it is helpful to outline the whole of the evidence recoverable for the μονον-type passages surveyed in this study, which may be tabulated as follows:

SP Passage	GNum MSS	SH (and JNum)	Parallel
Num 10.10א-ג	767^{n} (txt*)	SH^{+} $JNum^{+}$ (txt sub ÷)	Deut 1.6-8
Num 13.1א-ד	$85'^{s}$-344^{s} (mg^{+}; attrib. only in $321'^{s}$)	SH^{L+} $JNum^{+}$ (txt sub ÷)	Deut 1.20-23
Num 14.1א-ו	>	SH^{L+} $JNum^{+}$ (txt sub ÷)	Deut 1.27-33
Num 14.40א	>	SH^{+} (> JNum [lac])	Deut 1.42
Num 14.45א	$85'$-$321'$-344^{s} (mg^{+}) 343^{s} (txt*)	SH^{+} (> JNum [lac])	Deut 1.44
Num 20.13א-ט	>	SH^{+} $JNum^{+}$ (txt sub ÷)	Deut 3.24-28; 2.2-6
Num 21.11א	$85'^{s}$-344^{s} (mg^{+}; MS 85^{*}?) 343^{s} (txt*)	SH^{L+} JNum* (txt sub ÷)	Deut 2.9

[709] Here the presumption is that the textual background of the 'hexaplaric' εκδοσις of Num was comparable to that of Exod. That is to say, there was already an hexaplaric text of Num *without* the SP. Greek exemplars such as CODEX G may confirm this, though admittedly, G^{O} fails to provide any meaningful marginalia.

[710] Retroversion of SH is also not supplied. The more significant points of disagreement between the extant G MSS and what SH can reasonably be retroverted to have represented will be given in the notes.

Num 21.12א-ג–13a	$85'^{s}$-344^{s} (mg^{+})	SH^{+} JNum* (txt sub ÷)	Deut 2.17-19
Num 21.20ב-א	>	SH^{+} $JNum^{+}$ (txt sub ÷)	Deut 2.24-25
Num 21.(22+)**22ב-א**	15^{oI} (txt*; 22ב-א only)	SH^{L+} $JNum^{+}$ (txt sub ÷)	Deut 2.(27)28-29a
Num 21.23א	>	SH^{L+} JNum* (txt sub ÷)	Deut 2.31
Num 21.24+	58^{O} (txt*)	SH^{V+} JNum* (txt sub ÷)	Num 21.35
Num 27.23ב-א	$85'^{s}$-$321'^{s}$-344^{s} (mg+) 343^{s} (txt*)	SH^{V+} (> JNum)	Deut 3.21-22
Num 31.20ד-א	f^{-129} (txt* 20א only) $85'^{s}$-344^{s} (mg*)	SH^{V+} JNum* (txt sub ÷)	Num 31.21-24
Num 32.1+ & **29+**	15^{oI} (txt*)	> SH^{V} (SH^{L} lac.) JNum	Num 32.33

Table 3.3: The μονον*-Type Readings in SH Num and Associated Witnesses*
($^{+}$ = explicitly attributed; * = lack attrib.; all s-group and SH text marginal; **bold** are treated below)

For the sake of convenience, the below is divided into two sections aligning with the readings' extant Greek MS affiliation. This presentation serves only to isolate the s-group's readings as a singular unit, in an effort to examine the historical implications thereof.

3.3.1 – Readings Found in (Scattered) Greek Hexaplaric Manuscripts

'It is time to leave Horeb…'

Before examining the passage in detail, it is necessary to survey the general character of the passage's only surviving Greek witness, MS 767.

MS 767: A Brief Profile] MS 767^{n} (Athos, Λαυρα, 603) is a fascinating witness dated to the 13^{th}-14^{th} century CE. Despite suffering significant lacunae in each[711] of Exod, Lev, and Deut, Num is relatively intact.[712]

► 767 and the μονον-passages : The witness' import for the present study is its inclusion of several μονον-readings, which were integrated into its running text. Yet, whereas in Exod, 767—despite being extant for only half the biblical book—attested two such readings (**Exod 23.19א** and **Exod 32.10א**, → **§2.5**), in Num the MS retained only one. Differently still in Deut, 767 again preserves two such readings (Deut 2.7א-ג and Deut

[711] Rahlfs listed the contents as "Lev 18₇—Ios." (1914: 19; Rahlfs and Fraenkel [2004] do not supplement this information). However, as noted earlier (→ **§2.5.1** at **Exod 23.19א**), the MS survives for the latter half of Exod as well (see Wevers, *Exod*, 14).
[712] For specifics, see *Lev*, 12, *Deut*, 13, and *Num*, 14.

10.6-6א-7-7א, → **APPENDIX**), making it the only extant Greek language witness to preserve μονον-data in Exod, Num, and Deut (paralleling only SH and JPent). Given its late date, and the MS's shift in allegiance from the hexaplaric group to a more Byzantine text-type, this is remarkable.

► 767's relationship with the *O* group : Interestingly in Lev, the MS shifts from attesting the *O* text to one which reflects the n-group. This was first observed by Wevers in his work on Exod. He found that in Exod 35-40 "[767] is clearly hex[aplaric], but prior to this its loyalties seem divided between [groups] O and *n*."[713] When detailing the MS-groups' placements relative to the hexaplaric recension in Num, Wevers again observed the unusual role of 767 within the tradition:

> Within the *n* group ms 767 is often aberrant. When its text differs from the *n* group it shows hexaplaric influence. In the above lists [i.e., lists 1-3] n^{-767} has the hex reading only twice, whereas 767 supports the hex reading over against *n* 59 times. It is, however, an *n* text in its major allegiance.[714]

Wevers' valuation of 767 fits neatly within the presently argued hexaplaric origin of the μονον-passages, insofar as these are a special indication of hexaplaric influence.

► Context of integration : While it is not possible to determine the precise date of 767's integration, the scribal provenance on Athos may serve as a useful clue.[715] See further below (→ **§3.4**). Certainly, 767's μονον-texts ultimately go back to the Caesarean εκδοσις, since most of its readings (i.e., in Num and Deut) parallel those preserved in SH/JDeut.

Num 10.10א-ג] The passage was certainly translated from a Samaritan Hebrew text while still containing meaningful amounts of septuagintism (*e.g.*, αντιλιβανον)

[713] *THGE*, 26.
[714] *THGN*, 59.
[715] Compare MS 527^{y} above (→ **§2.5.2** at **Exod 32.10א**), also from Athos.

commensurate with that found in Exod. 767's tradition, where it diverts from SH, is secondary.

10א] ► $\overline{\text{κς}}$ and ܡܪܝܐ : Contrary to the unified witness of SH Exod (→ **§2.3.1** at **7.29[8.4]א**), the present passage lacks ܡܪܝ. The reason for this is not immediately clear. Certainly for SH, the later SH^{V} did revise the form in comparison with the earlier witness SH^{L} (*e.g.*, Num 20.13א, 13ג; 21.20א [twice]). While it is possible the μονον-translator(s) failed to produce the pervasive hexaplarism in this specific instance, the more likely scenario is that an intermediary Greek scribe abbreviated ויהוה → $\overline{\text{κϲ}}$ in an effort to save space in the margin, hence ܡܪܝܐ (→ **§3.3.2** at **Num 21.11א**).

► ικανουσθω υμιν and ܠܟܘܢ ܣܓܝ : While correct, רב לכם was clearly rendered under the lexical sway of G as opposed to the *recentiores*.[716]

10ב] The verse exhibits a blend of septuagintism and genuine SP elements. Further, there is some differentiation between 767 and SH.

► υμεις and ܥܡܟܘܢ; αμορραιων and ܐܡܘܪܝܐ : The second is a standard septuagintistic pluralized rendering of the gentilic.[717] The first reflects an "otiose" υμεις derived from GDeut specifically; compare **Exod 20.21ח** (→ **§2.3.3**) above.[718]

► περιοικους αυτου τους εν τη παιδιαδι and ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܥܒܕܘܗܝ ,ܕܒܝܬ ܐܪܥܐ : The phrasing displays some freedom from GDeut. The μονον-translator(s) ostensibly demonstrated an effort to render SP's בערבה independently of αραβα in the parallel, something different than in **Exod 20.17(13)ו** (→ **§2.3.3**) = **Deut 5.21ח** (→ **§1.1**). Thus it remains to explain

[716] See Wevers' comments (*NGTN*, 260 and 262); compare the data at Num 16.3 (where the *recentiores* differ), as well as the anonymous πολυ υμιν in M 416^{mx} at Deut 1.6 (see App^{II}). Note while GNum evinces some lexical variety, GDeut consistently uses ικανουσθω (note G 3 Kgdm 12.28 and GEzek 44.6 and 45.9).
[717] Only one MS corrects to -ρραιον $529^{c\ C}$.
[718] Wevers, *NGTD*, 5.

παιδιαδι / ܒܩܥܬܐ (= πεδιον / πεδιας):[719] Given the evinced methodology of the μονον-translator, it would appear that either his GDeut text uniquely read πεδιον / πεδιας at this place or a mistake was made at some point during transmission. Whatever the case, in light of the joint testimony of 767 and SH, it is difficult to imagine the original μονον-translation reading αραβα. Though αυτου has hexaplaric attestation, wider evidence cannot verify *hexaplaric* readings exerted decisive influence on the μονον-translation (*e.g.*, γην χαναναιων / ܟܢܥܢܝܐ ܐܪܥܐ below).[720]

► εις ορος και ° παιδιον και προς λιβαν :: ܠܛܘܪܐ ܘܠ° ܒܩܥܬܐ.ܕܢܓܒ : As previously observed (→ **§2.3.1** at **7.29ג**), the prepositions used in the μονον-translation largely conform to those utilized in the respective G parallel. The present case is somewhat more complex as SH's translation policy superficially reflects a second εις in ܒܩܥܬܐ.[721] The first εις, however, is taken from the parallel, as is GDeut's και προς λιβα(ν) (:: νοτον) for ובנגב. As such, the preposition chain results in accusatives for ορος and παιδιον.[722] SH^{L} lacks the second και due to some error in transmission.

► και ° παραλιαν θαλασσης and ܘܠ ܒܩܥܬܐ ܕܝܡ : The SH here is difficult to parse with respect to the possible presence of θαλασσης in the original μονον-translation, as 767

[719] Field (1: 236, n. 8) retroverts ܒܩܥܬܐ correctly with πεδιον (SH Num 19.16; Deut 1.7); πεδιας was also translated with the same. See App^{II} at Num 26.3 and Deut 4.49, where the SH renders Symmachus' τη παιδιαδι and την παιδιαδα, respectively, with ܒܩܥܬܐ. (SH regularly produced ܐܪܥܐ for αραβα [see SH Deut 1.7; 2.8; Josh 3.16, etc.].)

[720] Wevers App^{II}: + αυτου *O*$^{-82}$ Syh(vid) = 𝔐.

[721] See Perkins' discussion of SH's treatment of εις in compound prepositional phrases (1980: 77, concerning Deut 1.7 specifically). He concludes that SH must remain neutral when such variants are attested by the MS tradition. Both -ܠ and -ܒ were used to reflect εις (1980: 75).

[722] Wevers, *NGTD*, 6.

might suggest, as well as whether επι is reflected in ܠܚ.[723] As it stands, 767's παραλιαν θαλασσης may best reflect the original μονον-translation (*contra* Field and Burris).[724]

► χαναναιων and ܟܢܥܢܝ; αντιλιβανον and ܐܢܛܝܠܒܢܢ : Though both are septuagintistic,[725] the second is much more interesting. Fortuitously, both 767 and SH yield 'Antilebanon' specifically. SH transliterates ܐܢܛܝܠܒܢܢ only here and in 20.13ב, both μονον-passages, elsewise using ܠܒܢܢ ܕܛܘܪ.[726] In this, SH strictly reproduces 767's Greek as that which the μονον-translator(s) produced, which, in turn, confirms the translator'(s) practice of cribbing the G parallel (:: λιβανος) when rendering the Samaritan passages.[727]

► ° ° του μεγαλου ποταμου ευφρατου :: ܢܗܪ ܪܒܐ ܕܐ ܪܒܐ: SH's sequence is correct, apparently uninfluenced by the GDeut parallel, though in agreement with the hexaplaric (?) variant.[728] 767's reading is the result of a simple, uncorrected haplography (ΤΟΥ –ΟΥ ∩ ΤΟΥ –ΟΥ). As such, the order in 767 is secondary to that preserved in the SH.

10ג] The verse shows some of the strongest evidence of a genuine attempt to translate a Samaritan *Hebrew* source.

► εισσελθατε (-ται*) and ܠܡܐ : This is the clearest piece of evidence, in the present passage, that, the μονον-translator(s) worked afresh with an actual *Hebrew*

[723] SH's translation policy was inconsistent with respect to both (*e.g.*, Deut 1.7; Josh 11.3; Judg^{B} 5.17; Ezek 25.16).

[724] Burris, 2009: 249. If 767 added θαλασσης independently, one wonders why the same was not also added by 767 at Deut 1.7 and 33.19.

[725] App^{I}: χανααν *oI*$^{-15}$ 46′-52′^{cII} 75^{n} 83^{z} 319^{mx} 646^{mx} Aeth.

[726] Cp. SH Deut 1.7, 3.25, 11.24; Josh 1.4, and 9.1, all using ܠܒܢܢ ܕܛܘܪ. See Perkins, 1980: 71 and 351. Presumably, this betrays different SH translators, or they had not yet settled on how to render it.

[727] Dogniez and Harl (*BA*, 5:99) viewed GDeut's αντιλιβανον as a Hellenized substitution; see Wevers (*NGTD*, 6) for the contrast of 'Antilebanon' and 'Lebanon' in GJosh (1.4; 9.1 vs. 11.17; 12.7; 13.5, 6, respectively). On the *Antilibanos* generally, see Weinfeld, 1991:191; also Tigay, 1996: 9.

[728] Wevers described it as "possibly hex" (*NGTD*, 6); see App^{I}.

exemplar. As Pummer previously observed,[729] the μονον-translator(s) thought he had read, or in fact was using a MS reading, באו not ראו (𐤁𐤀𐤅 *vs.* 𐤓𐤀𐤅). No extant evidence supports this (mis?)reading, including ST (חזו MSS J A; חזי MS N).[730] As the translator(s) worked so closely with the GDeut parallel for these passages, had the exemplar been defective (or had he suspected as much), he could have corrected the error based on the parallel. Thus, it is safest to presume the μονον-translator'(s) *Vorlage* contained a variant reading no longer preserved.

► εισελθονται ° κλιρονομησαται :: ܥܒܕܘ ܠܗܝ : The original μονον-translation may not be recoverable in this instance. The SH's Greek probably read (εισ)ελθετε/εισπορευεσθε και κληρονομησατε (αυτην ?).[731] If this is so, MS 767 then would demonstrate further, secondary septuagintism, either on the part of 767 (or its ancestor MS[S]) in both the shift to the participle form and the dropping of και, both alterations aligning with the parallel in GDeut 1.8. Such could have easily occurred at the point of integration.

There is further difficulty in deciding the Greek lexeme behind SH's ܠܗܝ (2°). Field's retroversion εισπορευομαι was based on *his* GDeut text (i.e., CODEX B). However, the MS tradition is split on this point.[732] The Syrians did not distinguish between εισερχομαι and εισπορευομαι, translating both with ܥܠ. Given the extant evidence from

---

[729] 1998: 274.

[730] 2Q10 reads אֹו[ר at Deut 1.8; Baillet's description does not consider whether or not the *resh* could be reconstructed differently (DJD 3:60).

[731] Whether or not the SH's Greek had αυτην is uncertain (cp. SH Deut 1.8, 21; 9.23; 10.11). As for ܠܗܝ ܥܒܕܘ, the case is a bit more complex. Field (Burris follows) retained GDeut's εισπορευθεντες κληρονομησατε, but this seems uncertain. Granted there is noticeable variety in SH Deut's rendering of the participle in the participle + imperative construction (Perkins, 1980: 328-29, 330-32), but the insertion of a και between them is more unusual still. εισπορευθεντες κληρονομησατε would more regularly be rendered ܥܒܕܝܢ ܢܥܠ ܘܪܬ (Deut 4.1) or something similar (Perkins, 1980: 329).

[732] Wevers: "[O]nly the text tradition can decide which is original" (*NGTD*, 7). See App[l]: εισελθοντες] ην πορευθεντες 509[mx]; πορευθεντες M[mg] 537[b] *n*[–767] 85′[mg a]; εισπορευθεντες B *b f*[–129] 344[mg s] 71′-527[y] 630[c z] 416[mg mx] = Ra.

the parallel, it is not unsafe to presume that 767's secondary septuagintization affected verb inflection only, not word choice. Thus, the Greek translator probably produced εισελθετε not εισπορευεσθε (*contra* Field and Burris).[733] Ironically, while εισερχομαι is far more common in G generally than εισπορευομαι, the latter is more frequent in GDeut than the former (see H-R).

► και ° ισααακ :: 𐤔𐤌𐤔𐤄𐤒 (= τω ισααακ)[734] : Here again, as above, 767 possibly shows a further septuagintism in offering και Ισααακ.[735] Regardless of the cause, due to the witness of the SH (= SP), it is a secondary development, and roughly equates a kind of secondary septuagintism present in 767's integrated μονον-passages (→ **§§2.5.1** at **Exod 23.19א** and **2.5.2** at **Exod 32.10א**, both being secondary to MS 58's).

► και ° ιακωβ :: 𐤋𐤉𐤏𐤒𐤁° : Again, 767 and the SH disagree, with the former demonstrating septuagintism,[736] while the latter, though lacking SP's conjunction, certainly is free from any such septuagintism in the listing of the patriarchs. Perhaps SH omitted this last και by mistake, misreading the ϗ compendium (*viz.*, ⲧⲱⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕϗⲧⲱⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ) used in its exemplar.[737]

► δουναι :: 𐤋𐤄𐤍𐤕 : Both 767 and the SH align with the SP, apparently unaffected by GDeut's δουναι αυτοις και. Field's retroversion δουναι αυτην seems correct and may betray the reading of the μονον-translator'(s) GDeut MS(S).[738] However, assuming this reconstruction, it is difficult to see how 767 could have omitted αυτην, as

---

[733] Perhaps Field's (1:236 and n. 8) reconstruction was also influenced by the occurrence of εισπορευεσθαι earlier in the passage?

[734] Burris (2009: 249) does not record the variations between SH and 767 for לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב.

[735] No GDeut MS fails to include the και (App^{I}).

[736] Note App^{I}. Again, no GDeut MS omits και.

[737] The και compendium is at least as old as CODEX S (4th century CE; for examples, see Skeat, Milne, and Cockerell, 1938: 20 [fig. 6]). It occurs also in CODEX G (5th century CE) as well as in the marginal Greek glosses found in SH^{C}.

[738] 1: 236. Compare SH Deut 1.8 (𐤋𐤄𐤍𐤕), with both Exod 22.16 (17) and Num 34.13. App^{I}: αυτοις] αυτην 121^{y} 68$^{\prime z}$; + αυτην *oI*$^{-15}$ 83^{z}.

scripta continua appears unlikely. Perhaps at some point of transmission, the same promise from the context of Exod 6.8 (לתת אתה and ונתתי אתה) was unknowingly imposed on the present passage, as no SP or ST evidence suggests the infinitive was followed by an object.

► σπερματι αυτου : 767's pronoun was perhaps graphically corrupted: ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛⲙⲉⲧ → ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧ.[739] Aside from a presumed ω/ου confusion, uncial scripts permit a further graphic ⲛ/ⲙ misreading, most probable in conjunction with marginal *scripta continua*. Even without assuming SH's ܠܐܚܪ ܙܪܥܗ, Samaritan script prevents confusion between ם / ם and ו / ו, nor do any Samaritan witnesses attest any such variant.[740]

Num 10.10א-ג (attribution)] There are several aspects of the present attribution which require comment, namely: **1)** 767's lack of any such note, **2)** the form of SH's note when compared to those recorded in Exod, and **3)** the extended function of the μονον-attributions in Num within the wider Caesarean, μονον-collation.

► 767's lack of attribution : As previously discussed (→ **§2.5**), several μονον-type readings in Exod survived only in the running text of certain, scattered hexaplaric G MSS. These readings, plainly derived from the same type of Samaritan passages originally belonging to the Caesarean collation, were at some point promoted to the regular running text by unknown scribes. During the course of this integration, the original attribution notes, as well as any distinguishing text-critical marks, were lost. However, whereas this process in Exod had to be surmised based upon typology alone, in Num the situation is quite different. For in Num, a number of these integrated μονον-passages parallel the same

[739] No GDeut MS reads this way at the parallel.

[740] Field mistakenly retroverted SH as σπερματι υμων μεθ υμας (1: 236; so Burris [2009: 249]). How he came to this retroversion is unknown as no G MS reads thus (App[1]: *vos* Arab), and the Syriac very clearly has ܠܐܚܪ ܙܪܥܗ ܕܒܬܪ ܙܪܥܗ 'to *their* seed after *them*'.

in SH, in their original *marginal* context. This post-hexaplaric practice of promoting μονον-passages from the margins of one's source to the running text is also demonstrated by Jacob of Edessa (*passim*) and s-group MS 343 (in Num only → **§3.3.2**). However, while Jacob often (though inconsistently) retained explicit Samaritan attributions and (some kind of) sigla, MS 343 omitted them altogether, in agreement with the above-surveyed occurrences in GExod as well as the cases examined here. Thus, the omission of the Samaritan attributions was not unusual; rather it was Jacob's practice which was exceptional (→ **§3.5.3**).[741] In Deut, MS 767 itself again lacks attributions for both its μονον-passages, 2.7א-ג and 10.6-6א-7א, the second of which JDeut explicitly attributes (→ **APPENDIX**).[742]

► SH's attribution : When compared to the attributions in Exod, those in SH Num show a shift in description when referring to the Samaritan source. In Exod (→ **§§2.2**; **2.3**) ܣܡܪ̈ܝܐ ,ܒ̇ 'in the [εκδοσις] of the Samaritans' regularly obtains, while in Num different notes appear as follows: ܣܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܣܦ̈ܪܐ (in 1 of 15 notes), ܣܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܩܕ̈ܡܝܬܐ (1 / 15), ܐ̇ܒ̇ ܣܡܪ̈ܝܐ (3 / 15), ܣܡܪ̈ܝܐ ,ܒ̇ (4 / 15), as well as the ambiguous ܕܣܡܪ̈ܝܐ (6 / 15). Presumably, by ܣܡܪ̈ܝܐ ܐ̇ܒ̇, ܣܦ̈ܪܐ was meant. This noticeable shift in terminology, from εκδοσις to αντιγραφον, probably bears no historical significance. There is no reason to assume an extensive process of collating various Samaritan MSS and arriving at a critical text, which was then added to hexaplaric edition. Rather a single copy of SP, acquired by the Caesarean library (→ **§4.2**), was used, notwithstanding any textual deficiencies (*e.g.*, **Exod 8.6-7 [10-11]** → **§2.4.2**). Further, there is no reason to view the Syriac ܣܦ̈ܪܐ as connoting 'recension' here, since the underlying Greek αντιγραφον prevents this.[743]

[741] See Marsh, forthcoming.

[742] See JDeut 2.7א-ג (fol. 347ב, sub ÷) and 10.6-6א-7א (fol. 363ב, encircled with attribution *scholion*). Jacob used ÷ to denote μονον-readings in-text.

[743] Note ter Haar Romeny, 2001: 509, n. 29.

The form of the SH Num attributions also, when compared to those in SH Exod, relate different information about the Samaritan text. Namely, the Num attributions usually detail three distinct facts about the μονον-passages provided: **1)** the reading is 'only' μονον[744] in the Samaritan ܫܡܪ ܝ *of Num*; **2a)** that Moses himself later mentioned/remembered (ܚܫܒ) this saying; **2b)** such recall occurred in *the common text* of Deut specifically (as opposed to any other part of the Pent); and **2c)** recall of what was said in Deut was written as having been pronounced in Num (as SP Num).[745] When this formula is compared with the accompanying attributions attached to the Deuteromonically-derived μονον-passages recorded in SH Exod (namely, Exod 18.24א-ג—**Exod 18.25-25א-ג**, **Exod 20.17א-ו**, Exod 20.19א-ד, and **Exod 20.21א-ט**), any cross-reference to Deut is conspicuously absent. In Num, reference to this Deuteronomic recall is found in most of the μονον-attributions (which correspond to Deut), save those at **SH Num 21.20א-ב**, **21.**(22+)**22א-ב**, and **21.23א**, each being conspicuously abbreviated ܚܫܒ ܕܒܬܪ.

► The Samaritan cross-referencing system in the Caesarean εκδοσις : As mentioned briefly above (→ **§2.3.2** at **Exod 18.25-25א-ג** [attribution]), the SH Num μονον-attributions were but one half of an ancient, Caesarean cross-reference system whereby the specially collated passages from SP Num were connected with the same passage in the *common text* of Deut.[746] The corresponding notes from the margins of SH Deut are as follows:

[744] While the attribution here and at Num 14.40א lack ܚܫܒ, its absence does not thwart the present point. Similarly, of those in SH Exod, the attribution at 8.5(9)א lacks the principal descriptor though the reading's typology is the same.

[745] Burris' translation of the present note (2009: 250) differs slightly.

[746] Burris proposed a different understanding of the attributions, suggesting that reference to Deut's recollection "may come from the Samaritan Pentateuch *of Deuteronomy* 1:6-8" (2009: 250, *emphasis* mine).

Marked Passage	**SH$^{(V)}$**
Deut 1.6-8	See below
Deut 1.9ff	>; cf. Procop (→ **§2.3.2** at **Exod 18.25-25א-ג** [attribution])
Deut 1.20-23	(twice) ⋄ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܗܟܐ ܡܢ ÷ (see Procop at Deut 1.9) *And from here* [the SP passage] *was added in Num*
Deut 1.27-33	[⋄] ܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܗܟܐ ܡܢ ≠ *And from here* [the SP passage] *was added in Num*
Deut 1.42	⋄ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܫܡܪ ܫܡܠܡ ÷ *And this is extant in Num according to the* [exemplar] *of the Samaritans*
Deut 1.44	⋄ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܫܡܪ ܫܡܠܡ ÷ *And this is extant in Num according to the* [exemplar] *of the Samaritans*
Deut 2.2-6	⋄ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܗܘܦ ܗܟܐ ܡܢ ÷ *And this was added in* [SP] *Num*
Deut 2.9, 17-19	in-text sigla only (orphaned?)
Deut 2.24-25	⋄ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܫ, ܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܗܟܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܠܡ *And this is transmitted in Num in the* [εκδοσις] *of the Samaritans*
Deut 2.(27)28-29	⋄ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܗܦܟ ÷ *And this was added in* [SP] *Num*
Deut 2.31	÷ ܫܡܠܡ ܡܢ ܗܟܐ ܕܗܘܦ ܟܬܒܐ. *And this here is added in* [SP] *Num*
Deut 3.24-28	missing
Deut 3.24-28	⋄ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܗܘܦ ܗܟܐ ܡܢ ÷ *And this here is added in* [SP] *Num*

Table 3.3.1.2: Samaritan Cross-Reference Notations in the Margins of SH^{V}

When the data from SH^{V}—unfortunately left out of Wevers' edition—is compared with the SH Num attributions and μονον-readings contained within SH^{V} itself, two elements surface: **1)** Though the attribution notes for **Num 21.20א-ב**, **21.**(22+)**22א-ב**, and **21.23א** lack any mention of Moses' recall in Deut, the corresponding cross-references in SH Deut, being those at 2.17-19, 2.24-25, and 2.(27)28-29a, respectively, are present. These suggest that the laconic attributions in SH Num 21 (i.e., ܫܡܠܡ ܕܥܡܪܐ) may have been abbreviated during transmission, if they were not abbreviated in the first instance. **2)** There are several cross-references in SH^{V} Deut referring to μονον-passages which are themselves *not* preserved in the margins of SH^{V} Num.[747] This implies that the scribe(s) of SH^{V} was not responsible for them. Is it possible to determine their origins further?

[747] These are as follows: **Num 13.1א-ד** (possibly lacuna?), Num 14.1א-ו (lacuna), **Num 21.11א**, **Num 21.**(22+)**22א-ב** and Num 21.23א. These correspond, respectively, to the notes in SH^{V} Deut at: 1.20-23, 1.27-33, 2.9, 2.(27)28-29a, and 2.31.

Specifically, when the *scholion* at Deut 1.6-8—the corresponding GDeut parallel for the present μονον-text—is carefully analysed, it becomes clear that the Num attributions and Deut cross-references were formed together, and that, by extension, both have their origins in the work of the Caesarean collator(s).

Deut 1.6-8 (cf. Num 10.10א-ג)	SH$^{(V)}$ Procopius^{Comm}
SH^{V} fol.152a encircled, ind at Deut 1.6 ÷ ܗܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܚܢ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܒܟܬܒ ܗܕܐ ❖	
Procopius' *scholion*, ind at Deut 1.6 (PG 87/1: 893 = *Cat*^{Nic} [1/3.1423, sub **ΠΡΟΚΟΠΟΥ]): Ικανουσθω υμιν πατοικειν εν τω ορει τουτω. Ουδαμου προειρηται τουτο σαφως, ει μη κατα το Σαμαρειτικον μονον αντιγραφον εν τοις Αριθμοις μετα τον περι των δυω σαλπιγγων νομον εν δε τοις Ιουδαικοις, δυναμει νοειται. Εν τω γαρ ειπειν μετα τας σαλπιγγας «Και εξηραν οι υιοι Ισραηλ,» δηλοι ως του Θεου κωλυσαντος επι πλεον ενδιατριψαι τω τοπω.	

SH: *From here, we supplied in Numbers those which are found in Numbers in the exemplar of the Samaritans.*
Procopius[748]: *'Suffice it for you to dwell in this mountain.' Nowhere previously is this plainly stated, except only according to Num in the Samaritan* (Σαμαρειτικον) *exemplar* (αντιγραφον) *after the legislation concerning the two trumpets* [Num 10.10]*, while in the Jewish (exemplars) it is implied. For when it says, after the trumpets, "And the sons of Israel set out"* [Num 10.12]*, it indicates God prevented them from lingering there further.*

The SH's annotation, in combination with Procopius' testimony (died ca. 538 CE), strongly suggests that the cross-reference system was original to the Caesarean Samaritan collation as opposed to later developed *ad hoc* scribal notes. Specifically, the note's first-person narrative (i.e., ܐܫܬܟܚ 'we supplied' or 'we added', from προστιθημι) confirms this and relates quite well with the other first-person, μονον-collation note—the **Num 13.1א-ד** ***scholion*** preserved by the s-group. (The relationship between these two notes will be further explored below → **§3.3.2**). Additionally, both the SH cross-reference and Procopius' *scholion* linguistically reflect SH Num's attribution, *viz.*, ܒܟܬܒ ܗܕܐ ܕܝ (as opposed to ܒܟܬܒ ,ܕܝ) and κατα το Σαμαρειτικον μονον αντιγραφον.

Procopius' cross-reference does not indicate that the Gazan had access to any such Samaritan text himself. Rather, given Procopius' transmission of so many other hexaplaric readings, it is more likely he took this curio from the margins of his *hexaplaric* source,

[748] Translations of Procopius provided here were made in consultation with the Latin in PG.

integrating it into his own work, itself much based on previous materials. And indeed, his adoption of these notes was most selective, as he preserved only that here, at Deut 1.20-23,[749] and uniquely a similar note not extant in SH^V for Deut 1.9-15, 16-18 (→ **§2.3.2** at **Exod 18.25-25א-ג** [attribution]). Why Procopius neglected to make reference to these 'Samaritan' textual niceties *ad loc* is unknown; as the extant evidence stands, he recorded such things at **Num 32.33+** (see below) and in his *Comm. in Deut* (→ **APPENDIX**).

The Israelite's Emissary to the Amorites

Num 21.(21+)**22א-ב**] This μονον-passage contains one of the more radical deviations between SH and the extant Greek traditions. And though MS 15 displays less septuagintism than SH, the former's text is at greater variance with SP. The discrepancy between MS 15 and SH extends also to the passage's placement vis-à-vis v 22.

MS 15: A Brief Profile] MS 15^{oI} (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coisl. 2; Br.-M.: "a") is a nearly complete hexaplaric Octateuch from the 10th century CE, apparently of Egyptian provenance.[750]

► MS 15 and the μονον-type texts : For whatever reason, despite the availability of the MS's collation through the edition of Holmes and Parsons (1798), Field did not record 15's presently integrated μονον-reading for **Num 21.22א-ב**.[751] Field was inconsistent in this respect given his use of the same MS for part of the retroversion in SH^M at Deut 34.1b-1א-2 (→ **APPENDIX**),[752] as well as his reference to 15's integrated μονον-reading 'and the half tribe of Manasseh' at **Num 32.29+** (but not **32.1+**, see below).

[749] Procopius combined the cross-references for Deut 1.20-23 and Deut 1.9-15, 16-18 into one note.
[750] For specifics, see Wevers' *Einleitungen* and Rahlfs, 1914: 184.
[751] See the comment in H-P *ad* loc. In fairness to Field, H-P stopped short of identifying 15's as specifically Samaritan.
[752] Otherwise only known from SH^M (1: 237, n. 3).

► MS 15's relationship with the *O* group : Amongst the *O* group MSS, 15 is not particularly special.[753] Wevers does not single the witness out for special comment, other than to point out its support of hexaplaric plusses in Lev.[754] The MS does not preserve hexaplaric sigla of note, nor any of the *recentiores*. However, it cannot be ignored that 15 preserved four separate μονον-type texts, three in Num and one in Deut. Two of these four (i.e., **Num 21.22ב-א** and Deut 34.1b-1א-2) parallel the same in SH.[755] And while the other two (i.e., **Num 32.1+** and **29+**) seem somehow related to the sub το σαμ′ readings preserved in catena sources at Num 32. 29, 31, and 33, these too are really μονον-type (→ **Num 32.1+ and 29+**). Thus, while it is unknown at what point these readings were integrated into 15's running text or for what reason only they were selected, what cannot be denied is the hexaplaric pedigree of the MS itself and that at least half of 15's integrated μονον-type passages have external, first-tier *hexaplaric* corroboration. Thus, while it is odd a scribe would have integrated the reading at Num 21.22ב-א and not that from v 22+, there is no reason to doubt the hexaplaric provenance of 15's μονον-excerpts.

Num 21.22א] The discrepancies between SH and 15 are somewhat troubling. They appear to suggest that either one significantly revised the other, or that the passage was independently translated twice. The former is much more likely.

► τροφην :: ܡܟܠܚܐ : The SH is properly retroverted with GDeut's βρωματα; MS 15's singular requires ܡܟܠܚܐ or ܡܫܝܚܐ.[756] Strictly, the singular does reflect SP, but the lexical variation was likely caused by 15's scribe. Τροφη occurs in GPent but once (Gen

[753] According to Wevers' sub-groups, 15's allegiance is as follows: *O* in Gen; *oII* in Exod; *oI* in Lev-Deut.
[754] *THGL*, 11 and 20.
[755] Perhaps Field labelled SH's Deut 34.1b-1א-2 as σαμ′ due to 15's witness. He probably gradually came to see 15 as a possible source for το σαμ′ given the connection between 15's 'half tribe of Manasseh' readings and the same in the catena (→ **Num 32.1+** and **9+**).
[756] Compare SH Deut 2.28 (ܡܟܠܚܐ for βρωματα) with Gen 49.27, Job 36.31, and Prov 30.25 (all have ܡܟܠܚܐ for τροφη). See the majority variant, which SH followed, at Gen 49.20 (ܡܫܝܚܐ for τροφην; also occurring in Prov 6.8). SH thus demonstrates some inconsistency in translating τροφη.

49.27), where the context is very different.[757] Given the well-attested practice of the μονον-translator'(s) cribbing the G parallel, it is near certain that SH's Greek is βρωματα (thus Field, *contra* McClurg[758]).

► μεταδωσεις 1°-2° :: ܗܒ 1°-2° : Both provide the same verb twice, which is contrary to how SP itself reads (שבר and נתן).[759] This verbal levelling complies with the decision GDeut made in rendering both שבר and נתן with αποδωση.[760] It is this Greek verb which SH likely translated in the margins of its exemplar, as analogous equivalencies demonstrate.[761] The SH's Greek does not equate 15's μεταδιδωμι which would require the *shaphel* form ܐܬܬܠ.[762] The shift *διδωμι → μεταδιδωμι is thus a secondary revision present in MS 15.[763]

► και μονον :: ܒܠܚܘ : While both πλην and μονον were used by G to render רק, the GDeut parallel here used the former, which SH reflects.[764] Furthermore, 15's και is also secondary being unrelated to either SH or SP.[765]

► τοις ποσιν μου παρελευσομαι :: ܠܝ ܠܟܪܥܝ ܕ ܐܥܒܪ : While both have the possessive (μου / ܠܝ),[766] the word order in 15 does not align with the SP, ST, or the GDeut parallel. Both traditions lack GDeut's οτι.

---

[757] So H-R 1376.

[758] 2011: 99.

[759] ST: [1]מור and נתן (MS J); [1]זבן and יהב (MS A).

[760] See Wevers' assessment (*NGTD*, 43). No Hebrew for Deut survives which provides the same verb twice. Note, however, that PDeut also translated with the same verb twice.

[761] *E.g.*, SH Exod 21.7, 22.1, Deut 2.28, and 14.20 and 24; thus Field, *contra* McClurg (2011: 99).

[762] SH Job 31.17; Wis 7.13; Prov 11.26.

[763] See the similar phenomenon in GDeut 15.10 (note MSS F*[c pr m] M et al in App[I]).

[764] SH uses ܒܠܚܘ for πλην except where a genitive follows, in which case ܕܝ ܠܐ was used (Perkins 1980: 91). μονον equals ܒܠܚܘ in SH (*e.g.*, Num 11.14; 12.2; 23.9).

[765] McClurg, following Field, elects to retrovert πλην without listing 15's και μονον as a textual variation (2011: 99).

[766] The tradition is split. See App[I]: τοις ποσιν B 963 *C′′* 53′-56[f] *n s* 71′[y] 630[z] 28[mx] 319[mx] 407′[mx] [Lat]cod 100 Arm] + μου rell = 𝔐.

Num 21.22ב] Still more radical disparities between MS 15 and SH indicate that the former contains a secondary revision of the passage.

► ον τροπον πεποιηκαν :: ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕܘ : McClurg[767] is quite right that the SH's conjunctive representation is not ον τροπον but GDeut's καθως.[768] This is the first element of merit. A further issue is 15's perfect verb form. Strictly speaking the SH did not grammatically 'mirror' the Greek perfect.[769] However, given the weight of the passage's septuagintization, the aorist form in GDeut is more likely (so Field, *contra* McClurg).

► γαβαλα :: ܛܘܪܐ : While correct, SH likely produced the P form regardless of the specific Greek orthography in its exemplar(s).[770] MS 15, on the other hand, demands explication. McClurg, understandably, struggled to explain 15's reading, claiming the form may be "a transliteration of גבול which appears at the end of verse 22 [בגבולך] in [MT], although the reasons for this word being taken as a place name and transliterated are not clear."[771] Perhaps an alternative explanation might be that 15 exhibits an attempt to understand 'Sons of Esau' in contemporized political terms, i.e., as Idumaeans. This is certainly the interpretation present in both ST here (בגבלה [J and A]; בגבעלה [B_1]; בשעיר [B]) and $Tg^{N\text{-}PJ}$ at the parallel.[772] Irrespective of the precise textual mechanisms, certainly

---

[767] He notes ον τροπον is properly rendered by ܐܝܟ ܕܡ (*e.g.*, 14.17, 28; 26.4; etc) or ܐܝܟ SH Num (2011: 100).

[768] Wevers App[I]: καθα 426^{O}; καθοτι 422^{cII}. The SH might have given ܐܝܟ ܕ- for καθοτι.(*e.g.*, Exod 1.17; 10.10; Deut 11.1).

[769] Perkins, 1980: 238.

[770] See the above discussion and literature concerning SH's treatment of proper names (→ **§2.3.1** at **Exod 20.19[23]ג**). For the various orthographies representing 'Seir', see App[I].

[771] 2011: 100.

[772] Tg^{PJ}: [...] בנוי דעשו דיתבין בגבלא [...]; Tg^{N}: [...] דשריין בגבלה [אלייו] בנוי דעשו [...]. Of course, $Tg^{N\text{-}PJ}$ are bearers of a common tradition; MS 15, or its predecessor(s), need not know the Tgs directly. For Γαβαλα, see Josephus *Ant* 13.396, the erroneous (?) variants (γαβαλα $A^{1?c?}$ γαβαλλα 509 [a_2]) in GJosh 15.11, and similarly the mention of Γεβαλ at Ps 82(MT 83).8 (with variants). Probably also important is Josephus' *Ant* 2.5-6 (και Ἡσαυ μεν ουτοι παιδες ησαν·[…] ουτοι κατωκησαν της Ἰδουμαιας την **Γοβολιτιν** λεγομενην). For a summary of the data concerning the direct association with Seir, see *HALOT* גְּבָל; Roth, *ABD* 'Gebal, 2' 2:922-3.

no variant Samaritan *Hebrew* tradition lay behind γαβαλα,[773] and it is very unlikely 15's toponym reflects the μονον-translation. Lastly, it must be mentioned that while it is tempting to assume 15 preserves the Samareitikon, as defined by το σαμ′-type (→ **§1.3.1.3**, **EXCURSUS B**), due to γαβαλα's ostensible connection with ST, two facts militate against this: **1)** 15's reading generally disagrees with ST (*e.g.*, μεταδωσεις 1°-2° [lexical selection], τοις ποσιν μου παρελευσομαι [word order], and εν τη ορινη [≠ ST, see below]); and **2)** no reading in 15 can be connected with ST in the way the σαμ′-passages can.

► εν τη ορινη :: ܒܛܘܪܐ (*sic*) : SH reproduced the μονον-translator'(s) septuagintism[774] (the misspelled form will be discussed below, → **§3.3.2** at **Num 21.12ב**).

MS 15's reading is much more interesting. Presuming *iotacism* (rd. ορεινη), 15 reads '(in) the mountainous (region)'; not some kind of proper name as has been previously suggested.[775] Clearly, 15's (or an ancestor) scribe confounded the respective locations of the Moabites and Ammonites, the latter which also dwelt in the hill-country (see GDeut 2.37). Perhaps intervening MS generations might facilitate this explanation.

Num 21.22ב-א (attribution)] The short form attribution ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ is only found in those attributions in SH Num which omit any reference to the Deut parallel (Num 21.20א-ב, 21.22+, here, 21.23א, 21.24+, and 31.20ד-א). Of the other five, two (→ Num 21.24+, 31.20ד-א) are used for μονον-passages which correspond to a parallel from Num not Deut. The abbreviated form is simply an abridgement perhaps original to the Greek exemplar(s).

---

[773] SP: בשעיר (*afšā'ər* [Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 501]), without variant.

[774] Wevers App[I]: Ἀροηρ] αρ[… 963; αροειρ 413[cl] 30[s] 630[z] 407[mx]; αρωηρ 59[mx]; αρωειρ 767[n]; αρηειρ 77[C]; αρουηρ 53′[f]; σαροηρ 75[n]; αροηλ A; αρ F[b] = Compl 𝔐. Note PDeut reads ܒܛܘܪܐ.

[775] So McClurg, 2011: 100.

The Placement and Nature of Num 21.22ב-א] Two matters must be addressed concerning both the placement and textual nature of the μονον-passage in the three extant sources which attest to it. For there is disagreement amongst the witnesses as to *where* the passage should be placed relative to Num 21.22 itself. Additionally, the μονον-collator(s) seem not to have communicated precisely *how* **21.22ב-א** related to v 22, vis-à-vis ου πιομεθα υδωρ—τα ορια σου.

► Quantitative, qualitative, or a mixture? : Comparable to the nature of Num 21.22+, there is some difficulty as to how the MSS explain the μονον-passage's textual relationship to the running text of GNum 21.22 vis-à-vis SP. As the evidence stands, the varying witnesses, despite disagreement as to where in the running text the μονον-text is indexed to, all appear to interpret the passage as purely quantitative, i.e., supplementary. SP Num 21.22 reads: 22-22+-22-21.22ב-א, with part of 21.22ב-א qualitatively replacing the 'and we will not drink water from a well, in the King's Road will go until that we should cross your boarder' common to MT and GNum in v 22. However, SH, JNum, and MS 15 all record 21.22ב-א in addition to v 22 *in toto*. Thus, there is no evidence in SH of the Samaritan replacement of 'and we will not drink water from a well […]' in the verse. Thus, Wevers' record of **21.22ב-א** "ου (πιομεθα)—fin] *cibos argento vendes mihi* […] *qui habitant in aroer* Syh^{L} (ex Sam secundum Syh: cf Deut 2:28 29)" is misleading.[776] For while Wevers' delineation aligns with the extant SP (*vs*. G), the SH MS itself does not make any such distinction. And while scribal error may be responsible for this, the understanding represented by JNum suggests that his SH source presented 21.22ב-א similarly.

[776] Both Lagarde (1892: 115) and Field (1: 251) merely indicate where the reading is marked. McClurg understands both SH and 15 correctly as supplementary but does not mention the placement in SH as different from that in 15 (2011: 100).

► Placement (SH) : The placement of the ind marker for **21.22ב-א** in SH (= SP) is as follows:

[22] [...] ܡܠܟ ܠܚܘܣܟ. ✠ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܪ ܟܟ [...]

There is no metobelus-like marker (or another ind ✠) either in-text or in the margin which might clarify that the μονον-passage also is partially qualitative. Certainly, it must be observed that the ind marker does correctly mark the location in v 22 where **21.22ב-א** reads. Thus, it is probable that a second, corresponding index marker simply fell out of the tradition. However, if this occurred, it did so before JNum's exemplar(s) was fashioned.

► Placement (JNum) : Jacob of Edessa took great pains to include μονον-passages from the SH into his own recension.[777] For this reading, Jacob placed 22+ precisely where SH^{L} indicates; however, his integration of **22ב-א** varies from that in the MS. Rather he joined 22+ and **21.22ב-א** one right after the other *before* v 22's 'we will not turn aside into a field or a vineyard'.[778] Moreover, no part of v 22 is omitted in agreement with SH (≠ SP), lending credence to the theory that SH's exemplar(s) failed to label **22ב-א** as a partial replacement.

► Placement (MS 15) : Lastly, MS 15 itself treats the text as a supplement only, integrating the passage into the running text after τα ορια σου. This placement differs from both SH and JNum. MS 15, however, should not be used to support the present suggestion, since in 15's integration of Deut 34.1b-1א-2 (→ **APPENDIX**), the scribe blended both texts irrespective of the Samaritan delimitation known from SH^{M} (→ **§4.2.1**).

[777] For Jacob's use of the SH, see above (→ **§1.3.2.2**).
[778] What led to this placement is unknown. See the discussion in Marsh, forthcoming.

… and the half tribe of Manasseh…

Num 32.1+ and **29+** (MS 15)] As previously observed, MS 15 integrated other μονον-type passages directly into its running text. These include **Num 21.22א-ב** (see above) and Deut 34.1b-1א-2 (→ **APPENDIX**). Should the present be added to their number? The wider evidence from GNum 32 and MS 15 itself suggests that this is likely the case, and as such, the readings at **1+** and **29+** should be reckoned with the other integrated μονον-passages preserved by MSS with hexaplaric roots. In response to any objection to this reconstruction, stand the following facts: **1)** Despite the wider MS tradition's tendency in this chapter towards 'ex par' readings (*e.g.*, MSS 71′ at v 2, 799* at v 14, d^{-106} at v 22, et al), MS 15 is the *sole* witness attesting to the *Samaritan* 'ex par' reading. **2)** While 15 preserves only two of the six occurrences of חצי שבט המבשה*, the first is conspicuously preserved.[779] This stands in contrast to the Procopius-Catena tradition, which pointed out the foregoing cases only at the common occurrence of חצי שבט המבשה* in v 33. **3)** Against the supposition that MS 15 took from the catena, one would need to account for the following: **a)** Why did 15 not insert the text in all (or at least most) of "the forgoing instances" (προειρημενοις) in accordance with the catena's *scholion*? **b)** The catena also preserved σαμ′-type readings at Num 32.12 and 13; why where these ignored by 15 in preference for the indifferent 'the half tribe of Manasseh'? **c)** How is it that there is no discernible relationship between 15 and the catena's marginalia elsewhere? **4)** MS 15's partial preservation of the readings in ch 32, while admittedly odd, somewhat parallels that case in **Num 21.**(22+)**22א-ב**, where only **22א-ב** is preserved but not 22+. **5)** Whereas the present case could be conceived as independently 'ex par', the other two μονον-type

[779] Field, while observing the catena data at v 33, only mentioned 15's reading at v 29 not v 1 (1: 264, n. 17). What led him to do this is unclear. Perhaps he was influenced by the catena readings. Unlike at **Num 21.22א-ב**, H-P made no comment mentioning the 15's concord with SP at either vv 1 or 29.

passages in 15 cannot. **6)** Lastly, the typology of these readings fits that of the μονον-type, *viz.*, the passages are both *quantitative* and found in an *hexaplaric* source. Consequently, the wider context of the *hexaplaric* MS suggests these also were from the original μονον-collation.

Num 32.1+ and **29+** (SH's omission)] Nothing present in the margins or running text of the SH^{V} MS (fols. 145b-146b) suggests any of the 'half tribe of Manasseh' readings were at one time found in the margins (*e.g.*, orphaned ind markers). This coupled with the absence of any such reading in JNum 32.1-31 (fols. 328ב-330ב) strongly suggests that the SH's exemplar did not have the reading.

Num 32.33+ (The *scholia* from Procopius and the catena)] While 15 lacks any attribution, there are two *scholia* known from Procopius and the catena literature which identify the readings as 'Samaritan'. Procopius' *scholion* at Num 32.33 reads as follows:

> Και τω ημισει φυλης Μανασση. Τουτων νυν εμνησθη, μη προδηλωσας. εν δε τω Σαμαρειτικω κειται καν τοις προειρημενοις.[780]
> *'And to the half tribe of Manasseh': Now this is mentioned* (*here*) [in v 33] *having not been made explicit earlier. But in the Samaritan* [exemplar] *this is extant even in the earlier-mentioned instances* (προειρημενοις).

The *scholion* in the catena reads somewhat differently:

> Αδηλου. [so Nicephorus] νυν εμνησθη του ημισεως της φυλης Μανασση, εν τοις προειρημενοις ου μνημονευσας. εν δε τω Σαμαρειτικω μνημονευσειται.[781]

► Of the μονον-type, the σαμ′-type, or something else? : The present catena *scholion*, known since the SIXTINE (→ **§1.2.1.1**), has long been reckoned with the so-called *Samareitikon*. Most recently McClurg's study interpreted the note as conclusive evidence, for the present case, that the annotation 'το σαμ′' unequivocally refers to the

[780] See *Cat*^{Nic}, 1/3.1395-96, n. 2; PG 87/1.887-88 only provided the Latin translation. Procopius' testimony is not recorded in Wevers' App^{II}.
[781] The Greek is that from the *Cat*^{Nic} (1/3.1396). Wevers' App^{II} records the same without commenting on the anonymity. Compare Field (1: 265, and n. 17).

Samareitikon.[782] Previous to McClurg, Pummer (→ **§1.2.2.4** [1998]) expressed greater disquiet, instead proposing that because both SP and ST contained the relevant references to the 'half tribe of Manasseh', "it is therefore not clear to what exactly το σαμαρειτικον refers."[783] Part of this disquiet was the ostensible difference between the attributions το σαμαρειτικον *vs.* (του) των Σαμαρειτων (Ἑβραικου). Pummer believed that since G MSS had labelled the "short expansions" from SP at Gen 4.8 (→ **§1.3.1.2**), the present 'half tribe of Manasseh' readings in Num 32, and the SH^{M} reading at Deut 34.12 (**5.21א-ח** → **§1.1**) as "το σαμαρειτικον,"[784] as opposed to the label (του) των Σαμαρειτων (Ἑβραικου) evinced by other G MSS at **Num 13.1א-ד**, **Num 21.11א** and **Num 21.12א-ג** (→ **§3.3.2**), it was thus not possible "to identify the precise referent of the expression το Σαμαρειτικον."[785]

Part of the problem is how one accounts for the terminological variation. *Viz.*, if the hexaplaric origin of the readings (based on MS 15) is maintained, how is it that these, usually attributed by the form (του) των Σαμαρειτων (αντιγραφου/εβραικου), came to be described as τω Σαμαρειτικω? One might recall the secondarily developed form of the Samaritan cross-reference found in Procopius at Deut 1.6 (→ **§3.3.1** [**Num 10.10א-ג** [attribution]). There, Procopius described the Samaritan source as σαμαρειτικον αντιγραφον despite the fact that the hexaplaric evidence (both the SH attribution for **Num 10.10א-ג** as well as the corresponding cross-reference annotation at **SH Deut 1.6-8**) does not transmit the adjectival form σαμαρειτικον / ܫܡܪܝܬܝܢ. Procopius obviously rewrote the attribution; and it is probably also the case here. He (or the catenist responsible for the

[782] 2011: 389.
[783] 1998: 302 and 304. Also Joosten, 2014: 349 (also 350, n. 16).
[784] Pummer states this is "according to Masius" but this is incorrect (1998: 305); rather Wevers mislabelled the reading as such in his App^{II} for reasons which are unclear (→ **§1.3.1.2**).
[785] 1998: 305.

Samaritan note's original introduction into the tradition) rewrote the originally hexaplaric data into his own work,[786] producing εν τω Σαμαρειτικω by way of abbreviation. Another means of explaining τω Σαμαρειτικω is that the terse μονον-attribution ܫܡܪ ܕܒܢܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ (→ **Num 21.22א-ב** [attribution]), uniquely found in Num, was the form Procopius (and/or the catenist) found, and he had to interpret this, resulting in the somewhat ambiguous τω Σαμαρειτικω 'in the Samaritan'.[787] During this process, someone summarized the hexaplaric data (i.e., τοις προειρημενοις) into one note. Thus, it is far more likely that the original source was hexaplaric, not any Samaritan Greek translation such as the so-called Σαμαρειτικον. Nevertheless, the catenist (though not Procopius!) naturally assumed this 'Samaritan' data and the σαμ′ readings he recorded at 32.12 and 13 were one and the same.

3.3.2 – Those Readings Found in the S-Group

Fortuitously, certain s-group MSS in Num preserve in their margins a number of μονον-passages, half of which are explicitly attributed to the Samaritans. Because these same readings are also present in SH, this permits comparative historical analysis within the wider MS tradition. The following analysis will examine the s-group texts as the result of a singular, separate effort, likely the product of intensive, post-hexaplaric scribal activity centred around monastic entities on Athos (→ **§3.4**).

The S-Group's μονον-Type Passages: A Short Introductory Survey] There are six μονον-passages transmitted in the margins of the MSS forming the s-group's subgroup 85′(= 85 +130)-344; of these six, another sub-group 321′ (= 321 + 346) jointly supports two. Further, MS 343—clearly the outlier of the μονον-bearing s-MSS—integrated three of

[786] Note that Procopius' annotation includes terminology which is found in other hexaplaric Samaritan attributions, i.e., κειται (= pass. of שמר). The catena's μνημονευσειται is secondary.

[787] This may have been the case, especially as the μονον-attribution just previous to those in Num 32 is that at Num 31.20ד-א for which SH transmits as ܫܡܪ ܕܒܢܝ ܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܠܡܫܐ. If each individual occurrence of 'half tribe of Manasseh' was attributed and indexed to vv 1, 2, 6, 25, 29, and 31 separately, one would expect the abbreviated form ܫܡܪ ܕܒܢܝ to have been used.

these six into its own running text. Probably, the 343 scribe(s) had at least four of the passages available to him, since **Num 21.12א-ג** was mistakenly integrated where **Num 21.11א** ought to have been placed (see below).

SP Passage	s-group MSS			other Greek MSS	SH
	85′-344	321′	343		
Num 13.1א-ד	mg^{+}	attrib. only			SH^{L}
Num 14.45א	mg^{+}	321′	txt*		SH
Num 21.11א	mg^{+}; 85$^{(*?)}$		txt*		SH^{L}
Num 21.12א-ג–13a	mg^{+}				SH
Num 27.23א-ב	mg^{+}	321′	txt*		SH^{V}
Num 31.20א-ד	mg*			f^{-129} (txt* 20א only)	SH^{V}

Table 3.3.2.1: The μονον*-Type Readings in the S-Group*
($^{+}$ = explicitly attributed [not always to SP]; * = lack attrib.; all 85′-321′-344 and SH text marginal)

There are many points of divergence between the testimonies of the s-group and SH (and JNum), which include not only matters of textual minutiae but also elements of presentation and, most significantly, provenance. The first passage in particular has been much discussed in previous literature, on account of the s-group's *scholion* which has been known from the time of Montfaucon (→ **§1.2.1.2**).

'Let us send men before us to spy out the land…'

Num 13.1א-ד (arrangement and s-group peculiarities)] The first significant element of the passage is the presentation of the textual data in the MSS. In fact there is great discrepancy between SH and the s-group for this, a point not properly emphasized by previous studies (*e.g.*, Wevers). The s-group, whose oldest text-form is found in MS 344, place the attribution scholion *before* the passage,[788] whereas in SH, the attribution *follows* the μονον-reading.[789] While this in isolation may not betray anything remarkable, the s-

[788] Field's description is to be preferred here (1: 239, n. 1).

[789] It should not be suggested that SH levelled all attributions, placing them at the end of all the μονον-type passages (cp. the attribution at SH Exod 8.5[9]). It must also be pointed out that all other s-group attributions follow after the respective μονον-passages, save **Num 14.45א** itself misattributed.

group *scholion* also contains material additional to what is transmitted by SH; furthermore, what is common to both attributions is given in a different order (→ **attribution**). Thus, it can be concluded that either the s-group or SH (or either sources' ancestor[s]) altered the attribution formula from the common source. This theory is further confirmed when the textual data is surveyed, as both passages disagree in many points, at times in such a way that prevents discerning which is older. The historical implications of the witnesses' differing arrangement and textual discrepancies will be discussed below when both attributions are examined in detail.

► sub ※ in MS 344 : Aside from the variance in the order of elements, the s-group disagrees with SH, marking the passage sub ※. This is one of three passages to which some member of the s-group attaches the siglum ※ (here, **14.45א** [MSS 85-321′], and 31.20א-ד [MS 344]). These of course vary from SH Num's utilization of a stylized lemniscus ⸗. (The *hypo*lemniscus ÷ is used almost exclusively in the running text.) For **13.1א-ד**, MS 344 (bi-columnar) has the attribution *scholion* placed under the left-hand column with the μονον-passage in the right-hand column marked with asterisks along the left side of each line of the reading (12 lns.; see fol. 208bα-β).[790] Both the attribution and reading are indexed with the siglum ⸗ also immediately to the left of the line ending 13.1. Wevers' interpretation of 344's ※ ("mend") assumes that the normative hexaplaric practice was intended here (but cp. App^{II} at Num 31.20א-ד). However, this is unjustified, as the passage is both in the margin and explicitly attributed to the Samaritans. These conditions extend beyond usual hexaplaric practice (→ **§§3.5.2**; **4.1**). Given the use of the

[790] MS 85, itself single-columned, similarly places the attribution *scholion* before (i.e., above) the reading, with an empty line separating the two (fol. 105b). Montfaucon best communicated this, as he did not relegate the attribution to the notes, placing it in-text just previous to the passage (1713: 158 [15:740-43]).

asterisk in SH Exod, 344 probably preserved the original siglum,[791] though this cannot be established beyond all doubt.[792]

► 321′'s omission : Mss 321 and 346's failure to produce the passage while retaining the attribution is odd, as the opposite phenomenon is perhaps more expected textually.[793] Unlike s-group outlier, 343, 321′ follows 85′-344 in keeping the texts they did preserve in the margin. The omission was probably accidental or, assuming the note was properly understood, perhaps the result of using the *scholion* primarily as a cross-reference.

13.1א] As Field implied, and Rahlfs and Glaue pointed out,[794] the SH's μονον-passage is much closer to GDeut than that from the s-group. The first verse demonstrates more unity between SH and the s-group than the rest of the passage.

► τοις υιοις and ܠܒܢܝܟ : When compared with the GDeut parallel (προς υμας, without variant), it can be stated that the μονον-translator(s) more literally rendered the Samaritan prefix ל- (≠ SP and MT Deut אליכם). Thus, while the G parallel noticeably influenced the μονον-translator'(s) selection of Greek prepositions (*e.g.*, **Exod 8.19[23]ב** → **§2.3.1**), here such was more carefully differentiated (see Num 14.1ג which is similar).

► του Αμορραιου :: ܕܐܡܪܝ : Whether or not the μονον-translator(s) produced the plural here is difficult to establish. GDeut practice was to use the plural, save for the

[791] Field marked his retroverted SH sub ※ (1: 239, labelled "*Aliter*"), footnoting SH's stylized lemniscus.

[792] The difference in sigla between the μονον-passages in s-group Num/SH Exod (sub ※) and those in SH Num (sub ⊹) is a problem without a solution. Field dismissed the matter: "Since in fact [the function of] neither the obelus nor asterisk is consistent with the practice of Origen, either can probably be excused: the asterisk, because the words so noted are not read in the LXX, the obelus because the words so noted do not exists in the Hebrew" (2005: 154-55 [1: lxxxiii]; also 123, n. 2 [1: lxv, n. 2]). But, such an explanation is difficult to substantiate since the Samaritan collation, in addition to occupying the margins, was *beyond* the regular MT-*vs*.-G scheme, and thus should not be expected to adhere to the regular usage. Nevertheless, no solution to this problem has surfaced in the ensuing 150 years.

[793] Burris, who I thank for flagging this up, mentions this without further comment (2009: 292).

[794] 1911: 64, n. 1. A similar sentiment was made more recently by Pummer (1998: 273).

current parallel at 1.19 and 20.[795] In isolation, the variation between the s-group and SH[796] is somewhat difficult to explain. Since the singular is in compliance with the parallel, it is most probable that the s-group represents the original. Perhaps the Syrian scribe(s) added a *seyame* out of habit.

► οπερ $\overline{\text{κς}}$ :: ܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ : The s-group here reads more idiomatically than SH (= ο κυριος in the parallel). οσπερ / οπερ was rendered by the Syrians with ܡܪܝܐ (cf. Wis 19.18). On $\overline{\text{κς}}$ and ܡܪܝܐ, see comment at **Num 10.10א**.

► ημιν and ܠܢ : Against the GDeut parallel, the μονον-translation has 'to us'. Irrespective of the original[797] parallel, the translation is in agreement with SP.[798]

13.1בּ] Verses **1בּ-1ד** exhibit greater difference between the s-group and SH. The difficulty lies with identifying which of the readings better represents the original μονον-translation, while at the same time trying to explain how the secondary translation(s) came about.

► ειδε (130-344) :: ειδετε (85) and ܐܫ : The latter is septuagintistic, agreeing with the uniform GDeut text against SP, ST, and all extant, parallel Hebrew evidence.[799] Contrarily, 130-344's reading agrees with SP (ראה, *rē'i*)[800] and ST (חזי, without variant) in reading the singular. Certainly, the weight of the overall passage suggests that the 130-344 singular is the older of the two s-group readings; and it is not unimaginable that

---

[795] Wevers, *NGTD*, 12. Compare, the plural in the μονον-readings at **Num 10.10בּ** and Num 21.20א. JNum 13.1א (fol. 281ה) has the plural, though this also could have come from PDeut influence.

[796] Though Field diligently recorded this, neither Wevers' App^{II} nor Burris (2009: 291) distinguish between the s-group and SH.

[797] υμιν] ημιν A 82*^{vid}-426$^{c\ O}$-618^{oI} 551^{cII} (1°) Arab Arm^{ap} = 𝔐; υμας 246^{f}. Wevers was unsure which was original (*NGTD*, 12).

[798] The same applies to ο θς ημων / ܐܠܗܢ ܡܪܝܢ (App^{I}): ο θεος υμων 58^{oII}-72$^{c\ O}$-376^{O}-707^{oII} *b*$^{-537*}$ 56′-129^{f} W^{I}-127^{n} *s*$^{-85mg\ 730}$ 71′-527^{y} 18′-630$^{′z}$ 28^{mx} 59^{mx} 407$^{′mx}$ Aeth.

[799] On the GDeut variance vis-à-vis the extant Hebrew, see McCarthy's evaluation (*BHQ*); she is of the opinion that GDeut, PDeut, Tg$^{PJ\ N}$ all contextualized the form to the plural (following Wevers, 1997: 65).

[800] Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 491.

ειδεοτιεδωκεν could be corrupted to ειδετεοτιεδωκεν, perhaps under the influence of GDeut. This would suggest a secondary, independent septuagintism (cp. GDeut 1.8, 21) on the part of MS 85, itself not free from error in the μονον-passages (*e.g.*, om. προς [**13.1ג**], κατασκοπησωμεν [**13.1ג**], om. κς̄ [**27.23א**]).

► οτι εδωκεν :: ܐܬܠ : In relation to the above variant, the s-group, in using οτι aligns itself with the PDeut and Jewish Tg traditions in exhibiting a conjunction[801] against SP and ST. However, the choice of verb is acceptable. The SH is *vice versa*, lacking any conjunctive particle but reading a verb which is obviously influenced by GDeut's παραδεδωκεν (see above **10.10ג**).[802] Whatever the origin of οτι, the established septuagintism of the μονον-translation better supports SH's παραδιδωμι.

► εμπροσθεν :: προ προσωπου[803] / ܩܕܡ ܦܬܝ ܕ : While both can serve SP's לפני, GDeut does not evince εμπροσθεν whatsoever.[804] Again, based on the characteristic septuagintism of the μονον-translation, the s-group is secondary at this point.[805]

► σου 1°-3° and σοι :: ܗ ܠܟ 1°-3° and ܠܟ : SH's Greek is septuagintistic. The corresponding pronouns in GDeut are all plural without exception in extant MSS.[806] All SP and ST MSS read the singular (without variant) both here and in Deut 1.22. While an explanation based on scribal error is desirable, the shift in the second person singular to second plural is so thoroughgoing that one should seriously consider the possibility that

---

[801] GDeut App[I]: παραδεδωκεν] pr οτι 19[b] Aeth = Tar.

[802] See the use of ܫܕܪ at SH Num 14.1; 21.23; 31.41, 47, and 32.9, et al versus that of ܐܬܠ in 21.3 and 32.4. Field correctly distinguished SH's verb, whereas Wevers (App[II]) and Burris (2009: 291) fail to mention the variance.

[803] Field correctly retroverted based on GDeut (1: 239), while both Wevers (App[II]) and Burris (2009: 291) fail to mention the variance.

[804] Eleven times in GPent according to H-R (459, Gen and Num only). In Deut, scattered evidence is found in App[I] (1.33; 3.28; 9.3; and 31.3 [twice]) and only three occurrences in App[II] (σ′ in 10.11 and 23.13; F[b] at 25.9).

[805] SH used ܩܕܡ for εμπροσθεν (see Gen 45.5; 46.28; Num 14.43).

[806] See Wevers App[I] at 1.21: υμων 1°] > *d*[–106]; υμων 3°] > 669*[z]; υμιν 2°] > 72[o*II*]-618[o*I*] 53′-56[f] 75′[n] 71′-527[y] Aeth. Note also while rampant υμων / ημων confusion occurred in the tradition, the form remained plural.

the Hebrew the μονον-translator(s) were working from read this way.[807] Certainly, mechanical means (ϒΜΩΝ / ϒΜΙΝ → ϹΟΥ / ϹΟΙ or ϹΟΥ / ϹΟΙ → ϒΜΩΝ / ϒΜΙΝ) are unlikely to explain the difference between the s-group and SH. That the translator(s) would have altered the entire verse, in addition to those differentiations present in v **1ג** (some of which ≠ GDeut), simply to conform to the GDeut parallel, overreaches the septuagintism typical of the μονον-passages as a whole. The μονον-translation is septuagintistic—but within limits. Compare also, the cases at **21.11א** (where the 2 pl. in s-group and SH ≠ SP) and **27.23ב** (SH's 2 pl. ≠ SP s-group and GDeut).

► αναβας / κληρονομησον / φοβου :: ܐܣܩ / ܐܬܝ / ܢܦܠ : As with the pronouns in **1ב** the verbs also differ between the s-group and SH, the former transmitting second singular, while the latter second plural. Whereas the GDeut parallel greatly influenced SH's Greek, the s-group is only influenced in the way עלה רש is translated, utilizing the septuagintistic formula: participle + imperative.[808]

► καθα :: ον τροπον / -ג ܕܟܝ : As McClurg rightly explained (→ **§3.3.1** at **Num 21.22ב**), and as Field earlier retroverted,[809] SH's Greek here is clearly from the parallel and as such likely the original μονον-translation. Regardless of the origins of the s-group's καθα, both ably render באשר.[810]

---

[807] A mechanical explanation is also unlikely with respect to Samaritan Hebrew 𐤔𐤔- as 𐤔-, the reverse is less probable.

[808] The SH need not imply that ܐܣܩ is based on an imperative verb (Perkins, 1980: 255-56; cp. **Num 10.10ג** εισελθονται κλιρονομησαται /ܢܬܝܢ ܢܚܠ).

[809] 1: 239.

[810] GPent used both with a fair amount of frequency (so H-R).

► ελαλησεν :: ܐܡܪ : This is the fourth of five lexical variants in **1ב** alone. SH consistently differentiated between ειπον and λαλεω, and thus its *Vorlage* read ειπεν.[811] It is not unimportant that the ειπεν is septuagintistic and without variant in the GDeut tradition. If it can be held that SH translated the original μονον-passage, as opposed to the s-group (= SP and ST both here and in Deut), then it is possible that whatever alteration led to the s-group's ελαλησεν, also accounts for the above καθα.

► θ̅ς̅ των π̅ρ̅ω̅ν̅ :: ° ܐܒܗܝܟ : The omission of 'of [your] fathers' in the SH is due to an homoioteleuton(/arcton?).[812] It is fortunate, however, that in this mistake, be it a misreading by the Syrians' or a previous Greek copyist, affords the opportunity to confirm that the SH's Greek did read with the plural. This is so, since the same mistake cannot be reasonably reproduced from a text with the singular: ΘΕΟCΤΩΝΠΑΤΕΡΩΝΥΜΩΝΥΜΙΝ → ΘΕΟCΥΜΩΝΥΜΙΝ (via ΤΩΝ ∩ ΥΜΩΝ), not ΘΕΟCΤΩΝΠΑΤΕΡΩΝCΟΥCΟΙ → ΘΕΟCCΟΥCΟΙ. The first possibility would involve the second plural pronoun, whereas the latter is much less likely to produce any such eye-skip at all (i.e., των ∩ πατερων would still preserve πατερων).[813]

► οκνησης :: δειλιασητε / ܐܬܬܗܝܠ : Wevers[814] presumed that SH's ܐܬܬ (*ethpa.*) reflects the s-group's οκνεω; Field, however, was quite right to retrovert SH in accordance with the GDeut parallel.[815] The disagreement is not merely verbal number, as Wevers' App^{II} purports, but also of the very word used to translate. Thus, SH's Greek was septuagintistic and, as such, likely represents the original μονον-translation.

---

[811] This was correctly recognized by Field (ειπε [1: 239]); both Wevers (App^{II}) and Burris (2009: 290-93) omit mention of the variance.

[812] Field's assessment "*fort. excidit* των πατερων" is correct (1: 239).

[813] An explanation claiming that the SH copyist(s) erred, while possible, is unlikely. JNum's reading reflects SH's, implying the original SH read this way. Had the error been committed by the SH copyist(s), it would have had to have been produced by both this particular MS and the one Jacob of Edessa was using.

[814] Also Burris (2009: 292) following Wevers' App^{II}.

[815] 1: 239. SH Num 22.16 and Judg 18.9 reproduce ܐܟܝ for οκνεω (see also Acts 9.38 [P and Harklean]), while the present root obtains at SH Deut 1.21; 31.6, 8; and Josh 1.9; 8.1 (all representative of δειλιαω).

On the other hand, the s-group's, while giving good, coherent sense, is difficult to parse in relationship to SH. It is tempting, however, to see some semantic connection with ST's figurative ואל תשתפל (ולתשתפל [MS C]). שפל in the *ethp*. occurs in ST^{J} four times:[816] here, the parallel in Deut 1.21 (for חתת), the similar warning in Deut 31.8 (also חתת),[817] and Gen 42.1 (rendering תתיראו). Tal accordingly interprets these as 'to fear'.[818] Certainly a sense of fear is present, as שפל was used to translate חתת, twice in parallel to אל / לא תירא. Still wider Aramaic suggests the notion of lowliness, humiliation, or cowardice (≈ חתת). ST then appears to represent a developed sense of being overcome by fear. This is particularly so in the case of Gen 42.1—the only instance of the four from a different context. The idea is that Israel's sons were paralyzed by fear,[819] something οκνεω captures well.[820] Fear causes cowardice, in turn causing inertia. In each of these contexts, the sons (or nation) of Israel were reproached for fear-induced inaction. Certainly any direct connection between ST and the s-group here is unlikely. But the s-group rendering has obviously moved away from SH's representation.

13.1ג] The differentiation between the s-group and SH continues more so in v **1ג**.

► αποστειλωμεν (85-130) / נשנו (?) and -λομεν 344 / נשנו (?) : Field retroverted SH as αποστειλωμεν in compliance with the parallel. Theoretically, SH could support either

[816] According to the *CAL Lexicon* (searched July 2015). See Tal's *Introduction* for the sources he used to reconstruct Deut (1983: 21).

[817] Variant: תרקף (MS E) interpreted by Tal as 'to be dismayed' (*DSA*, [1]רקף, קל 2).

[818] *DSA*, שפל, אתפעל, 1 (where cites Deut 1.21 and Gen 42.1 directly). Sokoloff does not list any such connotation for Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (2002: 564).

[819] Vocalized *tittīrā'u* as if *hithp*. from ירא (Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 393, 128; ≠ MT's תִּתְּרָאוּ); ST variants: תדחלון (MECB; תדעלון V); תחסכון (A and m).

[820] While a neutral sense of hesitation occurs (*e.g.*, GNum 22.16), the "collateral" senses surveyed in *LSJ* (*s.v.*, I.3) often bear a sense of shame, fear, cowardice, or indolence; note Spicq, *TLNT*, "οκνεω" 2:576-77.

the aorist subjunctive or future indicative.[821] Given the μονον-translation's septuagintism, the MS tradition suggests the aorist subjunctive is preferable.[822] Only the relative strength of 344 with respect to Samaritan readings (*e.g.*, κατασκοπησωσιν ημιν) gives one pause, though ω / ο confusion may also have ultimately been responsible for any variation.

► εμπροσθεν :: προ προσωπου / מנחת פני : For comment, see **13.1ב** above.[823]

► κατασκοπησωμεν ° (-σωσιν ημιν 344) την :: -ה מרגלנו : The diverse representation of **1ג** continues with the translation of ויחפדו לנו which, contrary to Wevers' (and Burris')[824] collation, is quite different.

First is the s-group: MS 344 preserves the oldest representation of the translation. This is indicated not only by its closeness to SP but also in its preservation of the indirect object. Despite the lexical disagreement with SH, both it and 344 attest ημιν / לנו showing it was part of the original translation. Being, together with MS 85, the oldest MSS in the group by roughly 150 years (→ **§3.4**), 344 can be expected to transmit the oldest text the s-group has to offer. The corruption away from 344's text—which still yields good sense—could be explained graphically (perhaps audible confusion also contributed?). Given that the previous verb is first-person plural (aor. subj.), it is easier to imagine that scribes would make this mistake. Moreover, one must consider which is more probable: that 344 corrected the text or that MSS following 344's type corrupted it. Importantly, the s-group representation cannot be called septuagintistic (≠ και εφοδευσατωσαν ημιν).[825]

---

[821] Perkins, 1980: 269.

[822] See GDeut App$^{I\,II}$: αποστειλωμεν] ο΄ οι λ΄ αποστειλωμεν 344^{s}; -λομεν F^{b} 72^{oII} 343^{s} 630*^{z} 407^{mx}.

[823] Field appears to have changed his mind at this point: "προ προσωπου (s. εμπροσθεν)" (1: 239). But as stated above, this is unlikely as εμπροσθεν is incongruent with the septuagintism typical of the μονον-translator(s).

[824] App^{II}: κατασκοπησωμεν (-σωσιν ημιν 344 Syh); Burris, 2009: 292.

[825] See App^{II}: σ΄ ινα (> F^{b}) κατασκεψονται (+ *nobis terram* Syh) F^{b}(s nom) 108^{b}(s nom et ind ad προτερους) Syh. One wonders if the s-group was perhaps influenced by the context of GNum 13.3 itself: αποστειλον σεαυτω ανδρας, και κατασκεψασθωσαν την γην των Χαναναιων […].

Second is SH:[826] Matters surrounding ܗܘ ܠ ܢܚܦܣ are complex. Field's retroversion, upheld by Wevers et al,[827] is incorrect.[828] Rather, had the SH translator(s) seen εφοδευσατωσαν (without variant in GDeut) ημιν την γην in the margins of their exemplar, ܗܘ ܠ ܢܓܫܬ would have resulted as SH Deut 1.22 demonstrates.[829] Instead other scenarios must be constructed to account for the reading. The **first** considered prospect is graphic confusion via the Hebrew. This would require guttural confusion[830] with פ / ה and ד / ח becoming ב / ם and ר / ח, respectively.[831] While feasible, it hardly constitutes *lectio facilior*. The immediate context of the chapter—the spies and their activities—should not have permitted the accidental omission of 'and let them *spy out*…'.

A **second** possibility is that the μονον-translator'(s) *Vorlage* read differently.[832] Properly retroverted, the SH reflects και διηλθετωσαν ημιν εν τη γη.[833] However, the ημιν here feels awkward. Perhaps their exemplar had been originally levelled not only with the Deuteronomic parallel but also the accounts the spies themselves give of their actions in Num 13.32 לתור אתה עברנו בה אשר לאמר הארץ (those spies who spoke negatively) and 14.7 לתור אתה עברנו בה אשר לאמר הארץ (Joshua and Caleb's speech). It is then feasible

---

[826] SH^L is substantiated by JNum (fol. 282ר): ܗܘ ܠ ܢܚܦܣ ܗ ܥܒܪܢ ܒܗ ܐ. Jacob added ܗ from PDeut in accordance with his typical practice (Marsh, forthcoming).

[827] Wevers, App^{II}; Burris, 2009: 292; von Gall, *ad loc* (vid).

[828] Field himself displayed some disquiet, i.e.: "εφοδευσατωσαν (ܥܒܪܢ ܒܗ)" (1: 239).

[829] SH^V was not available to Field. Compare, α′ in SH^V Gen 42.9 (App^{II}): κατασκοποι (ܓܣܘܣ SH)] α′ εφοδευται [ܓ.ܚܩܨܬ] SH M 57-413^{cl}(s nom) 127(nom absc)-344^{s} Barh. ܚܬ is simply too general to have represented εφοδευω. Compare the Symmachan reading in SH^V Deut 1.22.

[830] Guttural confusion is of course well attested by Samaritan sources, and according to Ben-Ḥayyim's rules the *'ayin* here was not pronounced (*wyǎ̄fā̄du* [Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 104, 491, 519]) and thus could have been replaced (2000: 39 and 42). Note that in opposition to rule four (that an initial *'ayin* is pronounced before an 'a' vowel), the case at Num 21.18 (pronounced *'ā̆fā̆uw ʿwā* [1977: 104]) still produced ח / ע confusion in the MS tradition (von Gall MSS H and P).

[831] For ה / ם confusion, compare those in the Beit-el-Ma inscription.

[832] The Samaritans themselves apparently had problems with the Hebrew as ST attests. Tal interprets MS J's ויגשון as 'that they may explore', while MSS VMBA (וישודון) and MSS EC (וישעדון) mean 'that they might endear' (Tal, 1999: 309, with n. 39; cp. *DSA*, שעד, where MS C is recorded as וישחדון). For שוד = שעד / שחד in the imperfect, see Macuch, 1982: 190-91. See McCarthy's summary (*BHQ*). Von Gall also provided the differing Arabic versions in his apparatus.

[833] See SH and GNum 13.32 and 14.7 (with the hexaplaric reading).

that the original μονον-translation read και διηλθετωσαν (εν αυτη?) και εφοδευσατωσαν ημιν την γην,[834] originally reflecting ויעברו (בה) ויחפדו לנו את הארץ. Thus, one could presume an haplography: ΚΑΙΔΙΗΛΘΕΤΩΣΑΝΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΕΦΟΔΕΥΣΑΤΩΣΑΝΗΜΙΝΤΗΝΓΗΝ → (και -τωσαν ∩ και -τωσαν) → ΚΑΙΔΙΗΛΘΕΤΩΣΑΝΗΜΙΝΤΗΝΓΗΝ.[835]

► και υποστρεψουσιν :: αναγγειλατωσαν / ܐܬܝܗܒ (= JNum) : Field correctly reconstructed SH, which in this case corresponds directly, more or less,[836] to the GDeut parallel. Note that, according to SH, the μονον-rendering cannot be reconciled to the extant witness of SP (וְיָשִׁיבוּ, √שוב) or ST (ויעזרון)[837] outside of the GDeut parallel,[838] unlike the s-group.

► λογον :: αποκρισιν (?)[839] / ܦܘܓܕ (= JNum) : Though the s-group and SH can render SP, only the latter is septuagintistic. The SH, presuming it is closer to the original μονον-translation here, also varies in translation for the next verse's דבר in accordance with the GDeut parallel. This is different from the s-group, which produces the same λογος. Determining how the s-group's λογον came about is difficult to explain. An interesting comparison is the σαμ′-reading at Num 31.16: δια λογου Φοφωρ *C′′*.[840] However, against this, the s-group's περι της οδου following can hardly represent ST's ית

[834] εφοδευω takes the accusative. While it is odd the Syrians would translate the accusative with -ت; compare, Gen 41.46: ܡܨܪ ܐܪܥ ܠܟܠ ܡܨܪ for και διηλθεν πασαν (την) αιγυπτον. The suggested haplography could have also influenced the scribe(s).

[835] Perhaps παρερχομαι is also possible (cf. GNum 13.32 and 14.7) as it is far commoner in GPent than διερχομαι.

[836] Field (1: 239); Burris (2009: 292), following Wevers, neglects to indicate as much. In light of the septuagintism in the passage generally, αναγγειλατωσαν is preferable; απαγγελλω (*e.g.*, SH Gen 46.31; Num 11.27) is also possible (App$^{I\,II}$).

[837] MSS EC ויעזרו.

[838] See Wevers' comment on GDeut's rendering (*NGTD*, 14).

[839] So in SH Deut 1.22; see PS 2:2930. Note however, SH Job 15.2, 31.14, and the sub ※ reading (restored to ⁘ by Ziegler) at 32.13^{mg} all produce ܡܠܬܐ ܕܥܢܝܐ ('a return of word' → 'reply' = Sir 8.9); cf. ܡܠܬ ܥܢܝܐ ܒܫ at Mic 3.7 (= Prov 15.1; Sir 5.11).

[840] Pummer (following Kohn) believed this possibly was related to ST's על ממלל (1998: 301-02, but compare his n. 176).

אורעא;[841] SH's ܐܘܪܚܐ is closer to ST, but is obviously derived from GDeut's consecutive accusatives αποκρισιν την οδον.[842] As it stands, the s-group's λογος avoids sure analysis, though the correspondence to the σαμ′ reading is conspicuous.[843]

► δι᾽ ης ανελευσομεθα :: δι᾽ ης αναβησομεθα / ונעלה אשר : Neither the s-group nor the SH's word order corresponds to SP or ST. While the order of both corresponds to the GDeut parallel, the verb choice in the s-group disagrees with that in GDeut 1.22 (αναβαινω). It is difficult to imagine SH reflects anything other than the parallel, given the practice of the μονον-translator(s).[844]

► εις ας εισελευσομεθα ° :: ܒܗ ܢܣܠܩ ܠܗ : Both the s-group and SH agree save the latter's final ܒܗ (= εις αυτας [*contra* Field]) which corresponds to SP.[845] While the s-group fails to reflect עליהן, what is more difficult is the s-group's verb choice. As discussed above (→ **§3.3.1** at **10.10ג**), it is not possible to know what SH's ܢܣܠ translated, though the GDeut parallel used εισπορευομαι, not εισερχομαι.[846] Presumably, GDeut was the basis of the μονον-translation, as opposed to what the s-group preserves. Were the s-scribes were influenced by the *recentiores*?[847]

13.1ד] SH displays typical septuagintism, while the s-group continues to differ in a couple places.

---

[841] MS E has מן שבילה; MS C שבילה ית.

[842] App[I]: της οδου 72$^{O\ Lat}$cod 100 (+ *eius*) Arm. No MS has περι.

[843] Or perhaps the s-group simply replaced with the more common expression? See Dogniez and Harl's comments (*BA*, 5:116).

[844] Compare SH's use of ܐܠܨ in Num 13.17 (18), 14.40, and Deut 1.22, each reflecting αναβαινω. SH 3 Kgdm 13.12 (also using ܐܠܨ), based on the MS evidence, probably reflects ανερχομαι.

[845] On עליהן / אליהן, see McCarthy (*BHQ*). For SH's treatment of εις ας in this construction, see Perkins, 1980: 126-27 (on SH Deut 1.22).

[846] App[I].

[847] App[II]: εισπορευσομεθα] ο′ θ′ πορευομεθα 344^{s}; **σ′ α′ εισελευσομεθα** 85(s nom)-344^{s}; ελευσομε[θα] M. Note that while both are used by GPent, εισερχομαι occurs three times more often than εισπορευομαι. Perhaps this is a replacement by the more common verb. Both suggestions are not mutually exclusive.

► ο λογος :: ρημα / ܡܠܬܐ : SH Num did not distinguish between ρημα / λογος.[848] Given that the GDeut parallel very strongly supports ρημα, there is no reason to assume the μονον-translation read otherwise.[849] If this is so, this is further proof of the μονον-translator'(s) submission to the GPent parallel. What led to the s-group's modification is unknown; perhaps this happened when the same occurred in **1ג** (αποκρισιν → λογον). Both witnesses' word order matches SP against the parallels.

► εν οφθαλμοις :: ενωπιον (?)[850] / ܩܕܡ : Both can reasonably reflect the sense of SP. Here again, despite the imprecise nature of Wevers' App^{II} (which Burris follows), the s-group and the Greek underlying SH differ. Had the Syrians seen εν οφθαλμοις, ܒ-ܥܝܢܐ would have resulted (*e.g.*, Num 33.55, 3 Kgdm 22.43, 4 Kgdm 3.2; Josh 23.13, Judg 14.3, et al). Instead, SH demonstrates the rampant septuagintism of the μονον-translation. Of interest is how or why the s-group came to differ. In accordance with Wevers' reconstructed GPent οφθαλμοις (in any context) is relatively rare.[851] What would have prompted the s-group's literalistic revision?

Num 13.1א-ד (attributions)] Much like the textual minutiae of the passage, the attributions differ considerably. While the above has pointed out that the witnesses portray this μονον-passage variously, the following will focus on the content and provenancial context of the attributions, in an effort to determine their respective historical backgrounds.

---

[848] See the above discussion → **§2.3.3** at **Exod 20.21ד**.

[849] See App^{I}. Field (1: 239) retroverts ρημα, while Wevers (App^{II}) and Burris (2009: 291-92) presume the s-group's λογος.

[850] As Wevers pointed out (*NGTD*, 14), the Hebrew בעינ- was translated variously by GDeut: τοις οφθαλμοις (3.27 [twice], 34.4), εναντι [κυριου] ("nine times"), εναντιον (12.8, 15.18, 24.1), and only once as ενωπιον (1.23). Field reconstructed SH based on the latter variant in conformity with CODEX B (1: 239).

[851] Mostly in Gen (twelve of 19 times) reflecting one's having 'raised his eyes'.

► Attribution in SH : This annotation, coming *after* the marginal reading, presents specific elements as follows: **1)** the passage is ܕܗܠܚ 'only in the Samaritans' Hebrew [*of Num*]'; **2a)** that Moses himself later mentioned (ܕܡܚ) this conversation; **2b)** this reminiscence occurred in (the *common text* of) Deut; and **2c)** the recall of what was said in Deut is produced as having been said already in Num.[852] The note is reflective of those extant in SH Num generally. Compare that in JNum 13.1א-ד (fol. 282ܥ):

[ܐܦ ܗܠ ܐܡ] ܕܗܠܚ [ܒܣܦܪ] ܕܗܘ ܒܠܚ [ܚܕ].[853]

[And also] *this is* [written] *only in the* [exemplar (= ܒܣܦ_ܝ) of the Samaritans].

Importantly, Jacob only transmitted the chief descriptor (ܕܗܠܚ) found in the first part of the SH attribution; this is the sole piece of information he could *not* have attained from that preserved in the s-group.[854]

► Corresponding Cross-Reference from SH^{V} Deut : As discussed above (→ **Num 10.10ג-א**, at attribution), the original Caesarean hexaplaric εκδοσις not only supplied the Samaritan passages *ad loc*, but also provided complementary cross-references at the place of the Deuteronomic recall. The note parallel to the present case reads as follows:

(twice) ⁘ ܒܣܦܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܣܦ ܗܘ +

The corresponding index markers are placed above ܒܣܦ in Deut 1.20 (fol. 152b, RH margin) and just after ܒܠܚ in v 23 (fol. 153a, upper margin).[855] While there is no explicit mention of the *Samaritan* text, the common verbal indicator for these cross-references

---

[852] On these, see above (→ **§3.3.1** at **Num 10.10ג-א [attribution]**). Again, Burris understands element **2b** differently (2009: 292-93).

[853] RH margin, encircled. Future MS autopsy is required for this note. The reconstructed words, for which space allows, are taken from the similar annotation at JNum 14.1א-ו (fol. 284ד).

[854] When Jacob bothers to reproduce these, they are in general agreement with the *information* SH provided as opposed to verbatim representations. Thus Jacob's ܗܘ need not militate against SH's ܒܣܦܪ; nor does his ܚܕ imply SH's *Vorlage* read γραφομενα.

[855] This is provided twice because the reading spans two folia; otherwise, one of the ind markers could have been orphaned, perhaps being later confused for something else.

ܐܘܣܦ ‘added’ (ܐܦ in the *afel* or *ettafʿal*, for προστιθημι) is preserved. These annotations can be split into two groups (→ ***Table 3.3.1.2***): **1)** those explicitly mentioning the Samaritan text (Deut 1.6-8; 1.42, 44; 2.24-25) and **2)** those which read as the present cross-reference without ܥܡܪܐ but with some form of ܕܡܬܒܪ ܐܘܣܦ (here, Deut 1.27-33; 2.2-6, [27]28-29, 31; 3.24-28). Importantly, the first cross-reference explicitly mentions both ܥܡܪܐ and ܕܡܬܒܪ ܐܘܣܦ. There is thus no reason to doubt the notes are of the same mind, originating with the Caesarean collation.

► The S-Group Attribution *Scholion* : The much referenced *scholion* found in MSS 85′-321′-344 differs from that in SH in many ways, *viz.*, placement (see above), provided details, and order thereof. Yet the most critical difference is not the communicated information but the ***origins*** of that information. Simply put, the Samaritan element in the s-group has no discernible historical background—the SH's does. As such, there is no reason to assume the s-group's attribution *scholion* is pristine, untouched by later scribal activity. Where did it come from? And why does it differ so significantly from the SH's, whose textual pedigree is easier to document? These are important questions, especially in light of the generally positive assessment of this note and its alleged connections with Origen's own hand—a valuation as old as Montfaucon (→ **§1.2.1.2**). His assessment has (via Field) profoundly influenced all subsequent scholarly discussion.[856] However Montfaucon came to this conclusion in 1713, *without* the benefit of SH. Field's description—so influential on later scholarship as the publication of record—basically rehearsed Montfaucon's (→ **§1.2.1.3**), despite having the differing attribution from SH.

[856] A rough break-down of opinion on the authorship of the *scholion*:

Origen's (or very probably): **Montfaucon**, 1714: 19 (PG 15:37); **Field**, 2005: 155 (1: lxxxiii); **Kohn**, 1865: 65; **Rahlfs**/**Glaue**, 1911: 64; **Swete**, 1914: 437; **Devreesse**, 1954: 130, n. 6; **Tal**, 1989: 433-34; **Fernández Marcos**, 2000: 167.

Not Origen's (or such is not self-evident): **Kahle**, 1915: 23-24; **Pummer** 1998: 272-73.

Understandably, some avoid the matter (*e.g.*, **Waltke**, 1965: 67 [vid]); **Jellicoe** (1968: 129, 245). See further below (→ **§4.2**).

The problem is still acute. Presuming the genesis of each source's μονον-passage was in fact the Caesarean collation, one source represents an altered version of the attribution. Which version of the attribution *scholion* is secondary?

► ► Provided Details and Order thereof :

In contrast to SH, the s-group's attribution claims: **1)** that the passage is mentioned (μνημονευει) *in the beginning* of Deut; **2)** these are from 'the Hebrew [text of Num] of the Samaritans', and **3)** a supposed direct citation of the collator(s): 'we have adapted[857] appropriately the (passage) from the ο′ ερμηνεια of Deut'. Again in comparison to SH: the first component is put in the second place, and the key descriptor was omitted (i.e., μονον). SH's second part is placed first and altered; parts 2a and 2b are preserved, but the s-group *scholion* makes a point of mentioning that such is found in the *beginning* of Deut—something not provided in the present SH attribution.[858] Lastly, there is (what appears to be) a direct citation of the collator'(s). This last piece of information is most remarkable and crucial for historical analysis.

► ► Why is the ο′ ερμηνεια specifically referenced?

When compared to the SH Deut cross-references, the claim that the μονον-passage had been adapted from the ο′ ερμηνεια is most natural. In fact, when compared to the **cross-reference** found at SH^{V} **Deut 1.6-8**, there is a genuine family resemblance between the two:

ܡܠܝܢ ܡܫܬܚܠ⸢ (μετεβαλομεν καταλληλως ≈) ܕܗܘܐ (των ο′ ερμηνεια ≈) ܡܚܝ ܗܝ ÷

÷ (s-item **2** =) ⸣ܡܫܬܚܠ ܡܫ ܗܝ ܕܐ ܕܗܘ ܕܫܬܚܠ

[857] Others produce 'translated' but in English 'adapted' better conveys the process described by these *scholia* (see *LSJ*, *s.v.*). For Fernández Marcos' translation, see the **APPENDIX**.

[858] Compare, however, that at Num 14.1א-ו: ÷ ܡܗܘ ܒܡܕܒܪ ܕܒܪܫܝܬ ܡܗ ܕܐ ܒܡ ܕܐ ܒܪܫ [...].

There is no reason to assume an overly literal interpretation, restricting the translator(s) procedure to having cribbed text later transmitted sub ο′ only.[859] The SH Deut cross-reference and the s-group *scholion* do not contradict each other here; only GDeut was meant (→ **§3.5.2**).

► Which attribution is more 'original'? : However, even if the differently expressed contents of the attributions in SH and the s-group were to be reconciled, one of them is still secondary. When the attributions found in the s-group are viewed as a whole, in comparison to the same in SH, it becomes clear that the former are indeed secondary to the latter.[860] Of the five attributions in the s-group (Num 31.20**א-ד** lacks any attribution whatsoever), only three mention the Samaritans (here, → **21.11א**, and → **21.12א-ג**).[861] The other two either attribute the reading to ο′ (but → **14.45א**) or cross-reference Deut only (→ **14.45א** [?], **27.23א-ב**)! Even worse, only one of the five makes clear that 'only' SP Num has the passage in question (→ **21.12א-ג**: εν μονοις των σαμαρειτων).[862] Yet this is the defining, textual characteristic of the Caesarea-based, hexaplaric Samaritan collation. How could this have been mentioned only once? Thus, the s-group attributions do not present an untouched, unchanged witness.

In fact, the s-group's sampling of μονον-passages was most likely the result of a consciously executed, partially accomplished, and poorly transmitted Samaritan collation in Num. The scribe(s) had many sources, hexaplaric and otherwise—something those marginalia of MS 344 make clear (→ **§3.4**). For in addition to any number of hexaplaric *recentiores*, s-group MSS also transmit σαμ′-type readings (→ **§3.4**). On the whole, the s-

[859] *E.g.*, ο′ πορευομεθα 344 at Deut 1.22 disagrees with SH and s-group.

[860] Field stopped short of explicitly describing the s-group notes as secondary, describing those in SH as "fuller and more perfect" (2005: 154 [*plenio vero et perfectior*, 1: lxxxii]). Did Field mean 'more complete'?

[861] The latter two, however, are suspiciously close to each other.

[862] Noticeably, of all the μονον-type attributions in the s-group, this one is closest to its SH counterpart.

group's marginalia is affected, cobbled together from various, diverse sources—including more than one Samaritan source.

Probably, the present s-group attribution was similarly cobbled together.[863] One ought to seriously consider that μετεβαλομεν—Δευτερονομιω was taken from a different context, perhaps from the missing section of the Num colophon (→ **§3.2**). This reconstruction seems likely since the extant hexaplaric colophons transmitting first-person citations very often provided these excerpted testimonies in the final lines of the corresponding subscription. According to this reconstruction, the s-scribe(s) took the original μονον-attribution (≅ SH) and flipped[864] the order of elements,[865] removing the mention of 'only' along with SH element **2c** (both of which are implied), and split element **1** by (a) inserting the Caesarean first-person citation between 𐤓𐤏𐤄𐤕𐤀 and 𐤄𐤄𐤄𐤌, (b) altering 𐤓𐤏𐤄𐤕𐤀 𐤓𐤄𐤕𐤇 𐤕𐤀𐤔𐤋 𐤔𐤌 to αυτα εκ του των Σαμαρειτων Ἑβραικου, and (c) repurposing 𐤄𐤄𐤄𐤌 to reflect the adapted GDeut text (φερομενη), as opposed to the SP passage itself (φερομενα). εν τοις πρωτοις may have been taken from another μονον-attribution or added *ad hoc*. This reconstruction is of course only an hypothesis. Nevertheless, whatever the process might have been, there is no evidence whatsoever that μετεβαλομεν—Δευτερονομιω was taken from an hexaplaric MS at Num 13.1.

► Conclusion : In the end, SH's representation of the data is better provenanced, and analysis of both the attributions and the passage must account for this. Simply expressed, the translational practice of the SH disallows tinkering with their exemplar(s) of the Caesarean εκδοσις, either its text or apparatus. With respect to the Samaritan

[863] It might be pointed out that the s-group transmits a number of unique scholia (see Exod 36.9; Num 1.24-37, etc.). Clearly, the scribes were actively looking for these or even composing some themselves.

[864] By doing this, they mimicked the rewriting style of hexaplaric scribes, who usually provided first-person excerpts at the *end* of their updated colophons, meant to represent the oldest layer, i.e., the subscription of the basic Caesarean layer.

[865] For an analogous procedure, compare the s-group *scholion* at Gen 4.8 with Origen's (see App[II]; Ceulemans, 2011:74-76).

materials, theirs was unequivocally a *translation* activity—not a *collating* project. Whereas the s-group's scribe(s) had no such implied purpose. Rather, the s-group scribe(s) had available to him many sources and used these to construct his marginal apparatuses—doing so, materially speaking, approximately 300-350 years *after* SH (→ **§3.4**). Was one of these sources the σαμ′ translation of **Num 13.1א-ד**, or some such parts thereof? Was the passage 'corrected' on the basis of this translation? Whether or not one might admit such a possibility, the septuagintism of the μονον-translation in SH is well represented in general, something the third part of the s-group attribution *scholion* confirms.[866] Thus, the present s-group passage is historically secondary, irrespective of its textual conformity to SP.

'…just as bees do…'

Num 14.45א] Despite its relative brevity, this μονον-passage is codicologically significant, due both to the variety of sigla and attributions applied to the text by different witnesses as well as 343's integration.

Why is 14.45א^{b} unmarked?] The first point of interest is the failure of the collator(s) to mark the second section of the 'Samaritan' Hebrew for the verse.[867] The reason why the collator(s) seemingly ignored, or rather left unattributed, the second part of the SP verse, is because **14.45א^{b}** = G. As explained above (→ **§1.3.2.2**), the Caesarea-based μονον-collator(s) did not account for the SP = G category, for the SP = G class cannot be μονον. Thus, και 4°—παρεμβολην falls under the regular hexaplaric schema.

[866] Again, as has been pointed out before (*e.g.*, Pummer, 1998: 274).

[867] While verse divisions are a product of the later Middle Ages, the present verse division represents an inherent sense division, *viz.*, 15.1, the next verse, begins with divine speech covering a different topic.

Sigla and Sub-Attributions (s-group and SH)] The witnesses evince some diversity in sigla with respect to the current passage, and it is difficult to know how or why these came to be.

► sub ※ (MSS 85-321′) : As described above (→ **Num 13.1א-ד**), several of the μονον-passages in the s-group are transmitted sub ※ (**Num 13.1א-ד** [344 only], here, and 31.20א-ד [344 only]). However, this is the sole occurrence in the s-group where the asterisk is found for a μονον-reading in a MS other than 344.[868]

► sub ? in SH : Of the eleven μονον-passages in SH^{L}—the much older witness usually proffering the siglum ⊣ for Samaritan excerpts—only three of these (Num 14.40א, here, and 21.20א-ב) are without any sub siglum. This bears no significance (other than perhaps scribal laziness), as nearly all are correctly attributed as 'only' of the Samaritans.[869]

► sub ο′ (85′-321′-344) : The reckoning of the present passage with the ο′-text is somewhat odd.[870] However, given the secondary nature of the s-group's overall attestation to the μονον-attributions, one needs to view the s-group's suspiciously. Is this a loose indication of the s-group's source from which the scribe(s) had taken the reading, *viz.*, from an hexaplaric MS, that is, a copy of the "ο′-text"? As it stands, scribal confusion may have been the cause, perhaps after the s-group's attribution had been corrupted (see below).

14.45א (MSS 85′-321′-344 and SH)] The reading is regular, without any substantial issues.

---

[868] See MS 85 fol. 108b where the asterisk is used both at the beginning and the end of the marginal reading.

[869] Only those for **10.10א-ג** (→ **§3.3.1**) and Num 14.40א lack the descriptor; nevertheless, the type is the same.

[870] Montfaucon originally labelled the μονον-section of the reading as Αλλος (1713: 159 [15:745-46]).

► και κατεδιωξαν (130-321′) and ומגרהם :: κατεδιωξεν (MSS 85-344) : The divergent text exhibited in 85-344 (as well as 343 in-text) is surely a secondary reading. The same verbal shift is found in a majority variant in GDeut 1.44.[871] All SP and ST[872] evidence betrays the plural.

► ωσει ποιησαισαν and ܥܒܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ : In conformity with the typical μονον-translation's septuagintism, the optative was adopted in complete conformity with the GDeut parallel.[873] While the Greek of the s-group (ωσει ποιησαισαν) equates that in GDeut,[874] the Syriac of SH Deut is somewhat different. SH Deut 1.44 reads ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܘܐܬܚܒܪ, differing in both the translation of the conjunction *and* the verb. Perkins discussed the oddity of the rendering at 1.44, noting that it differed from the more normal use of a participle in translating the optative in a Greek comparative clause.[875] It is more probable that such indicate different translators for SH Num and SH Deut, as opposed to different base-Greek.

14.45א (MS 343)] One of the most interesting MSS in the s-group is 343. For like MSS 58, 767, and 15, this witness took some of the originally marginal μονον-passages and integrated them directly into its running text (→ ***Table 3.3.2.1***). However, unlike 58, 767, and 15, whose readings had to be argued for on the basis of their respective hexaplaric pedigrees and SH parallels, 343 can more plainly be connected to its source. For the integrated Samaritan readings 343 used clearly betray the precise text form of 85-

[871] See App[I], where the variant is quite popular. Perhaps the alteration occurred under the influence of the singular earlier in the verse.

[872] ST: ורדפו (MS J) ; וארדפו (MSS MB); ואכתתון (MS A).

[873] The variants are negligible (Wevers' App[I]).

[874] While Wevers provides the separated conjunction ως ει as opposed to the s-group's unified form, certainly this is the result of *scripta continua*.

[875] Perkins, 1980: 286-287. According to Perkins' analysis, the Syriac translator of the μονον-passage in Num chose the more normal method.

344 (*e.g.*, κατεδιωξεν).[876] This permits a concrete connection between the source and the scribe(s) who integrated, and as such, serves as a microcosm of the kind of post-hexaplaric activity in which other hexaplaric scribal 'integrators' (i.e., MSS 58, 767, and 15, as well as Jacob of Edessa) engaged. 343 reads without the article μελισσαι,[877] the result of a simple graphic error. For the possible motives of 343's integration as well as its overall placement within the s-group with respect to the μονον-readings, see below (→ **§§3.5.3** and **3.4,** respectively).

14.45א (attributions and cross-references)] Both the Greek and Syriac traditions preserve attributions, though those in the Greek tradition are restored here based on indirect or corrupted evidence.

► Attribution in SH : For the meaning of the attribution in SH, see that at **Num 10.10ג-א** (→ **§3.3.1**, attribution). Of note are the represented constituent parts of the attribution formula, namely, parts **1)** and **2a)-2b)** are alone represented. Starting at Num 14.1א-ו, the attributions in SH (or rather their Greek exemplar[s]) omit any mention of the things in Deut 1-3 appearing 'as if they had already been said [in Num]'.

► Corresponding Cross-Reference from SH^{V} Deut : As has been observed above (→ **Num 10.10ג-א**, at attribution), the Caesarean μονον-collator(s) provided corresponding Samaritan cross-references in the hexaplaric εκδοσις of Deut. The cross-reference corresponding to the present reading is as follows (SH^{V}, fol. 153b RH marg.):



At the beginning of the parallel in Deut, SH^{V} erroneously placed the in-text ind siglum:



[876] 343 at **Num 21.11א**, **21.12ג-א** and **27.23ב-א** generally aligns closer with the text represented by MSS 85-344 than that of MS 130.

[877] Burris' apparatus is correct on this point, though he mistakenly omits 344's reading κατεδιωξεν (2009: 349).

It ought to have been placed before ܘܡܠܚ ܗܘ̈ܝ. The companion ind marker is correctly placed after ܐܒ̈ܗ̈ܝ.

► Reconstructed s-Group Attribution from MS 344 : Though Wevers records no such attribution formula extant in the s-group MSS, there is in fact a cross-reference annotation in MS 344 just following its rendition of the present μονον-passage. Brooke-McLean dutifully recorded this and indexed it to the place where the MS itself (wrongly) marked it at 15.1.[878] How this misplacement occurred is unknown, especially as the beginning of Num 15 bears a greater connection with (Exod and) Lev[879] than Deut. Perhaps a later scribe was confused and unthinkingly added an extra ind marker attaching the partial attribution in 344 (cp. **Num 27.23ב-א**) to the text immediately adjacent to it, the beginning of ch 15.

► Possible Greek Cross-Reference in the Catena? : Though no explicit mention of SP Num is made in the catena at Deut 1.44, there is an interesting annotation which bears some resemblance to the cross-referenced annotation in SH Num:

Deut 1.44 (cf. **Num 14.45א**)	*Cat*^{Nic} ind post Deut 1.44 (1/3.1430= MS 417^{cII})
ΑΝΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΟΥ. [so Nicephorus] Ταυτα εν τοις Αριθμοις κειται ηνικα κατεδιωκεν αυτους ο Αμορραιος, ηγουν ο Αμαληκ και Χαναναιος.	

This is in Numbers when the Amorite (that is to say Amalek and the Canaanite) pursued them.

Though this text is somewhat difficult to associate directly with the SH Deut cross-reference (there is no mention of the Samaritans), the placement, contents, and precise vocabulary of the anonymous (→ **Num 32.33+**, at the Catena *scholion*) annotation should at least prompt suspicion.[880] Note especially the linguistic similarity with the current SH Deut cross-reference: [...] ܕܚܢܢܐ ܗܘܬ ܥܠ ܥܡܠܩ.[881] Was this anonymous annotation originally

[878] See App^{II} (1911, 1/3: 462).

[879] Note Dorival, *BA* 4:331.

[880] Compare SP Deut 1.44 itself: [...] ויצא העמלקי והכנעני הישב בהר ההוא. As McCarthy notes, SP here reconciles towards Num's ethnic designation for the group Deut usually calls 'the Amorite' (*BHQ*).

[881] Compare the s-group's 'attribution' at **Num 27.23ב-א**.

based on the hexaplaric, Samaritan μονον-type attribution—cross-reference tandem? Or was the catenist working independently of any such influence? Hopefully, forthcoming studies on the catena traditions of Lev—Deut can shed light on this matter.

'You shall not quarrel with the Moabites…'

Num 21.11א (codicological matters)] Both Brooke-McLean and Wevers' App^{II} list MS 85 as having the reading *without* attribution. While 21.11א specifically does not have any such annotation, the next reading does; as both are on the same folio (117b), it is possible the scribe was saving space on the page by having the second stand for both being in such close proximity. (The wording of both s-group attributions is very similar; perhaps this lends credence towards such an interpretation.) A similar phenomenon may be observed for JNum 21.20א-ב and 21.22+, 22ב-א, all of which inhabit the same folio (304ר-ס).[882]

343's Misplacement of 21.11א] As described above (→ **Num 14.45א**), MS 343 promoted three marginal s-group μονον-passages from the margins to its own running text. However, in the present case, 343 confused **21.11א** and **21.12א-ג–13a**, omitting the former altogether. Apparently the scribe's eye skipped (in the margin) from και ειπεν—μωυσην (**11א**) ∩ και ειπεν—μωυσην (**12א**) or υιοις λωτ δεδωκα το ορος εν κληρω (**11א**) ∩ υιοις λωτ δεδωκα αυτην εν κληρω (**12ג**) (or both), replacing the instructions concerning the Moabites with those regarding the Ammonites. This leads 343 to read awkwardly for vv 21.11[=11-**12א-ג–13a**]-12-13, thusly: […**12ג…**] οτι τοις υιοις λωτ δεδωκα αυτην εν κληρω [**21.13a**] και **απηραν** εκ της φαραγγος ζαρεθ [**12**] και **παρενεβαλον** εις φαραγγα ζαρεθ [**13**] και εκειθεν [...]. The scribe's overly perfunctory reproduction even replicated

[882] Marsh, forthcoming.

85-344's most pronounced error υμων (**21.12ג**) for υιων. While it is unfortunate that the MS's witness cannot be used to for analysis of the present passage, because of the mechanical nature of 343's blunder, it can be used for the analysis of **Num 21.12א-ג** below despite its dislocation.[883]

Num 21.11א] The present text contains a few items of interest related to the history of the μονον-translation: **1)** The reading exhibits disagreement with the pre-Samaritan witness 4Q27 (*e.g.*, + מלחמה, > לך; → **Num 27.23א** below). This is in accord with the analysis thus far—that the μονον-translator(s) and collator(s) dealt with a base closer to the extant, canonical SP than one reflecting the pre-Samaritan type (→ **§2.3** at **Exod 7.29[8.4]א-ד**, **20.17א-ו**, and **20.21א-ט**]). **2)** The common testimony of the s-group and SH demonstrates thoroughgoing septuagintism—including verbal number, something which the s-group and SH previously disagreed upon (→ **Num 13.1א-ד**). **3)** The passage may reflect early confusion in Samaritan transmission or possibly an old variant (*e.g.*, το ορος / 𐤏𐤓 ≠ 𐤄𐤓).

► κυριος :: 𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄 : As note above (→ **Num 10.10א**), while the μονον-passages in SH Exod regularly and without fail reproduce the hexaplarism 𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄,[884] the evidence from SH Num is more mixed. Observe the following table:

	Use of 𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄	Use of 𐤄𐤅𐤄
Num 10.10א-ג		1
Num 13.1א-ד		3
Num 14.1א-ו	4	

[883] McClurg relocates the passage (2011: 81 and 85) without any explanation.

[884] The form, it would seem, goes back to the *Hexapla Maior* (cp. MSS 1098 and 2005), itself based on the Jewish practice mimicked by Origen (see *Sel. in Ps* 2.2 [PG 12.1104]; see Metzger, 1980: 33-35; more recently, see Gallagher, 2013). Presumably, the graecized ιαουε derived (purposefully?) from the square script representation יהוה (Metzger, 1980: 35, esp. n. 69 [following Ceriani]). Note the μονον-translator(s) could not have formed ιαουε from Samaritan script 𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄.

Num 14.40א		1
Num 20.13א-ט	2*	2 (once as חנוכה חנכה)
Num 21.11א	1	
Num 21.12א-ב		1
Num 21.20א-ב	1*	
Num 21.23א		1
Num 27.23א-ב		3 (SH^{V} only)
Num 31.20א-ד		1 (SH^{V} only)

Table 3.3.2.2: Occurrences of חנכה and חנוכה in SH Num[885]
(*SH^{V} replaced חנכה with חנוכה)

These data illustrate the irregularity with which the scribal tradition treated וחוה / חנכה in Num. To this, can be added the fact that despite the presence of וחוה in some hexaplaric uncial MSS,[886] even if only marginally (*e.g.*, CODEX Q, SH), the s-group does *not* exhibit the form in the μονον-passages they transmit—this despite the likelihood that the original μονον-translator(s) used the form ubiquitously. While the MSS whose passages were integrated (*e.g.*, 767, 15, et al) can be excused for having 'updated' the graphically represented divine appellation in conformity with their running text, the failure of the s-group to produce even one such occurrence *in the margins* represents a secondary development.[887] This may have been the result of Greek scribes abbreviating[888] or seeking to clarify the meaning.[889]

---

[885] Included are eligible passages only.

[886] Metzger listed CODEX Q^{mg}, $86^{[mg]}$, $88^{[txt]}$, 243^{mg}, $264^{[mg]}$, and SH as MSS which attest it (1980: 35, copying Swete, 1914: 39, n. 4). SH of course represents many diverse MSS. Further MSS transmitting וחוה include 62^{O} (11^{th} CE; in-text: αδωναι πιπι at Ezek 18.23 and 22.19), 108^{b} (13^{th} CE; mg: α′ τω πιπι [Exod 12.41] and α′ σ′ θ′ πιπι [19.8]), and 1140 (1070 CE; mg: ο εβρ′ πιπι [Ps 71(72).18]). Possibly the siglum ╗╗ in MS 86 developed from וחוה (so Ziegler, *Isa*, 109 and *Ezek*, 63). Scribes applied the form to all the *recentiores*, indexing וחוה / חנכה to G itself (SH^{mg} and Q^{mg}), ο εβρ′ (explicitly *Secunda* in Mal 2.13), α′, σ′, θ′, ε′, ς′, as well as in other, more ambiguous references: *e.g.*, חנכה ואגדתא חנוכה (SH Num 16.5) or π′ (= παντες) πιπι (MS 86 at Ezek 12.23).

[887] Each occurrence of κυριος in MS 344's μονον-texts was abbreviated. (App^{II} does not always signal these.) As these overlap with occasions where SH^{L} retained חנכה, it is clear that someone at some point replaced וחוה → $\overline{\text{κς}}$.

[888] It is unlikely that scribes would have abbreviated πιπι → $\overline{\text{πι}}$, probably given its similarity with $\overline{\text{πνι}}$. A comparable phenomenon occurs in MS oS-1 (α′ 3-4 Kgdm; 5^{th} / 6^{th} cent. CE; Egypt). This MS regularly utilized a paleo-Hebrew representation 𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄 (see Burkitt, 1897; Rahlfs and Fraenkel, 2004: 50-51). However, at 4 Kgdm 23.24, instead of reproducing the expected *Tetragram*, the scribe wrote οιακω$\overline{\text{κϒ}}$, seemingly as he had come to the end of the line and there was not room enough for the full form within the

Notwithstanding this devolvement in hexaplaric sources, there was certainly nothing Samaritan about the practice, with respect to both the written form and the reading tradition. As for the written form, in Hebrew and Aramaic, there is no evidence the Samaritans made any effort to substitute or otherwise specially represent יהוה.[890] As for Greek traditions, if one accepts the Samaritan provenance of Gie (→ **§1.2.2.2**) or Carl 49 (→ **EXCURSUS B**), both of which use κυριος, it can be suggested the Samaritans fully adopted GPent's *Qere*—something ostensibly confirmed by the citation of Num 6.22-27 from an inscription on the Samaritan synagogue in Thessalonica, dated to the 4th century CE or later.[891]

In their reading tradition, the Samaritans used the *Qere* šēmå for the *Tetragram*. The earliest known Samaritan mention of this, however, is in the writings of **Abū l-Ḥasan** (d. 1259 CE).[892] Yet, as Pummer points out, a liturgical acrostic by the Samaritan poet Mårqe assumes it,[893] suggesting the practice was conventional in the third century CE.[894] Additional evidence from Samaritan schisms lends support to the notion that the *Qere* was much earlier, as both the Dustån and Dosithean sectarians opposed the practice.[895] The former sect is believed to have originated subsequent to the destruction of the Gerizim Temple by John Hyrcanus (135-104 BCE); the founder of the latter is dated to the first

---

column (see Burkitt, 1897: 8 [transcription, at ln. 15] and 16). Whether the scribe was Jewish or Christian (on which see Gallagher, 2013), it provides physical evidence that such replacement was acceptable.

[889] Cp. Jerome, *Ep.* 25 (CSEL 54: 219).

[890] Montgomery, 1907: 213; Lowy, 1977: 278; J. Fossum, "God, names of", *CSS*, 105. Fossum's summarizes the replacements for 'God' used by ST (אדון → רב; אל → חילה); יהוה, however, was not replaced.

[891] Four times, abbreviated κς. See Tov, [1974] 1999; Baillet, *DBSup* 11: 860-61. See Pummer, 1998: 309.

[892] So A. Tal, "Tetragrammaton", *CSS*, 232.

[893] Pummer, "Šēmå", *CSS*, 216. The section of the composition in question reads (Cowley, 1: 55):

רב הוא יתה זזועה דאזרזע על טור סיני [...]

יהוה (רבה) דאנדה עלמה [...]

תקיפה [רבה] דאנדה חיליה ובוראיה [...]

[894] See A. Tal, "Mårqe", *CSS*, 152-53, for information on the poet himself and his chronology.

[895] Fossum, 1989: 307-08, 325, and 328.

century CE.[896] The famous Dosithean martyr Levi (fl. 3rd century CE), before his execution is reported to have attacked his (orthodox) executioners: "You have replaced the Great name Y H W H."[897] While the evidence is spotty, and all filtered through the Samaritan *Chronicle* of **Abū l-Fatḥ** (14th century CE), Lowy interpreted this story as representative of the Dosithean opposition to the 'orthodox' Samaritan *Qere* šēmå.[898]

Whatever the origins of the Samaritan *Qere*, the μονον-evidence points towards the use of the hexaplarism וחוח / ضعف throughout the original translation, which over time, was replaced by later scribes, seeking either to clarify its meaning or economize the margin. No effort whatsoever was expended by the Caesarean critics to transmit the Samaritan *Qere* šēmå. Most likely, they were unaware of their tradition.

► εχθραινετε τοις Μωαβιταις and ܠܡܘܐܒ ܠܐ ܬܐܪܒ ܘ ܠܐ[899] : Much akin to that at **Num 13.1בּ**, the plural verb of the GDeut parallel influenced the μονον-translator(s). This, of course, presumes that the exemplar(s) used by the Caesarean text-critics did not have any such variations.[900] As the evidence stands, however, this is a septuagintization.[901] Naturally, such influence also included the gentilic.

► συναψητε (-ται 344*) προς αυτους and ܠܗܘܢ ܠ ܢܬܩܪܒ : The μονον-reading is of interest especially as 4Q27 is reconstructed to have added מלחמה (≠ SP). The *hitp*. גרה occurs four times in the MT Pent, all in Deut (2.5, 9, 19, 24); as each of these Deuteronomic verses parallels a μονον-reading, SP attests the verb eight times:

---

[896] J. Fossum, "Dustån and Dosithean Sects", *CSS*, 80-82 (cp. Fossum, 1989: 308, n. 53).

[897] Cited from Lowy, 1977: 279.

[898] Lowy, 1977: 279-80 and 280.

[899] Field's hesitation here is unnecessarily (1: 250). SH conforms to normal usage in both the lexical decision (see Num 25.17 and 18; Deut 2.9 and 19) and grammatical conversion (Perkins, 1980: 252, where the parallel is given as an example of μη + pres. impv.).

[900] No extant SP or ST MSS support a plural.

[901] While there are some variants, only one reflects the singular (App^{I}): εχθραινετε] εχθραινε 72^{oII}.

Passage	Parallel	4Q27	SP	MT	s-μονον / GDeut	SH-חלשה / Deut
Num 20.13ח	Deut 2.5	—	no	—	—	**no**
21.11א	Deut 2.9	[*yes*]	no	—	**no**	**no**
21.12ג	Deut 2.19	[no]	no	—	**no**	**no**
21.20א	Deut 2.24	yes	yes	—	—	yes
Deut 2.5	x	—	no	no	yes	yes
2.9	x	—	no	yes	yes	yes
2.19	x	—	no	no	yes	yes
2.24	x	—	yes	yes	yes	yes

Table 3.3.2.3: Presence of מלחמה *Modifying* גרה *in 4Q27, SP, MT, G, and SH*

The table above is revealing with respect to how the μονον-translator(s) worked when rendering the Samaritan text vis-à-vis GDeut.[902] For despite the rote septuagintism of the translation, when SP lacked מלחמה *ad loc*, the translator(s) did *not* supply it. This is a curious display of meticulousness, approaching (though not attaining complete) word-for-word precision (→ **§3.5.2**), especially as there would be some degree of ambiguity for συναπτω without an attendant πολεμος.[903] However, the μονον-translator(s) did not consider this an issue, and the scribes who transmitted the Caesarean εκδοσις, as well as the Syrians who translated it, made no efforts to improve or clarify the meaning. Additionally, again in reference to the methodology of the original translator(s), the *recentiores* were not consulted; an interesting choice as the renderings of both α′ and σ′ are less ambiguous.[904]

► υμιν and ܠܟܘܢ; αυτων and ܠܗܘܢ : Again given the lack of evidence to the contrary, these are septuagintisitic (≠ SP ST). Note that υμιν / ܠܟܘܢ, despite the plural, represents SP as having something, contrary to 4Q27.

► το ορος and ܛܘܪܐ (= JNum) : How το ορος came about is difficult. Pummer, previously suggested that the "Greek [i.e., the μονον-]translator of the expansion followed

[902] Pummer discussed that at **21.12ג** without addressing the others (1998: 274).

[903] See Wevers' comments (*NGTD*, 29 [at 2.5]); cf. both *LSJ*, *s.v.*, II.1.a-b (*vs.* II.2) and *LEH*, *s.v.*

[904] App^{II} (at GDeut 2.5): α′ μη ερ{ε}ισητε εν αυτοις *you shall not quarrel with them* σ′ μη παροξυνθητε προς αυτους *you shall not provoke them* 130(s nom)-321^{rs} Syh [ܠܐ ܬܬܚܪܘܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܀ ܠܐ ܬܬܟܥܣܘܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܀].

the Samaritan *pronunciation* where ער and הר were homophone."[905] Pummer's proposal is not without difficulty. First, it suggests the μονον-translator(s) understood the niceties of the Samaritan reading tradition; but the μονον-translation very much attests to the opposite. Second, if it where so that the translator(s) treated ער in this way, it could not explain the later occurrences of ער in the μονον-passages where the septuagintized equivalent obtains: την Αροηρ / ܬܪܥܝܪ in **Num 21.12ב** and εν τη ορινη (MS 15) / ܒܛܘܪܐ in **21.22ב** (→ **§3.3.1** above).[906] Why would the translator(s) (μονον or otherwise) have done this only once? Even if the μονον-translation had been constructed in error for this first occasion, one would expect the translator(s) to back-track and emend the mistake, to provide the proper designation for the Moabite locale.

Rather another solution should be sought. A more probable hypothesis for the whole of the μονον-type evidence is that the Hebrew simply had a different consonantal text here than the extant SP. While there is no surviving MS evidence for such practice with respect to this specific geographic location,[907] it is possible that the exemplar the translator(s) used read חר for ער.[908] This then could have prompted the translator(s) to read

[905] 1998: 273 (*emphasis* mine).

[906] Pummer points out the difference at **21.12ב** (1998: 273-74) without attempting to reconcile it with his suggestion.

[907] See von Gall at **Num 21.11א**, **12ב**, **22ב**, Deut 2.9, 18, and 29, each without variant for ער. Similarly ערער (Num 32.34; Deut 2.36, 3.13, and 4.48) is also lacking evidence of guttural confusion. ST cannot account for this either: ארשה (J); סמקה (A); עורשה (N); all are proper names.

[908] This is based on Ben-Ḥayyim's study of Samaritan Hebrew. He found that the Samaritans' reading of the Torah reflected a vocalic blurring of gutturals which historically took place "no later than the end of the Second temple period" resulting in the merging of ע/ח/ה/א (ס/שׂ/שׁ/ת) a single consonant (2000: 38). Technically this presupposed phonetic distortion should not have occurred according to Ben-Ḥayyim's guttural rules, exception four (see his discussion, 2000: 39). The vocalization *ʿår* is used in the reading tradition (1977: 341 and 501).

ⲁⲩⲧ as ⲁⲩⲉ by means of graphic confusion, which may or may not have been encouraged by whatever their GDeut parallel read—something which is impossible to determine.[909]

► εν κληρω and ⲙⲫⲁⲛ (both twice) : Unlike before (→ **§2.3.3** at **Exod 20.21[17]ט**), the μονον-translator(s) rendered SP correctly against the GDeut parallel κληρονομειν.[910] Perhaps the translator was aided by the lack of a prefix ל- (also at **21.12ג** [twice] and 20.13ח [twice]).[911]

Num 21.11א (attributions)] The s-group's attribution, together with that at **Num 21.12א-ג–13a**, represents one of two attributions which closely parallel those in SH.

► The s-group witness (MSS 130-344) : The s-group witness to the attribution claims: **1)** that Moses remembers this in (the common text of) Deut; and **2)** that 'we found' such in[912] (the text of Num) of the Samaritans. Noticeably absent from this annotation is any mention of 'only'.[913] Of greater interest is the first person testimony 'we found', something not occurring in the SH's attribution here, though resembling the following SH attribution. As such, this will be discussed below (→ **Num 21.12א-ג–13a**).

---

[909] The MS tradition is a jumbled mess of variants and mistakes. App^{I}: Ἀροηρ] αρωηρ 108^{b} 75$'^{n}$ 392^{y} 59^{mx}; αροειρ 120^{z}; αοηρ 370$^{mg\ t}$; αρθηρ 53′-56^{f}; litt οηρ inc F; litt αροη sup ras A; αροην 551^{cII}; σιηρ 107′-125^{d}; σιειρ 82^{O} 44-106* ^{d} 630^{z} 407^{mx}; ασηρ 707^{oII} 85′ ^{mg}-321′ $^{mg\ s}$ 55^{mx}; σηιρ 74′-76-370$^{txt\ t}$; σηηρ 602^{t}; *sēyar* Aeth^{-C}; σηειρ **B** 376^{O} W^{I}-127-767^{n} 71′-527^{y} 509^{mx} Sa; ***(monte) seir*** **^{Lat}cod 100; ση [… 963**. In particular the variant witnessed by ^{Lat}cod 100 suggest that it is possible the μονον-translator'(s) GDeut exemplar(s) read **εν ορει** ση(ε)ιρ. If this was so, then the translation could still have been the product of septuagintization. Wevers attributed the popular reading in 963, B et al as paleographically inspired: ⲁⲣⲟⲏⲣ → ⲁⲟⲏⲣ → ⲁⲥⲏⲣ → ⲥⲏⲣ → ⲥⲏⲓⲣ (*THGD*, 143; also *NGTD*, 33).

[910] Or did the translator's GDeut text exhibit the variant? See App^{I}: κληρονομειν] -μιαν (-μιν 73^{c}) 73′^{cI} 53′^{f}; -μεις 458$^{c\ n}$; *in hereditatem* **^{Lat}cod 100** Arm Bo = 𝔐. (Note again the OL.)

[911] Vocalized *yā̆rišša* (Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 130 and 501); ST has ירתה (יורתה MS N).

[912] Field correctly emended MS 130 (his only witness for this attribution) from των to τω (1: 250, n. 14); MS 344 confirms his emendation.

[913] Field suggested that perhaps the note read μονον instead of μεν (1: 250, n. 14). However, his was made on the basis of MS 130 alone and perhaps under the influence of εν μονοις in the s-group attribution at **Num 21.12א-ג–13a**. MS 344 , however, unambiguously reads α μεν. Neither Br.-M. nor McClurg commented on Field's suggestion.

► SH's attribution : Much a kin to that at **Num 13.1א-ד** (→ attribution), the elements found in both the s-group and SH attributions are preserved in an order different from the s-group. SH's alone makes reference to the unique character (i.e., חלשה) of the Samaritan passage. This attribution in SH Num is the second of four instances (Num 20.13א-ט, here, **21.12א-ג–13a**, and **27.23א-ב**) where ,חס is found, implying εκδοσις (→ **Num 10.10א-ג** attribution). In contrast, the s-group's requires αντιγραφω.

'You shall not quarrel with the Ammonites …'

Num 21.12א-ג–13a] The passage, intimately connected with that immediately above, contains an equal amount of septuagintism. Graphic error led to corruption in the s-group, whose witness is secondary to SH for the passage.

21.12א-ג–13a (MS 343 = **21.11א**↑)] MS 343's wrongful integration of this passage at 21.11א, as discussed above, still serves as a witness for the s-group here. Key to the relationship between 343 and the remainder of the s-group, in addition to those features discussed immediately below (MSS 85′-344), are the following items:

► εγγυς υμων Αμμαν (12ג) : The graphic (?) error made by the s-group, ϒιωϨ → ϒмωϨ, is continued uncorrected by 343. Given that all s-group MSS bear the mistake (and that the mistake reads awkwardly), it is difficult to know at what point it came about (see below).

► textual distinction from MSS 130 and 344: The variants in the passage amongst the s-group (*e.g.*, εμμε 130, αυτον 130, εκ 130, and οτι—κληρω bis scr 344) better align 343 with MS 85. Generally, 343's readings align better with 344 than 85 (→ **§3.4**).

► συγκληρον : This is an interesting *ad contextum* variant which is perhaps graphically motivated ϲοιϵΝϰλΗρω → ϲϒΓϰλΗροΝ (?). It is nevertheless secondary.

► Omission of και παρενεβαλον : The last words of this reading are best construed as distinguishing the end delineation of the μονον-passage. The difficulty with assuming that και παρενεβαλον was meant to be part of the μονον-reading proper is that it agrees with G itself (≠ μονον). Consequently, the και παρενεβαλον / 𐤀𐤏𐤇𐤄 is more easily interpreted as the end delimitation to the passage.[914] This implies 343's 'omission' of και παρενεβαλον is not *textual* so much as a result of the process of the integration, *viz.*, 343 omitted it as it was only part of the indexing system.[915]

21.12א (s-group and SH)] The first verse contains some interesting elements—including what could be a legitimate textual variant in the Samaritan tradition.

► και ειπεν and 𐤉𐤀𐤌𐤓 : The reading contradicts all Samaritan MSS here as well as the non-Samaritan parallel evidence.[916] Thus, septuagintism is not an option for the variation.[917] Graphic confusion is unlikely in either square or Samaritan script (𐤓𐤁𐤃𐤌𐤓 → 𐤓𐤔𐤌𐤌𐤓). However, interestingly SP Deut itself reads ויאמר (with ST). Thus, the s-group / SH rendering may very well transmit a true variant SP reading.

► προς Μωυσην and 𐤀𐤋 𐤄𐤀𐤌𐤓 SH^{V} :: 𐤀𐤋 𐤄𐤀𐤌𐤓 SH^{L} : The s-group / SH^{V} aligns with SP and ST.[918] SH^{L}'s could be due to a misreading of *scripta continua* (–ριος ∩ –ρος) on the part of the original SH: ΕΙΠΕΝΚΥΡΙΟΣΠΡΟΣΜΩΥΣΗΝΛΕΓΩΝ → ΕΙΠΕΝΚΥΡΙΟΣΜΩΥΣΗΛΕΓΩΝ. (This presupposes that the Syrians' exemplar(s) did not

---

[914] The same could be argued for 𐤀𐤋 𐤔𐤌 at the end of the μονον-passage at 21.22+. Note that JNum 21.22 (fol. 304א) supports this interpretation (Marsh, forthcoming).

[915] Or did this entail another haplographic error on the part of 343 at the point of (or after) integration: και παρενεβαλον (v **13a**) ∩ και παρενεβαλον (v 12, → **Num 21.11א**)? Jacob's reading is ambiguous here, as I interpret Jacob as utilizing **12א-ג** only (fol. 303ה):

[...] [JNum 21.12ג] 𐤀𐤋𐤄 𐤋𐤌𐤄 𐤀𐤋𐤕𐤓 𐤄𐤀𐤌𐤓 ⁘ [21.13 (proper)] 𐤉𐤀𐤌𐤓 𐤄𐤅𐤄 𐤀𐤋 𐤌𐤅𐤔𐤄 𐤏𐤋 𐤄𐤏𐤌 𐤀𐤏𐤓 𐤀𐤋𐤄𐤉 𐤉𐤔𐤓𐤀𐤋

abbreviate $\overline{\text{κς}}$ in this specific place as MSS 344 and 343.) However, as SH^{V} is unlikely to have corrected such a reading, it is probably due to a mistake in Syriac transmission on the part of SH^{L}'s scribe alone.[919]

21.12ב] The verse contains two septuagintisms.

► τα οριαand ܚܬܡܐ : The GDeut parallel influences the original μονον-translator(s) as all extant Greek evidence suggests.[920]

► την Αροηρ and ܕܥܪܥܪ (*sic*, for ܕܥܪܥܪ) : Importantly, here the translator(s) was influenced by GDeut in providing Αροηρ for ערע, unlike the case discussed above (→ **Num 21.11א**). The Syriac confusion between ܐ / ܕ, particularly in this case, is well documented and has been pointed out previously on several occasions.[921]

21.12ג] The verse bears the rote septuagintism of the μονον-translation as well as noticeable inner-Greek corruption within the s-group.

► προσαξετε (-ται 344) and ܢܬܩܪܒ, εχθραινετε (-θρεν. 130) and (ܢܣܬ) ܢܥܒܕ ܚܫܟ, συναψητε and ܢܬܚܒܪ : The shift in verbal number is in agreement with GDeut (→ **Num 13.1א-ד** [SH], **Num 21.11א** [both]) and thus septuagintistic, for with few exceptions the plural is maintained in the parallel.[922] This is balanced, as above, with the correct delineation of the verse, *i.e.*, the omission of εις πολεμον. Further translational decisions indicate continued influence:

►► εγγυς υμων :: ܩܪܝܒ ܠ : Here, the translator(s) show that the rendering of מול is dependent upon the GDeut parallel (→ **§2.2** at **Exod 20.17ו** [twice]).

---

[919] JNum's ܚܡܥ could be due to SH^{L}'s reading or a blending with the PDeut's ܠ.

[920] See App^{I}: *montem* ^{Lat}cod 100. The OL apparently read ΤΟΟΡΟΝ (?).

[921] Field did not specifically identify this as a graphic confusion (1:250, n. 15). The text was itself corrected by Lagarde (1892: 115, n. 13); see also Hayman's comments (1991: ix, n. 10). JNum is of no use here since Jacob used Greek traditions for proper names (Marsh, 2011).

[922] App^{I}: προσαξετε] προσεταξεν 52^{cII} *d*; -ξεις 426^{O} = 𝔐; α′ εγγισεις M $C'^{,cat}$(s nom); εχθραινετε] εχθραινε $85^{*}(|)^{S}$.

Note also α′ (εγγισεις) εναντιον M *C′*^{cat}(s nom), further suggesting Aquila was not consulted in the translation process. The graphic error committed here by the s-group alone, i.e., υιων → υμων, coincidently appears in MS F at Deut 2.19; unlike the s-group, F^{b} corrected the mistake.[923]

►► αυτοις and ܠܗܘܢ :: αυτον 130 : The choice of dative is likely under the influence of GDeut. Furthermore, MS 130's alteration may be graphic ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲓⲥⲕⲁⲓ → ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲛⲕⲁⲓ or perhaps *ad contextum* as only the singular Αμμαν is mentioned in the s-group, as opposed to the plural υιων.

►► προς αυτους and ܠܗܘܢ : On balance with the first direct object, the second is more difficult to attribute to the parallel which uses the dative. Ms 426^{O} and SH's προς αυτους (even in conjunction with αυτους 963* 59^{mx}) hardly establishes such a case. However, grammatically reconstructing an alternative Hebrew exemplar with ל- is more difficult. Whether derived from גרה or II גור, the most common preposition is either ב- for the former or את- / על for the latter. It can cautiously be labelled a septuagintism, in addition to the 'correct' omission of εις πολεμον (→ ***Table 3.3.2.3*** above).

► MS 130 (εμμε 130, εκ 130, το 130) : The variants attested in MS 130 suggest commonplace textual corruption. Perhaps these passages were not treated with the same kind of care demonstrated by the scribes of the other s-group MSS. Of the variants of relevance only εμμε lacks parallel[924] and could be perhaps assigned to some kind of graphic error. εκ underscores the decision of the original translator to mimic the GDeut parallel, since 130's preposition is also possible.

[923] See the same error by MS 963* in Deut 2.36 (App^{I}).

[924] App^{I}: ʾΑμμαν] αμμα 619^{y}; αμαν 767* ^{n}; *emman* Bo; ʾΑμμαν 2°] *emman* Bo.

► οτι—κληρω bis scr 344 : The highly repetitive nature of the present and preceding passage can explain 344's dittography (cp. Num 21.20ב in SH^{L}).

21.13a (→ **attribution** below)] The partial verse is interesting as it relates to the extent to which the Caesarean collator(s) sought to provide Samaritan readings as well as to the methods by which these readings were documented in hexaplaric MSS.

► Ζαρεθ and והוא :: והוג SH^{V} : Proper names have always been an issue in translation, *viz.*, does the translator use the form of the name with which he is already familiar or does he transliterate a given name? This is particularly so when dealing with the SH; for while the translators utilized a "mirror translation" methodology the results from proper names are generally mixed (→ **§2.3.1** at **8.19[23]ג**). However, in this instance, both the Greek and Syriac evidence felicitously points towards the spelling Ζαρεθ in the μονον-translation. Note the s-group[-343] itself, produces Ζαρεδ in Num 21.12, in conformity with the majority of G MS tradition.[925] This indicates that the s-scribes did not 'correct' the proper name when copying the passage into their margins. The same obtains for SH^{L}.[926] How did this orthography originate in opposition to the majority of G parallels? Dental stops could of course become confused but how this came about is unclear. The alternative is to suggest a variant SP reading.[927] Graphically, the name could conceivably be confused in square script זרד → זרת, but this is less likely in Samaritan letters 𐤆𐤓𐤃 → 𐤆𐤓𐤕.[928] Given the improbability that the Hebrew tradition was confused, it is more likely Ζαρεθ

[925] App^{I}: Ζαρεδ] ζαρεθ F^{b} $b^{(-537)}$ 127-767^{n} 343^{s} 509^{x} 318^{c}(vid)^{y} 18-669^{z} 55^{mx} 799^{mx} Bo; *zireth* ^{Lat}cod 100; ζαρετ B 52^{*cII} *d t* 318*(vid)^{y}; ζαρελ V; ζαρε A *oI* 121^{y}; *sared* Sa.

[926] It is possible that SH^{V} altered the form via attraction of its selection for Num 21.12. SH^{V} reads והוג in each occurrence, be it in Num or Deut, as does P.

[927] ST has זרד here as SP. The Samaritan reading tradition vocalizes *zā̆råd* (Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 324).

[928] Amongst Qumran evidence, variants are lacking, *e.g.*, 4Q27 at 21.12 (col. 13. frag. 17 ln. 15): ד]זר֯.

was taken from a Greek parallel regardless of the fact it is not possible to establish with precision which orthographic tradition was used.[929]

► και παρενεβαλον and ומחנה : As argued above (→ **21.12א-ג** [343]), the text is used more as an endpoint marker for the reading generally.

Num 21.12א-ג–13a (s-group and SH attributions)] The s-group and SH traditions differ greatly as to the precise content and the order of such in the marginal attributions.

► The s-group's attestation : As explained above (→ **Num 13.1א-ד** at **attribution**), the present annotation is the best preserved of those in the s-group. As such, unsurprisingly, it is also the closest to the parallel note in SH. Conspicuously, this is the lone s-group attribution which describes the passage as a SP exclusive (i.e., μονοις). The order of elements is as before (→ **Num 21.11א**) with the mention of exclusivity added to the second component. The place of the attribution amongst the other witnesses depends greatly on how one reconstructs the origins of SH's note, which admittedly begs explication.

► SH^L and SH^V's attestation : Presuming the older of the two SH witnesses transmitted the more original form of the attribution, the order of elements is as follows: **1)** these things are extant (≈ κειμενα → **§§2.3.1** at **Exod 18.25-25א-ג** [attribution] and **2.4.2** at **Notation at Exod 29.20**) only in the (ܐܟ݂ = εκδοσις) of the Samaritans; **2)** Moses recalled these in Deut; and **3)** another, ostensibly repeated claim that 'these are only found[930] in the (εκδοσις) of the Samaritans'. As the repeated μονον-clause is exceptional

[929] In addition to that in Num 21.12, observe those in Deut 2.13 and 14:

App^{I} (v 13): Ζαρεδ 1°] ζαρετ A B *b* 509$^{mx\ Lat}$cod 100; ζαρεθ F^{b2} 707^{oII} 610^{d} 246^{f} 85$^{txt\ s}$ 18-68′$^{c\ pr\ m}$-83-120^{z} 28^{mx} Bo; γαζερ W$^{I\ n}$; Ζαρεδ 2°] ζαρε A$^{(c)}$ 121^{y}; ζαρετ B *b* Aeth^{-C}; ζαρεθ 85$^{txt\ s}$ 28^{mx}.

App^{I} (v 14): Ζαρεδ] ζαρετ A B *b*$^{(-19)}$ 44^{d} W$^{I\ n}$ 121^{y} 509$^{mx\ Lat}$cod 100; ζαρεθ F M *oII*$^{-72}$ 85$^{txt\ s}$ 68′-83-120^{z} 28^{mx} Bo; ζερεθ F^{b}.

[930] McClurg, apparently working directly from the MS, mis-transcribes the Syriac as ܥܛܣܝ, translating "These are only with those commended of the Samaritans" (2011: 86). However, the MS reads ܥܡܣܝ, as both

amongst all other SH Num attributions[931] and differs from both the s-group (reading ευρομεν not ܥܚܣ) and SH^{V} (< ܥܚܣ—ܫܠܡ), an explanation should be sought.

SH^{L}'s is textually the more difficult reading. It makes little sense to repeat the same sentiment (i.e., that is it only in that of the Samaritans) in such close proximity. It would further make little sense to de-personalize a supposed first-person snippet of testimony from the original collators. However, if the SH Num colophon (as above reconstructed [→ **§3.2.2**]) indicates that the Syrians translated a *copy* of a MS itself a generation departed from the Eusebian exemplar, then one could presume that perhaps some merging of marginalia occurred. If the original Caesarean μονον-collator(s) had originally separated **12א-ג** and **13a** and recorded them as two, distinct readings, one could then propose that element **3** of the extant attribution only applied to v **13a**. This would then result in two regularly formed attributions.[932] Given the proximity of the readings, it is imaginable that such a conflation could occur in the intervening MS generation. And while it may appear strange to originally have separated vv **12א-ג** and **13a**, both are distinct narrative components: the first recorded direct speech, the second related the camp's movements.[933]

Field (1: 250, n. 15) and Lagarde (1892: 115, n. 13) had correctly transcribed. The scribe's shape of the *coph* ܟ has an angled peak, something which his *beth*s do not exhibit. Furthermore, while the *cheth* is somewhat ambiguous, as with many Syriac MS hands, the curvature of the bottom loop of the letter is best used as a guide when in doubt as often it is difficult to distinguish (for example) between *cheth* and one or two adjacent, non-final *nun*s (*e.g.*, the shape of ܢܫܠܚ in the reading itself [v 13a]). (Admittedly, I mis-transcribed the Syriac here in my earlier attempts. I would like to thank Mr. Leonhard Becker [Halle] who caught my mistake.)

[931] This is exceptional for SH Num attributions but similar language ('we found' or 'you will find', from ܥܚܣ) is used in the collation note for the Samaritan Incense Altar in SH Exod (→ **§3.4.1**) and the ***Scholion*** in SH Deut (→ **§4.2.1**). Compare also the SH Deut 1.6-8 cross-reference (→ **§3.3.1** at **Num 10.10א-ג** [attribution]).

[932] Field was unsure to what element **3** of SH^{L}'s attribution related, suggesting it was meant for the marginal reading for vv 14-15 (1: 250, n. 15). However, SH^{V} confirms this is Symmachus (McClurg, 2011: 88-89).

[933] By analogy, the two readings at **Num 21.**(22+)**22ב-א** (→ **§3.3.1**), despite their close proximity, each had their own attribution.

If this reconstruction is feasible, then the later witnesses' corruptions thereof would logically stem from this merging. For SH^{V}'s part, the repetition would seem odd, as if an earlier scribe had committed a dittography. Hence, its omission; something similar could have occurred in the s-group. One must be wary of accepting the s-group's testimony *prima facie*. Perhaps SH's *Vorlage* read something like (ταυ)τα μονον εν η των σαμαρειτων ευρομενα. If so, it is possible the s-group scribe(s) felt ευρομενα should have read in accordance with a first-person excerpt, like the one provided in the attribution to **Num 13.1ד-א**. The similarity of the attributions at **Num 21.11א** and **21.12ג-א** could then have prompted scribal levelling, explaining why ευρομεν occurs in the s-group version of the former.

Perhaps this is an easier explanation for the difference between the s-group and SH^{L}, than presuming the latter presents a misunderstanding of ευρομεν on the part of the Syrian translator(s). Against this one could propose that the scribe of SH^{L} misread his *Syriac* exemplar which really read ܥܚܫܒ. But this disregards the common practice of the prosthetic *aleph* on the indicative of ܚܫܒ.[934]

'... for the Lord your God will fight them for you...'

Num 27.23ב-א] The passage adheres to the μονον-characteristics of the foregoing. This includes some disassociation with the pre-Samaritan type (*e.g.*, 4Q27's ה[ויאמר מוש]) and attendant septuagintism.

27.23ב-א (codicological matters)] Field took issue with how Montfaucon indexed the reading, the latter having associated the reading with 28.1's και ελαλησεν and following. Field was more careful to mark the text *before* και ελαλησεν.[935] Field was of

[934] Compare the SH Prov colophon as well as **אסא *Scholion*** in SH Deut, where the Syrians translated ευρομεν with ܐܥܚܫܒ (→ **§4.2.1**).

[935] 1: 260, n. 1; cp. Montfaucon, 1713: 168 (15:775-76).

course correct and the reading is clearly indexed by both SH^V and 344 (neither then not available to both scholars) after 27.23 τω Μωυση / ܠܡܫܐ.[936] MS 344 abbreviated δυσι with **R** (not in App^{II}).

23א] The verse contains a few items of interest, particularly those which depart from the extant GDeut parallel.

► ܗܘܐ (twice, once in v **23ב**) :: 85′-321′′s omission : The more recent SH witness provides ܗܘܐ instead of ܗܘ both times in the verse. Since SH^L is not extant, it ought to be taken with a pinch of salt (→ ***Table 3.3.2.2*** at **Num 21.11א**). MSS 85-130-321-346's omission of the first κυριος is likely a mistake due to the abbreviated form $\overline{\text{κς}}$ which MS 344 itself exhibits; nothing Samaritan supports an omission.

► ιδοσαν (ειδ. 343-344) and ܚܙܝ (vid)[937] : The rendering only shows the alteration in aspect which the μονον-translator(s) adjusted while still having used the parallel (reading εωρακασιν). Perhaps this was changed to the aorist by the translator to reflect something which had occurred in the more recent past (from the perspective of Num 21), as opposed to much later in Deut. If so, it demonstrates the sensitivities of the μονον-translator(s).

► βασιλευσιν ° and ° ܡܠܟܐ : Both the s-group and SH do not reflect האלה, an omission neither GDeut nor any Samaritan evidence supports.[938] It is perhaps not impossible that the translator'(s) eye skipped over it, given *mem* 𐤌 and *kaf* 𐤊 in Samaritan script (thus, המלכים האלה כן = 𐤊𐤍 𐤄𐤀𐤋𐤄 𐤄𐤌𐤋𐤊𐤌).

---

[936] See MS 344 (fol. 234bβ, lower mg) where the ind marker ⁓ is found just to the left of the end of v 23.

[937] The scribe vocalized ܚܙܝܢ (*ḥzayeyn*) indicating the third fem. plural perf. indicative (see Nöldeke, *Grammar*, §176e) against any possible confusion with the fem. third pl. imper. ܚܙܝܢ (*ḥzāyeyn*) or the fem. pl. ptc. ܚܳܙܝܶܢ (*ḥāzyān*). (The *yuds* are quite small and close together.) A participle would presume the Greek present tense (Perkins, 1980: 200ff; 231-32).

[938] See App^I: τουτοις > 630^z Bo Sa^{17}; ST: אהלין (J) / אלין (A).

haplography would occur in Greek transmission: ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲉⲩⲥⲓⲛⲧⲟⲩⲧⲟⲓⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲥ → ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲉⲩⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲱⲥ. Either way, this was due to an error as opposed to a true variant.

► εις ας and -ג לש[939] : Another departure from the GDeut parallel is this construction which the latter rendered as εφ ας. While the above has shown that the μονον-translation generally followed the prepositions of the parallel (→ **Num 13.1א** above and references), this is not the case here.[940] Wevers admitted GDeut's present attempt "result[ed] in awkward Greek."[941] Perhaps such gracelessness resulted in the μονον-translator'(s) differentiation; or perhaps, his GDeut MS(S) read differently.

► παρελευση (-σει 343) and ܥܒܪ ܚܕܐ (?)[942] :: διαβαινες (GDeut 3.21) / ܥܒܪ ܚܕܐ (?) : At issue here again is the exact relationship between the μονον-translation and the corresponding GDeut parallel, since the latter attests διαβαινω without any real lexical variant in the MS tradition.[943] Perhaps this is another case where the s-group and SH differ (cp. ανελευσομεθα :: αναβησομεθα / ܢܣܩ in **13.1ג** above). Of course, SH did not differentiate between every Greek lexeme, something several previously analysed cases reveal. Compare the following instances in (SH) Num:

παρερχομαι	SH	διαβαινω	SH
13.33	ܚܕܐ	32.7	ܚܕܐ
20.17 (2x)	ܚܕܐ	32.29	ܚܕܐ
20.19 (2x)	ܚܕܐ	32.30	ܚܕܐ
20.21	ܚܕܐ	32.32	ܚܕܐ
21.22 (2x)	ܚܕܐ	33.8	ܚܕܐ
21.23	ܚܕܐ	33.51	ܚܕܐ
32.21	ܚܕܐ	35.10	ܚܕܐ
32.27	ܚܕܐ		
34.4 (2x)	ܚܕܐ		

Table 3.3.2.4: παρερχομαι *or* διαβαινω *in SH Num?*

[939] See Perkins, 1980: 126-27, on SH's omission of εις, especially with the use of ܠܘܬ.
[940] App[I]: εφ' ας] εν αις 59[mx]; εφ ης 392[txt y]; εφ αις 121[c y] *z*[–630] 55[mx].
[941] *NGTD*, 62.
[942] On the use of the participle for the future middle, see Perkins, 1980: 221-23.
[943] See App[I] for what are obvious mistakes.

Given the general unity of the s-group and SH in this passage, as well as the fact that there is some differentiation between the μονον-translation and the relevant GDeut parallel, παρερχομαι could cautiously be preferred.

23ב] The verse shows some distance from the GDeut parallel proportionate to that in v **23א**.

► φοβηθησηι ° and ° אשג :: φοβηθησηι$^{\tau}$ ° (MS 130) : This is the most important reading when considering Samaritan and parallel evidence. The μονον-translation differs from GDeut in both the singular verb (:: φοβηθησεσθε) and the suffixed pronoun (:: απ' αυτων), though the latter disagreement has more MS support.[944] When viewed within the broader Samaritan and other parallel evidence, little support is found:

SP Num MSS: תיראם, vocalized: *tīrā'imma*;[945] תיראום (von Gall: υ *del* δ^1c);
SP Deut: תיראם, vocalized: *tīrā'umma*;[946] תיראום (von Gall: 𝔅𝔊μθ* [ι *eras*] *del* A)
ST Num MSS: תדעלונון (J); תדחלון (A); תדחלנון (E); תדעלנון (C); תדחלון (B); תדחל מנהון (N); תדחל מנון (V)
Hebrew Deut: תִּירָאוּם (MT); תיראם (4Q31, ln. 11)[947]; תי]רָאֻוֹם (4Q40, ln. 7); תִּירָאֵם Sassoon 507 (see *BHQ*)
PDeut: ܬܕܚܠ ܠܡܢܗܘܢ
Tg Deut: תדחלון מנהון (Tg^{O}); תדחלון מנהון (Tg^{N}); תידחלון מנהון (Tg^{PJ})

Thus, the evidence supports either a second plural verb without a suffix (i.e., ST^{AB} ≈ MS 130 [?]) or a second singular or plural but *with* a suffix. The second singular *without* a suffix, as the μονον-passage reads, is unattested. It is possible that the translator'(s) SP read without the suffix, though no comparative MS evidence survives to support this suggestion. Perhaps some combination of graphic error in Samaritan script is possible: 𐤕𐤉𐤓𐤀𐤌 𐤊𐤉 𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄 (תיראם כי יהוה), which may have been facilitated by a GDeut

[944] See App^{I}: φοβηθηση B* = 𝔐^{mss} Sam | απ' αυτων] επ αυτων 72*^{oII} 616^{C}; αυτους *d t* = 𝔐; αυτον 321$'^{s}$; > B 54′-75′-767^{n} 344*(c pr m)^{s} 71′-527^{y} 630^{z} 407^{mx} Lat^{cod} 100 Arm Bo = Ra.

[945] Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 508 and 127 (second singular, with third plural suffix). Compare, however, ST traditions.

[946] Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 523 and 127 (second plural, with third plural suffix).

[947] McCarthy (*BHQ*) lists 4Q31 as 2 pl. but the transcription in DJD is without a *waw* (DJD 14:37-8).

exemplar which lacked the pronoun.[948] However, if the μονον-exemplar used word dividers (cp. the Decalogue Inscriptions), one wonders if this could have occurred.

► θϛ σου and וגלו ראתכ : The singular pronoun is another variation without support from Samaritan sources here or any others in the G parallel.[949] Again there is the temptation to propose either a variant Samaritan exemplar or a graphic error on the part of the translator(s): 𐤅𐤅𐤓𐤀𐤔𐤊 (→ SH in **Num 13.1ב**). While this latter suggestion is accompanied by much doubt, confusion in Greek transmission is not possible.

► αυτος πολεμησει αυτους and ומלחמתכם אתנו הוא : The parallel here determined word choice as other places in G use εκπολεμεω (= SH אתנ) for the *nifal* of לחם (*e.g.*, Josh 23.3, 10). On the other hand, αυτους / ומלחמתכם is unattested in both the parallel as well as SP or ST, suggesting a possible variant. However, this is a false hit. As the following variant (μεθ' υμων :: עמכם) demonstrates, the μονον-translator(s) was influenced by his work from Num 14.1א-ו (and the G parallel upon which it was based). There, at 14.1ד, the same phrase obtains (ומלחמתכם אתנו הוא), where αυτους (≠ SP) is accounted for only by the parallel in GDeut 1.30.[950]

► μεθ' υμων :: עמכם : The choice of preposition (≠ SP), while contradicting the precise parallel at GDeut 3.22[951] conforms to the previously attested μονον-phraseology עמכם ומלחמתכם אתנו הוא at Num 14.1ד, there in agreement with its parallel (1.30). Thus, the μονον-translator(s) was influenced by his own previous work. However, the pronoun is more complicated. The principle of *lectio difficilior probabilior* suggests SH's is more original; for while it has no MS support (Samaritan or otherwise), it would be more

[948] Cf. the B, ^{Lat}cod 100, et al tradition in above note.
[949] See GDeut App^{I}, all without the singular.
[950] See Wevers, *NGTD*, 18; also McCarthy, *BHQ*.
[951] GDeut App^{I}: περι] υπερ *oI*-72^{oII} *C'' b d* 53-664$^{c\ f}$ *n* 321^{s} *t* 121^{y} *z* 319^{mx} 407^{mx} 646^{mx}. See Wevers' comments on the rare usage of περι for this construction in GDeut 3.22 (*NGTD*, 62).

difficult to explain *vice versa*, ⲩⲙⲱⲛ ↛ ⲥⲟⲩ.[952] The s-group's could be reckoned as a secondary septuagintism, something which cannot be claimed for SH. Thus, one is forced to suggest either a lost Samaritan variant or perhaps a misreading on the part of the translator(s), perhaps due to *kaf-mem* graphic merging: 𐤔𐤔𐤊 → 𐤔𐤊.[953]

27.23ב-א (attributions)] At this last s-group attribution, the differences against SH resurface.

► The s-group 'attribution' : In truth, the s-group's final marginal note lost whatever attribution feature it originally contained, most likely through haplography, facilitated via marginal *scripta continua*: και ταυτα κειται εν τω των Σαμαρειτων α και μεμνηται μωυσης εν τω δευτερονομιω → εν τω ∩ εν τω → και ταυτα κειται εν τω δευτερονομιω. Where the scribal error is revealed is in the use of κειται; this verb is not used in the μονον-attributions in relation to the actions of Moses *in Deut* (i.e. 'he remembers' / 'mentions'). Rather it is used for claiming that SP Num reads as such *in Num* (*e.g.*, ⲉⲙⲁⲙⲁⲣⲧ [**Num 10.10ג-א**], ⲁⲟⲙ ⲏⲙⲱⲛ [**21.11א** and **12ג-א**], ⲏⲙⲱⲛ [SH^{V} in Deut 10.6-6א-7-7א → **APPENDIX**], and the cross-references at **Deut 1.42** and **44**]). While it could be pointed out that SH's attribution uses ⲫⲉⲣⲟⲙⲉⲛ (φερομεν-), if the s-scribes altered the original notes (→ **Num 13.1ד-א**), φερομεν- / κειμεν- could have been easily swapped. Both verbs, being synonymous, were used in the Num attributions. The Syrians, on the other hand, would have been less likely to commit such a mistake. If this explanation is acceptable, then the annotation in Wevers' App^{II} is misleading.[954] The *scholion* should not

[952] Num 14.1ד reads ⲏⲙⲱⲛ / μεθ ημων (≠ Deut 1.30), thus it could not have influenced the reading.

[953] Again, assuming the MS contained section intervals, this would appear less likely.

[954] As in Pummer, 1998: 314, n. 3.

be understood as claiming that the text is *from* (i.e., 'ex') Deut. Rather the attribution in the s-group has simply suffered corruption.[955]

► SH's attribution : Unlike the corrupted s-group note, that in SH is quite regular. Unfortunately, however, the corresponding cross-reference from Deut was lost (→ ***Table 3.3.1.2*** above).

3.4 – The μονον-Type Passages and the S-Group

Now that the μονον-data transmitted in the s-group MSS in Num have been examined in detail, it is appropriate to review the broader nature of these witnesses in order to better contextualize their place within the *Textgeschichte* of the hexaplaric Samaritan collation. Special focus must be afforded to MS 344 due to its relative age and placement with respect to all other μονον-bearing s-MSS.

MS 344: A Brief Profile: MS 344^{s} (Athos, Παντοκρατορος, 24.; Br.-M.: "v")[956] is a mostly[957] complete Octateuch from the 10th century CE. Amongst s-group MSS in GPent, 344 stands out as the premier exemplar with respect to the preservation of the Origenic sigla[958] as well as preserving the largest amount of marginal non-LXX readings.[959]

Wevers only briefly mused on the origins of the s-group's marginal, non-LXX readings,[960] suggesting that both dissatisfaction with G MSS and exegetical concerns provided for a scribal desire to supply a marginal apparatus, the kind of which 344 preserves. He compared this to CODEX M in particular, as an example of such an apparatus containing "a motley array of materials all of which is intended to help the reader."[961]

---

[955] McClurg omits the s-group's note in his examination of SH's attribution (2011: 262).
[956] Rahlfs, 1914: 22.
[957] Complete for Exod and Num; for the missing portions of the remainder, see Wevers' respective *Einleitungen*.
[958] "[MSS 127 and 344] are at times sole witnesses to the asterisk" (*THGG*, 67).
[959] In Exod, 344 has 349 readings (*Exod*, 47); in Lev: 488 (*Lev*, 30); in Num: 489 (*Num*, 35); in Deut: 488 (*Deut*, 40). Wevers did not provide a specific count in Gen (*Gen*, 61; *THGG*, 67).
[960] *THGG*, 67-68.
[961] *THGG*, 68.

Though Wevers perceived that the s-group lemma was "rarely influenced by the [non-LXX] marginal readings",[962] comparison of shared variants showed a marked association between the s-group's mixed running text and the *O*, *C*, and d groups.[963] In Num, Wevers included the marginal readings from MSS 85′-321′-344 in his various lists in an effort to "discover the spread of hex recensional materials within the text tradition."[964]

With the recognized quality of 344's witness, the MS's testimony to Samaritan readings, of both the μονον- and σαμ′-types, must be considered. Observe the attestation in MS 344 to the latter type:

	MS(S) agreeing with 344	notes
Gen 4.8	127^{s} (15^{th} cent. CE)	Probably a false hit → **§1.3.1.2**
Num 23.1	F^{b} (s nom)	Also attributed to α′ σ′ θ′
32.13	130(s nom)-321-346(s nom)^{s}	Attributed to α′ in 321

***Table 3.4.1**: το σαμ′-type Readings in MS 344*

The list is paltry indeed, even when compared to the incomplete and sub-par (though chief) witness of 344 to the μονον-passages in Num. However, what these readings *do* indicate is that the s-group, as a whole, had access to a large amount of material from diverse sources, including more than one type of Samaritan reading. And indeed, the s-group's exposure to σαμ′-readings was certainly greater than modern collations depict.[965]

---

[962] *THGG*, 68. Wevers: "The chief value of the *s* group lies in the marginal materials" (72).

[963] *THGG*, 75-81.

[964] *THGN*, 58. For an example of the value Wevers granted to 344 in particular, note his treatment of the variant at Num 25.4 (135).

[965] Just as previous scholarship (cf. Pummer's summary, 1998: 287-88; also Wevers, *Lev*, 30-31) has argued that CODEX M anonymously transmitted σαμ′-readings in Lev, some such readings in Num may also be found in s-group MSS without attribution:

23.4: θεος] αγγελος θεου **130-321′** (= 4Q27 SP ST ≠ Jewish Tgs). Wevers: "= Sam" (App^{II}); 344 attributes the reading to οι λοιποι which is certainly incorrect.

23.5: θεος] αγγελος θεου **130** (= 4Q27 SP ST ≠ Jewish Tgs). Wevers: "cf Sam" (App^{II}).

26.10: εν σημειω] εις φυγην **321′ 128** (לנוס SP ST [לערוק J; cp. להמיס 'melting away' in MS A, see *DSA*, מוס] ≠ לנס MT Tgs)

32.9: απεστησαν] ωκνηρευσαν **130-321′** (? ≈ ושפלו ית לב ST^{J}). Compare the s-group's οκνησης at **Num 13.1ב** [→ **§3.3.2**]).

Indeed, future investigations such as this in Num (*e.g.*, **23.22**: υψηλωτατα [-λοτ. 130] **130-321′** = כאפרעות ST [see *DSA*, פרח]), and probably Deut, may very well may bear fruit.

Under what circumstances might this have occurred? Again, taking a cue from Wevers' hypothesis regarding MS 318 (→ **§2.5.2** at **Exod 32.10א**), one might consider the probable locus where such collation activity may have happened: Mount Athos.

Historical Context of the μονον-Bearing s-MSS: Indeed when considering the μονον-bearing s-group MSS—in addition to the likes of MS 767 (→ **§3.3.1** at **Num 10.10א-ג**), also an Athos MS—it ought to strike investigators as remarkable that so many such witnesses should be found around the same locale. Observe the following table:

MS	Date	Provenance	Number of Readings
344^{s}	10^{th} cent. CE	**ATHOS**	6 (Num only)
85^{s}	10^{th} cent. CE	*Rome*	6 (Num)
343^{s}	10^{th}-11^{th} cent. CE	**ATHOS**	3 (Num)
130^{s}	12^{th}-13^{th} cent. CE	*Vienna*	6 (Num)
321^{s}	14^{th} cent. CE	**ATHOS**	2 (Num)
346^{s}	14^{th} cent. CE	**ATHOS**	2 (Num)
767	13^{th}-14^{th} cent. CE	**ATHOS**	5 (2 in Exod and Deut, 1 in Num)
318	10^{th}-11^{th} cent. CE	**ATHOS**	1 (Exod)

***Table 3.4.2**: S-Group and Athos-centred*, μονον-*Bearing MSS*

The data is quite revealing with respect to attested μονον-type passages, both marginal and integrated, found in later G MSS. And while MSS such as 15 (→ **§3.3.1** at **Num 21.22א-ב**) and 58 (→ **§2.5.1** at **Exod 3.22+**) betray no association with Athos, one cannot deny that Athos-based scribes had access to a good amount of Samaritan materials (especially in Num) and endeavoured to transmit μονον-texts once they had arrived at their scribal centre.[966] Given the tight unity of the s-group, the following hypothetical stemma can be proposed, keeping their relative dates in mind:

[966] K. Lake suggested in his catalogue (1903: 171-72) that perhaps 344 had been brought there from Rome. In combination with MS 85's Italian provenance, it could thus be then proposed that the s-group μονον-collation was done in or around Rome and later disseminated from Athos. Whether or not one might follow this direction of data, Athos was a central locus in the perpetuation of μονον-texts in later MSS.

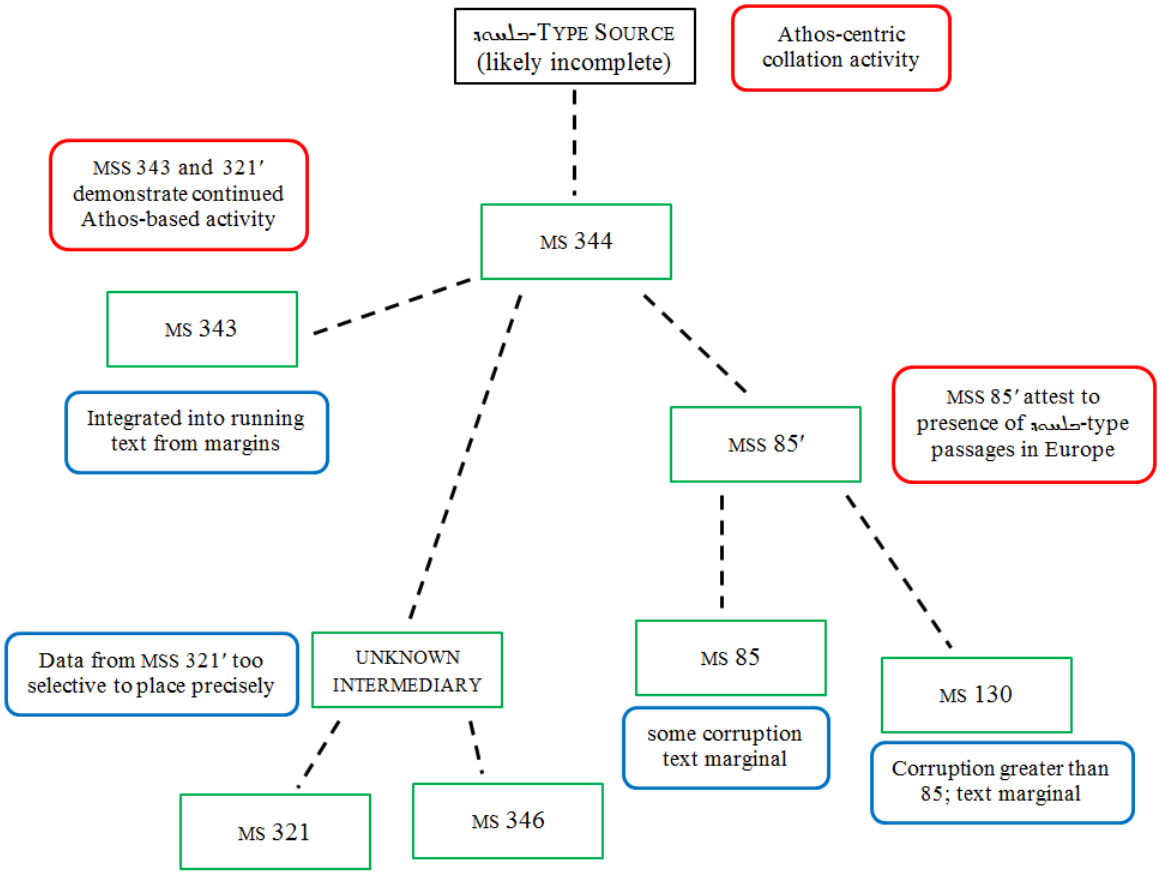


Figure 3.4: Proposed S-Group MS Stemma
(N.B.: Not drawn to reflect time intervals)

The monastic entities on the 'Holy Mountain' were not established until the time of **Athanasius the Athonite** (c. 920-1003 CE). This provides some historical context through which the s-group MSS might be viewed, providing at least the s-group's *terminus a quo*.

Final Evaluation of the S-Group Witness to μονον-Type Passages: In the end, however, despite the fine quality of the s-group's marginalia as a whole, when their witness to the μονον-data is compared to SH, the s-group's is decidedly secondary. The errors they transmit, especially with respect to the attributions, render their collective testimony unquestionably subordinate to SH's. And when the possibility of the s-group's access to other types of Samaritan readings is considered, the 300 or more years separating SH from 344 is greatly magnified. Granted, the s-group's creativity led to the creation of the **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion*, but consideration of the complete witness from SH would have

produced much the same (→ **cross-reference** at **SH Deut 1.6-8**). Then there is the value the testimony of the SH Num colophon bears. Simply stated—we do not know where the s-group's μονον-passages came from—SH's, however, are properly provenanced, going back to the Eusebian exemplars.[967] When viewed through the joint-testimony of the s-group **Num 13.1א-ד *scholion*** and the **SH Deut 1.6-8 cross-reference**, even the s-group's version of the **Num 13.1א-ד** passage, despite its greater agreement with SP, appears secondary in that it was developed away from the original μονον-translation. The remainder of the group's readings (and/or attributions) are either poorly copied or bear the same level of septuagintism attested in SH. Therefore, given the whole of the data, there is no reason to prefer the s-group's witness whatsoever.[968] Previous studies have not properly emphasized the secondary nature of the s-group's witness. One cannot help but sense an historical prejudice for *Greek* sources, probably as they were simply more accessible to a greater number of people (→ **§1.2.1.3**).

3.5 – Conclusions

In congruence with the conclusions from the above-analysed μονον-passages in Exod (→ **§2.6.1**), the results of the data from Num is much the same: **1)** These 'translations' are principally based upon the G parallels (prepositions, grammatical constructions, calques, the renderings of potentially ambiguous Hebrew words [*e.g.*, דבר (also in 31.20ג), בגדי* (see 31.20ד)], etc.). **2)** In accordance with the aforementioned lack of Samaritan exegetical knowledge, the translator'(s) use of וחווז / ضعضع is hardly compatible with discernible Samaritan practice; the *Qere* šēmå is never evinced. **3)** Other elements make it very unlikely a native Semitic speaker, Samaritan or Jew, would have produced such a translation (*e.g.*, the omission of small Hebrew words, imprecise verbal inflections,

[967] Misunderstanding these facts contributed to Kahle's erroneous interpretation of the data (→ **§1.2.2.3**).
[968] It can be said, however, that where SH is lexically ambiguous, the s-group is helpful.

the treatment of עֵר). **4)** Unlike in Exod, the Caesarean μονον-collator(s) sought to tie the Deuteronomic μονον-passages to their respective counterpart pericopes through the use of cross-references. These attributions, together with their corresponding cross-references, help explain the process whereby the μονον-'translation' itself was produced. **5)** The translated SP *Vorlage* shows noticeable disagreement with the extant pre-Samaritan text-type (*e.g.*, 4Q27).[969] **6)** Whereas, the μονον-translation was largely based on the extant, canonical SP, there are variants which may indicate either a corrupt or sloppily written copy or one predating its medieval form (2 pl. :: 2 sg., ויחפדו לנו את הארץ (בה) ויעברו, etc.). Unfortunately, the paucity of early evidence for SP, together with the translator's septuagintizing, prevents determining which description best describes the Caesarean SP.

3.5.1 – The μονον-Translator(s): A Short Profile

Much like the SH Exod colophon, the SH Num subscription (as it has survived) was unspecific when describing the Samaritan collation. Despite this, as before, **a)** the Syrians were not responsible for the passages; **b)** the collation was *in addition* to the base hexaplaric edition; and **c)** the Samaritan collation was viewed as an important feature of the final product—one worthy of special mention in the colophon. What is not revealed is the *identity* of those who had executed the collation or *how* they constructed the marginal translations.

Fortunately, certain *scholia* from both the s-group and SH Deut survived which help fill this gap. Thus, it may be held that the joint testimony of the **SH Exod and Num colophons**, **Num 13.1א-ד *scholion***, and the **SH Deut cross-references** (especially at 1.6-8) all combine to further define who was responsible for these readings: The **first** sets the

[969] In addition to those above, note Num 31.20ג's (both SH and s-group) differentiation with both of Jastram's reconstructed variants: **1)** תעבירו באש (20ג)] > 4Q27 and **2)** במים (20ג)] במי נדה וטהור יהיה 4Q27 (see DJD 12:251 and 253 for both).

terminus ante quem to Eusebius (d. ca. 340 CE). The **second** and **third** represent tangible first-person testimony from those who provided these readings and how they fashioned them. Thus, the hexaplaric collator(s) and the μονον-translator(s) were in fact one and the same. As to their procedure, these *scholia* together explain that the SP texts were rendered from the G parallels by the Caesarean collator(s): ܡܬܗܦܟ ≈ μετεβαλομεν (→ **§3.3.2**). This, in addition to the character of the above-studied passages, makes clear that: **1)** no previous Greek Samaritan translation was used; and **2)** no Samaritan scholar (or one familiar with Samaritan exegesis) was consulted. The collator-translator(s) worked in isolation, adding to an already established hexaplaric text, one with which he was very familiar. He could rightly be described as a *curator* or *continuator* of the hexaplaric text. He used his skills to extend the purpose and legacy of the hexaplaric text, providing a *quantitatively* more comprehensive representation of biblical traditions—one which (the colophons imply) the 'hexapla' originally had lacked (→ **§§4.1**; **4.2**). This supplemental information was added not only to Exod, but Num and Deut as well.

3.5.2 – The μονον-Type Collator-Translator'(s) Procedure: An Hypothesis

However, if the μονον-materials were constructed by someone without any meaningful Hebrew training, if this person (or persons) had no demonstrable knowledge of Samaritan exegesis, how is it that the collator-translator(s) was able to connect the *quantitatively* longer Hebrew SP—in Samaritan characters—with the appropriate Greek septuagintal parallels? For in order to crib the G parallels, the collator-translator(s) would first have to distinguish which parts and to what extent they could be used. Based upon the extant data, one might posit that the collator-translator'(s) method involved the columned *Hexapla Maior*. This unique, Caesarea-based (and at the time already completed) tool could, in addition to the worker'(s) SP exemplar and external collation materials, explain

how the process took place. If the following hypothesis can be maintained—and it is a speculative suggestion—the collator-translator'(s) technique would not require anything beyond a rather elementary understanding of Hebrew. Instead, the process was more the result of an inventive use of pre-existing text-critical tools, than an expression of linguistic skill.

The process of the collator(s)-translator(s)

The following proposes a four step process resulting in the μονον-collation:

0) Acquisition of collation materials
1) Alignment of SP with GPent
2) Insertion of comparative hexaplaric sigla
3) 'Translation' of those *compared text-units* where SP ≠ G (quantitatively)
4) Resulting collation applied to the hexaplaric εκδοσις with respect to SP exclusivities.

0) Acquisition of materials : At some point, the Caesarean library acquired a SP MS. As to how this came about, one can only speculate (→ **§4.2**). As has been previously pointed out (→ **§4.3**), the existence of this exemplar presupposes the completion of whatever process whereby the Samaritan community fixed its text (notwithstanding any Samaritan variants the μονον-collation transmitted), and that such MSS circulated around Caesarea, in Eusebius' time.

1) Alignment of SP with GPent : The first step was the alignment of the SP and GPent traditions. For this the tools needed were **a)** the Samaritan exemplar, **b)** the Caesarea-based *Hexapla Maior*, **c)** a slip of paper with both the Samaritan script and the corresponding square script letters juxtaposed, and **d)** a person(s) having an elementary understanding of Hebrew who would be capable of using all of these items in conjunction to align verses or phrase units on **e)** a separate synopsis, with SP and GPent compared. Essentially, the worker(s) in question would only have to use the script key and *Hexapla Maior* in unison to create a separate SP-GPent diglot. Given the nature of both the resultant μονον-collation and the character of the μονον-'translation', there is no reason to

presume that the alignment was (or approached) word-for-word as the *Hexapla Maior*. Rather the alignment was probably on the verse or major-phrase level. This would significantly reduce the materials used (and cost), without betraying the level of quality the resulting data produces.

Unknowns: There are two major unknowns in this stage. First is whether or not the person(s) aligning the SP with GPent had 'translated' the Samaritan script into square script. Doing so would have facilitated use with the *Hexapla Maior*. Certainly, when the 'expansions' and large scale qualitative variants were found, they would have been written out in square for the sake of more precise alignment and translation. The second unknown is whether or not this step had already been accomplished. As Norton has previously suggested, it is likely that the first three columns of the *Hexapla Maior* were prepared by Jews.[970] Doubtless, it is possible that the Samaritans may have had need of such a document for their own (apologetic?) purposes, and that it was this document (or a copy thereof) which the Caesarean library acquired.

2) Insertion of comparative hexaplaric sigla : Next comes the marking of the SP-GPent synopsis. Using again the compared scripts slip and the *Hexapla Maior*, those text-units and passages representing a 'plus' in SP would be marked, on the Hebrew side of the diglot, sub ※. Correspondingly, those parts where GPent represents text greater than SP would be marked, on the Greek side, sub ÷. For those parts of SP which represent large-scale variant readings (i.e., **Num 21.**[22+]**22ב-א** [possibly], Deut 10.6-6א-7א, and 34.1b-1א-2), a second obelus mark (÷ or ~) would be applied to *the Hebrew side*, hence the language present in the end collation: [...] ܗ̇ ܚ̇ ܕ̇ ܗ̇ ܗ̇ ܗ̇ ܗ̇ ܗ̇ ܗ̇ (Deut 10.6-6א-7א in SH^{V}; cp. SH^{M} Deut 34.1b-1א-2 [→ **§4.2.1**]). In order to reconcile the use of

970 1991: 148-50.

'obelus' in the 'SP Omits' annotations, one could imagine that the obelized text from the Greek side was transferred over to the respective location in the SP side of the synopsis.

Unknowns : It is also possible that the alignment or marking of the texts was performed by a specially commissioned, native Hebrew speaker as opposed to a Christian with the use of the *Hexapla Maior*. Nevertheless, when the 'translations' are considered, if a Hebrew speaker was involved in the process, his participation ended after this stage.

3) 'Translation' of those *compared text-units* where SP ≠ G : In accordance with the above analysed μονον-passages and attendant scholia, the process used by the Caesarean worker(s) at this point is much clearer. They took the portions sub ※ (purely quantitative) and sub ÷ or ~ (jointly quantitative and qualitative) from the Hebrew SP and rendered them in square script. Then by using the *Hexapla Maior* as a kind of **giant analytical lexicon**, these Hebrew segments were deciphered by use of the LXX column at the parallels. At times, and only when necessary, the *recentiores* (probably just Theodotion) were consulted or a 'best guess' was used (i.e., **Exod 23.19א**). That the LXX column was preferred is an important point; for while the *scholia* state the texts were taken from 'here' (= ο′ ερμηνεια), the passages themselves show that LXX was cribbed (for the most part) *in exclusion* to the others (→ **§4.2 [#2]**). Many small Hebrew words appear to have been missed or omitted in these translations (כל, bound pronouns or *waws*). But it is just as likely that these words were 'omitted' only because the LXX column *in the Hexapla Maior* did not contain them.[971] This is why the 'translations' are precise with respect to the extent of the passages, while at the same time imprecise in reflecting small

[971] This reconstruction presumes the LXX column was either uncorrected (*pace* Schaper, 1998), or that the column was corrected and the translator ignored any interpolated text sub hexaplaric sigla (assuming they were consistently marked). Given the likelihood that the collator(s)-translator(s) were conscious of the SP = G ≠ MT category, their apparent disregard for these sigla is understandable, though somewhat perplexing with respect to smaller variants where MT = SP ≠ G, some of which were corrected in the resultant hexaplaric text. Admittedly, the first scenario, which cannot be determined conclusively, would facilitate the present reconstruction. See Fernández Marcos, 2001: 213-15 (also Field, 2005: 99-100 [1: lii]).

words or inflections *within* said range. The layout of the *Hexapla Maior* is probably as much to blame as any carelessness on the part of the translator(s).[972]

This 'translation' process explains why LXX was adapted and Samaritan vocalization and exegetical niceties are completely absent. It also explains why the translation does not always agree with the *hexaplaric* text of each parallel. Again, if a native Hebrew speaker were involved with this step, the LXX column would have been adapted more precisely, supplying what the column lacked in terms of pronouns, etc.[973] Multiple workers may also be responsible for the inconsistencies in these 'translations'. One translator may have been more thoroughgoing in his adaptation (or more likely to consult the *recentiores*) than another.

4) Resulting collation applied to the hexaplaric εκδοσις with respect to SP exclusivities : Then taking the results of this effort, the Caesarean collator(s) took the SP-G diglot, with the newly 'translated' μονον-readings, and added those parts of the collation which would contribute, quantitatively, to the hexaplaric text of Exod, Num, and Deut. The asterisks from the original SP-G diglot were retained given they were in the margin and did not create confusion. However, 'the obeli' mentioned in the 'SP omits' notes were not reproduced lest they confuse the reader. The obeli may have been similarly omitted with respect to the two large scale variants Deut 10.6-6א-7-7א and 34.1b-1א-2. However, as SH has not survived intact for these readings, it is difficult to know whether

---

[972] For example, in **Exod 20.21ג** where most GDeut witnesses omit כל (→ **§2.3.3**), the LXX column in the *Hexapla Maior* should have lacked παν*/σ*. If כל in Deut 18.18 was represented in bound form, i.e., the first column contained כל אשר, the *recentiores*' columns should have read with (κατα) παντα (οσα) or something analogous, making it easier to make this mistake. Compare the layout of MS 1098 at Ps 88(89).51:

[כל־רבים] χολ ραββιμ παντας αδικιας παντων πολλων **πολλων** πασας τας αδικιας

It is also possible that כל was bound irregularly with the word previous to it (cp. at Ps 48[49].2). Thus, adhering strictly to the G column could result in the omission of small words, if the translator(s) was un-careful.

[973] Another issue worth consideration is the nature of the cribbed text. Was it the LXX column only? Were other MSS compared? The uncertainties as to the nature of the LXX column (was it marked with sigla or interpolations?) have a great effect on this hypothesis.

or not they were included in the margin of the Caesarean exemplar. Cross-references were supplied in Deut, though to what extent this was done cannot be confirmed. Mention of this collation was made in all three of the exemplars' colophons, each, with its own special emphasis.

Implications

The implications of this process are many and only a few need be listed here. For example, **1)** the use of the *Hexapla Maior* proposed here could have permitted Eusebius to excerpt the Samaritan genealogical information he included in his *Chronicon*.[974] After all, the data amounted to the names and ages of approximately 20 people. **2)** Perhaps the most important implication of this process is that the work had to have been Caesarea-based, at a time when the library was well managed and well-funded. The acquisition of a complete SP itself could have been a considerable expenditure. **3)** Lastly, as has been stressed throughout, consultation with Samaritans is not evident from the μονον-collation. One may conjecture then that Samaritan-Christian relations were at a low (→ **§4.3**) and the μονον-worker(s) were likely unable to draw from first-generation Samaritan and/or Jewish converts.

3.5.3 – Later Hexaplaric Transmission: The Witness to and Implications of Integration

One of the most remarkable μονον-bearing MSS is the s-group outlier 343. For unlike, MSS 15, 58, or 767 (et al → **§2.5**), where it is not always possible to compare the integrated μονον-readings with their *marginal* source, the assimilation process 343's scribe enacted can be analysed from source to final product. One can only wonder why 343's scribe would alter his text so profoundly in this way. Certainly the extant data cannot support an hypothesis whereby 343's source had lost all mention of the *Samaritan*

[974] Devreesse suggested as much without explaining how Eusebius translated SP (1954: 130, n. 6.).

aspect of these marginal passages. (Which might imply he understood them as marginal corrections.) Rather the evidence points towards the scribe's deliberate effort to take a 'non-Jewish' and/or 'non-Christian' biblical tradition and weave it directly into his Bible. This phenomenon, in which Christian scribes would use SP to recensionally develop their own biblical text, is more widespread than might at first be thought:

MS	Date	Locale	Exod	Num	Deut	notes
JPent	d. 708 CE	Syria	12x's	11x's	4x's → **APPENDIX**	Deut 10.6-6א-7-7א produced in parallel
58^{O}	11th	Italy	4x's	21.24+	-	→ **§2.5.1** at **3.22+**
$767^{O, n}$	13th-14th	Athos	**23.19א** **32.10א**	**10.10א-ג**	2.7א-ג 10.6-6א-7-7א	Suffers lacuna Exod 1:1–21:36
707^{oII}	10th-11th	Sinai	27.19א	-	-	→ **APPENDIX**
15^{oI}	10th	Egypt	-	**21.22א-ב** **32.1+,29+**	34.1b-1א-2	→ **§3.3.1** at **21.22א-ב** → **APPENDIX**
f^{-56txt} f^{-129}	1096 CE	Paris?	27.19א	31.20א	-	→ **APPENDIX**
527^{y}	14th	Athos	27.19א	-	-	→ **APPENDIX**
318^{y}	1021 CE	Athos	**32.10א**	-	-	→ **§2.5.2**
343^{s}	10th	Athos	-	**14.45א** **21.12א-ג** **27.23א-ב**	-	→ ***Table 3.3.2.1***
groups d t	1334 CE (d) 11th (t)	Italy (d) Italy (t)	-	-	10.6-6א-7-7א	heavily integrated → **APPENDIX**

Table 3.5.3: Attestation to μονον*-Integration*[975]

Dispersal

The list of locations for these readings is not overly impressive. However, to these locations, where either the MS was created or found its final home, Caesarea, the original source of the readings, must be added. Of particular note are the locations Italy, Syria, Egypt, and Athos—four important centres in Mid-Late Christian Antiquity. It should also be mentioned that the testimony of Isho'dad of Merv, bishop of Ḥdatta (SE of Mosul, → **§2.3.1** at **Exod 6.9א**), also represents an appreciation of SP by a native of Mesopotamia. He was willing to reconcile Gerizim in Deut 27.4 with Ebal, claiming there were altars on

[975] For MS groups, the date and respective provenance listed is from the oldest extant exemplar.

both mountains (→ **APPENDIX**).[976] Presuming that the extant data cannot represent the complete history of the μονον-collation, it is safe to hold that examples of this scribal phenomenon lay buried in old libraries still undiscovered.

Perceived Value

The data ultimately leads towards one question: What did these scribes think about SP? Unfortunately, the intentions and opinions of the scribe(s) responsible for the integrations in each respective case can only be deduced from a close reading of the surviving readings. The majority of texts, as μονον-type, are supplemental. Nevertheless, there is an implied value to these since they were promoted from the margins of their respective *Vorlage*(*n*) to the running text. It follows then that these scribes must have thought very highly of these passages, as they were willing to adopt them—shedding any attributions or sigla which might have given future readers or copyists pause.

Yet, where scribes most reveal their true feelings about SP is in those few places where a μονον-reading represents a variant which is not only *quantitative* but also *qualitative*. These few cases produce a conflict where integration requires that a decision be made: Which is to be preferred? The venerable version of the Seventy? Or the reading from a 'non-Jewish' source? Interestingly enough, there is evidence that, at least in some cases, certain scribes selected the Samaritan passage either in exclusion to or by adaptation towards the traditional reading of the Seventy. Namely, both Jacob of Edessa and the scribe(s) responsible for MS 767 chose to replace certain parts of their respective texts when forced to do so. Jacob selected 'Gerizim' for his reading at **Deut 27.4**, producing a *scholion* explaining his decision was based not only on internal logic but the textual authority of SP. His treatment of the Samaritan Itinerary was more measured; he kept both

[976] Isho'dad's adoption of two altars perfectly illustrates his exegetical method, as studies by both Salvesen (1997) and ter Haar Romeny (2001) demonstrate. The former identified Isho'dad's approach as that of a compiler more than an exegete; thus he was diplomatic, rarely preferring one reading over another (1997: 238). The latter explained Isho'dad's as a "documentary approach" underpinned by the belief that "the different versions together ensure the reliability of the biblical text" (2001: 454-55).

alongside one another, *within* his running text (→ **APPENDIX**). 767 on the other hand was more radical: The Samaritan Itinerary was wholly adopted, a scribal decision which, among other things, changes where Aaron dies in Deut.[977] Still other scribes exhibited a high opinion of these readings by reconciling those differing Samaritan parts as much as possible to G. Namely, MS groups d t managed to blend the Samaritan Itinerary with GDeut 6.6-7, creating a conflated, greatly bloated passage.[978] Something similar can be said, to a lesser extent, for MS 15 at Deut 34.1b-1א-2 (→ **APPENDIX**) where the two reckonings of the Promised Land's boarders were merged.[979]

While the explicit scribal *Tendenz* of each of these cases is not possible to discover, one prominent exception to the rule is the earliest witness to the phenomenon—Jacob of Edessa. According to his recension's colophons, Jacob's expressed purpose and editorial policy is clear: The Syriac Peshitta was revised by use of the Seventy. This deceptively simple praxis is almost never interrupted, save for those places where Jacob integrated the μονον-passages directly into his own running text (→ ***Table 2.3*** and ***3.3***; **APPENDIX**). The methods whereby this is achieved have only been briefly mentioned here and are worthy of their own study. However, the regard with which Jacob held the Seventy, and his own native Peshitta,[980] cannot be underestimated. That he would have altered his recension to include and, indeed, prefer Samaritan readings is truly remarkable and demonstrates an appreciation of the textual value of SP not realized until modern times. The sheer volume of the Samaritan passages integrated into Jacob's recension itself

[977] The μονον-passage in 767 shows the septuagintism typical of these texts.

[978] Groups d t were went to some lengths to retain GDeut (*e.g.*, **6א**). Despite this, groups d and t remarkably treat GDeut 10.7 very differently; the former replaced v 7 with **7א**, while the latter kept both. With 767, the d t scribes adopted the *Samaritan* location for Aaron's death in Deut (→ **APPENDIX**).

[979] Whether or not the scribe knew how different SP and G/MT were at this point depends upon what the precise wording of the attribution/collation note was in his source.

[980] For Jacob's opinion of the Peshitta's origins, see Weitzman, 1999: 248.

suggests he held a view of SP in which this non-Jewish, or non-Christian, text held innate canonical authority.[981]

While it would be inappropriate to assign Jacob's *Tendenz* to the other scribes who integrated Samaritan readings, when the list of integrated passages is considered one cannot help but wonder why. What purpose lay behind the integration of say **Exod 3.22+** (→ **§2.5.1**) in MS 58? The addition is indifferent and has no real exegetical value. Was the snippet included as if a correction? Or did the scribe have an opinion of SP similar to Jacob's? Surely, those MSS with four or more integrations (i.e., 58, 343, 767, JPent) suggests a motive beyond mere scribal correction. For these cases, something else must have served as the motive. It is of course possible that scribes simply believed that these marginal passages were another means to better reflect the *Hebrew* tradition and either were unaware of the difference between SP and MT in this regard or did not care one way or the other.[982] In this sense, perhaps it was the source *language* which was seminal and not necessarily the religious community which transmitted it (cp. Eusebius in his *Chronicon* → **§4.2.3**). Whatever the motives of these peculiar scribal interventions may have been, it cannot be denied that the results are remarkable, even if infrequently attested.

[981] Marsh, forthcoming.

[982] If the scribal assumption was that the marginal passages sub ※ bore the same value as those in the running text, this ignored the chief μονον-characteristic so often pointed out in the attributions. Of course, if the attribution dropped out but the sigla remained (*e.g.*, the non-SH witness to Num 31.20א-ד), this may have provided for such a view.

CHAPTER IV – WHO PUT THE SP INTO THE HEXAPLARIC STREAM?

Now that some of the μονον-evidence from hexaplaric sources in Exod and Num has been analysed—focusing on both the nature of the translation and the translator'(s) method—it is appropriate to further place these readings in the hexaplaric story, particularly with respect to the *Hexapla Maior* and the individual(s) responsible for their insertion into the hexaplaric stream.

4.1 – The SP and the *Hexapla Maior*: Was there ever a Samaritan Column?

From the time of **Voss** and **Kohn** most scholars have presumed that it was Origen who added readings from SP in the hexaplaric tradition.[983] The former proposed (→ **§1.2.1.1**), based on an eisegetical interpretation of *H.E.* 6.16, that the Alexandrian-turned-Caesarean Father included these readings in his *Hexapla Maior*, and that such were marked with the traditional hexaplaric sigla. The latter, perhaps more carefully, proposed that such were included „*unter dem Striche*" (→ **§1.2.2.1**). Whether or not the Samaritan readings were placed within an aligned column or under all the columns, the notion that Origen added SP into the *Hexapla Maior* has indeed influenced subsequent scholarship as even very recent works illustrate.[984]

Only **Ceriani** attempted to articulate how this suggestion relates to the MS evidence (→ **§2.4**). Essentially, his argument was that because some of the 'SP omits' notes in SH Exod mentioned obeli (ܡܘܪܟܐ), the obelus had been adapted, in a way similar to the hexaplaric text generally, to mark where SP lacked something compared to

[983] *E.g.*, Dines, 2004: 91 and 98. Some Septuagint handbooks are more carefully worded (*e.g.*, Fernández Marcos, 2000: 167). See the above on the **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion* (→ **§3.3.2**).

[984] For instance, see Grafton and Williams (2006: 89 and 95-96), who flatly claim that the "evidence of [SH] indicates that such a column existed" (95). But this misinterprets the SH data (→ **§§2.2**; **3.2**). Further, their suggestion that perhaps such a column "might have been accessible" (96) to the Syriac translators (via Syriac) is also unlikely. Linguistic presumption aside, there is no evidence that the Syriac translators used the *Hexapla Maior*. Rather their *Vorlagen* were copies of the Eusebian-Pamphilan εκδοσις (→ **§1.1.1**).

'the Hebrew' (and thus G). The use of the asterisk for the μονον-type plusses was logically added to this line of reasoning.[985] Ceriani suggested then that these differences between SP and 'the Hebrew' were marked by Origen either in the Hebrew column itself or perhaps in the *Secunda*, to which the Samaritan data was affixed.[986]

However, the total evidence of the μονον-collation cannot sustain this hypothesis. Especially, reference is made to the 'obelus' with respect to μονον-readings which are both qualitatively *and* quantitatively different. Instead, it is more probable that mention of these 'obeli' do not refer to the function of the same within the *hexaplaric text* (or *Hexapla Maior*), but in fact refer to the use of the hexaplaric sigla as used within the *collation materials* (→ **§3.5.2**). Yet because of the ambiguity of the evidence from SH and the small number of these collation notes—as well as the ambiguity of what 'hexapla' precisely means in the SH colophons (→ **§§2.2**; **3.2**)—it is difficult to prove conclusively how the collation took place and what part the *Hexapla Maior* played.

Nevertheless, if one were to presume such a column (or, with Kohn, marginalia approaching the significance of a column) existed within the *Hexapla Maior*, how might the idea of such a column compare with what can be known about the synopsis, and what kind of external evidence supports its existence?

In truth, the evidence militates against this supposition. First, one has to consider the role or function such a column might have had in the composition of the original (or basic layer of the) synopsis. According to discernible hexaplaric practice, the extant MSS reveal that the *recentiores*, particularly Theodotion, were used to provide for the quantitative variation between 'the Hebrew' and the Seventy. Thus, Origen described his

[985] Ceriani's entire argument was more or less prompted by the assumption that the *Hexapla Maior* contained these sigla. However, no *material* evidence has surfaced thus far which confirms this suspicion, and indeed, scholars are divided over whether or not the Septuagint column was marked (see Fernández Marcos, 2000: 213-15, with much literature).

[986] Again, he was also open to the possibility that these originated in the Eusebian recension; however, his discussion presumed the columned work was more likely (→ **§2.4.2** at **Notation at Exod 8.6-7 [10-11]**).

use of 'the Hebrew' (i.e., the first column)[987] as the yardstick by which the sigla were applied (και τινα μεν ωβελισαμεν ⟨ως⟩ εν τω Εβραικω μη κειμενα, etc.).[988] In this procedure, Schaper discerns a two-step process: first Origen compared the Seventy with the *recentiores*; second, he used the Hebrew column "to corroborate—and, if necessary, to correct—the impression he had received from the [*recentiores*]".[989] Thus, in Schaper's eyes, the Hebrew column itself served as the "ultimate instance of appeal" but not "an ordinary research tool".[990] Certainly, there are examples that such a process had taken place, since only physical use of the Hebrew text (perhaps accessed by means of Aquila?) could serve as arbiter when the *recentiores* quantitatively disagreed.[991] Nevertheless, the consequence of Origen's "ultimate appeal" to the Hebrew column is clear—his Hebrew κανων was the consonantal (proto-)MT.[992] Based upon the extant MSS in which the hexaplaric sigla ※ and ÷ / ÷ survive, it can be asserted that SP did *not* factor into the hexaplaric endeavour. Otherwise, many sigla would have been differently placed in the Pentateuch due to the SP = G ≠ MT category.

---

[987] This has been the subject of no little amount of controversy, due to P. Nautin's argument against there ever being a Hebrew column in the *Hexapla Maior* (see Ulrich, [1988] 1999: 217-21, for a brief outline and critique of his hypothesis). His theory has been opposed many times (*e.g.*, Ulrich, [1988] 1999; Norton, 1998: 103-11; Jenkins, 1998: 88-90), or simply ignored (Schaper, 1998), and is not considered here. However, if Nautin was correct, there could hardly have been a *Samaritan* Hebrew column. (How would they have aligned it to the Seventy? → **§3.5.2**.) In passing, it should be mentioned that unless Origen could sight read Hebrew, having any MSS in Hebrew characters would have been utterly pointless without its being keyed to at least Aquila, i.e., without the first half of the aligned *Hexapla Maior*.

[988] Origen's discussion in his *Comm. in Matt.* 15.14 and *Ep. ad Africanum* §§3-7, both belong to his later Caesarean period.

[989] 1998: 5.

[990] 1998: 5.

[991] *E.g.*, Origen's *Ep. Ad Africanum* (§6 [3]) regarding Job 42.17 in which he says 'the Hebrew' and Aquila lack a part of the reading, while the Seventy and Theodotion both transmit the missing portion (see Ziegler's App^{II} for MSS transmitting this note). Compare also the collation notes at SH 4 Kgdm 2.24 and, probably, Exod 22.4(5).

[992] When Origen acquired his Hebrew text is a great unknown, though certainly such a column existed by his later Caesarean period. See Clements' reconstruction (2000: 321-29), who also reviews earlier opinion on the matter.

By extension, assuming the first column served as a schematic "matrix"[993] for the synopsis, it is difficult to imagine what function a SP column would have served in the work. It is of course possible that the μονον-data was, for whatever reason, appended to the *Hexapla Maior* („*unter dem Striche*"),[994] but the Hebrew SP did not contribute to the basic lined structure of the synopsis. This is corroborated by the probable suggestion that the first three columns were prepared for Origen by Jewish—as opposed to Samaritan—scribes.[995] More logical (and practical), is the addition of these materials *to the margins* of the Eusebian εκδοσις, just as the subscriptions recommend, i.e., ܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܟܬܒܐ ... ܕܒܗ ܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܬ ܒܗܟܝ ܒܗܟܝ ܗܘ ... *... from which also the supplements* (*were set*) *in the margins of this book in that same hexapla …* (SH Num colophon, ln. **5b**, → **§3.2**).

Second, there is the ancient testimony to the composition or shape of the *Hexapla Maior*. Put succinctly, while several Fathers mention 'the Hebrew' with respect to the form or contents of the columned *Hexapla Maior*, no mention of any Hebrew is made beyond that with (Jewish) Hebrew characters or *Secunda*.[996] The case is particularly acute in Eusebius, who specified that Origen was sure to acquire *Jewish* Hebrew MSS (*H.E.* 6.16.1).[997] This is an important consideration: Eusebius knew of (and used) Samaritan Hebrew. He was aware that their textual tradition and script differed (→ **§4.2.2**); yet during his panegyric of Origen's study of the *Hebrew* scriptures, he makes no mention of SP. Had he done so Origen's Hebrew study would have been further elevated, greatly

[993] This is Norton's description (1998: 124).

[994] Compare the θ′ readings added to the margins of MS 1098. Based on this evidence, Norton even expressed doubt as to whether or not Theodotion had its own column (1991: 145).

[995] *E.g.*, Norton, 1991: 148; Clements, 2000: 327; see Fernández Marcos, 2000: 204ff, for earlier literature.

[996] Besides Eusebius, mention of 'the Hebrew' in connection with the columned *Hexapla Maior* is found in Jerome (*e.g.*, *Ep. Titus* 3.9; *Comm. in Ps* 1.4 [so Ceulemans, 2008: 103], 4.8; cf. *De Ill. Vir*. 54.6) and Epiphanius (*De Men et Pond* §19; *Panarion* 64.3.5-7). While there is doubt as to whether either Father saw the work in person (Schaper, 1998: 7; cp. Neuschäfer, 1987/1: 87, and nn. 14-16, *vs.* Norton, 1998: 106-09), **neither Epiphanius nor Jerome mentioned *another* Hebrew column in Samaritan script or a Samaritan Greek column**.

[997] Something pointed out long ago by **Simon** (→ **§1.2.1.1**). Grafton and Williams speciously claim "Eusebius also attests to [the SP column's] presence", presumably due to the *Chronicon* (2006: 95).

aiding his apologetic aggrandizement of Origen. More particularly, Eusebius was keen to portray Origen as one who sought out and found obscure, lost texts from the dark corners of the world, namely *Quinta* and *Sexta* (*H.E.* 6.16.1-4). It would have been odd if Eusebius knew Origen had secured a SP MS and said nothing about it.

Third, there is the troubling lack of evidence for Origen's having used SP (→ **§4.2.1**). For in addition to his not using SP in the construction of the *Hexapla Maior* or the hexaplaric base-text derived therefrom, his extant works show no awareness, save a single word, that the Samaritans used a *textually* distinct Hebrew version.

Thus, in the end, it is very difficult to support the theory that the *Hexapla Maior* possessed a Samaritan column or readings „*unter dem Striche*". It must be conceded that it is *possible* that, after the completion of the *Hexapla Maior*, the μονον-passages were put upon the margins of the synoptic work, but this is far from assured. Had this occurred, however, one would expect more hexaplaric exemplars to have transmitted this material. Codicologically, these readings, as Samaritan exclusivities, would have been cumbersome in the largely word-for-word "matrix". Would the *Hexapla Maior* have allowed the space necessary for the Samaritan 'column' to be the sole εκδοσις reading for passages which, at times, are as long as 7 verses? And again: How would readings such as Deut 10.6-6א-7-7א-6 and Deut 34.1b-1א-2 (→ **APPENDIX**) have been marked? These variants would have spanned many folia, making even Kohn's suggestion untenable. Unless Origen had begun the *Hexapla Maior* with the intent of incorporating SP—something which is exceedingly unlikely—it would otherwise have proved too cumbrous to tack-on to the work. Rather a separate collation would have been more sensible and much easier to execute (→ **§3.5.2**).

4.2 – Considerations: Who Put the SP into the Hexaplaric Stream?

Before examining the cases for Origen, Pamphilus, and Eusebius, each in relation to who may have been responsible for introducing the μονον-passages into the hexaplaric

tradition, two points of interest related to the issue bear further comment: **1)** knowledge of Hebrew amongst ancient Christians and **2)** use of the Seventy in rendering SP.

1) Studies regarding ancient Christian Hebraism have, with the exception of those on Jerome,[998] generally resulted in negative appraisals.[999] Unsurprisingly, in connection with the Hebrew columns of the *Hexapla Maior*, Origen's Hebrew knowledge has been the subject of special attention and no small disagreement.[1000] On a much reduced scale, Eusebius' Hebrew learning has also been disputed.[1001] Nevertheless, in accordance with the above proposed hypothesis (→ **§3.5.2**), whereby the great hexaplaric synopsis is used as an analytical lexicon, the problems presented by the general Christian lack of Hebrew knowledge is largely circumvented. Indeed, the rote, purposeful septuagintism displayed in the μονον-translation reveals that the translator(s) was unlikely to have been a Hebrew speaker and had only a very basic command of Hebrew—one which was unevenly applied. Clearly, he had skill enough to know the difference between דבר / אמר and when (or if) to add ואהרן, מלחמה, or מול שכם. However, the methodology used by the μονον-translator(s) masked whatever level of Hebrew proficiency he may have had.

2) A second issue flows directly from the first: Why did the Caesarean collator(s)-translator(s) crib the *Septuagint* specifically when rendering the *Samaritan* Hebrew? Why were the *recentiores* not more regularly consulted? Such would have provided for better grammatical and, at times, lexical accuracy. The solution to this question may be more evident than expected. Undoubtedly, the collator(s)-translator(s) understood the Samaritans to be related to, though distinct from, the Jews (*e.g.*, John 4). In addition to

[998] Graves, 2006; Gallagher, 2012.

[999] *E.g.*, C. Elliott's "Hebrew Learning among the Fathers" (*DCB* 2: 851-72).

[1000] See the survey provided by Fernández Marcos, 2000: 204-06.

[1001] *E.g.*, **Wallace-Hadrill** described his as an "inadequate knowledge" (1960: 62, following Nestle). More recent is the view of **Hollerich**: At first he claimed Eusebius "knew virtually no Hebrew" (1992: 593-94; also 1999: 79, 81-6). However later, after accepting the scholarly consensus opposing Nautin's denial of the first column, he admitted: "Possession of a rudimentary knowledge of Hebrew language and grammar cannot […] be excluded." (2013: 647-48).

their more restricted scriptural canon, Christians were also aware that they worshipped on a different temple mount and had various other practices divergent from those of the Jews.[1002] In consequence, it might be suggested that perhaps the collator(s)-translator(s) cribbed the Seventy, not due to any presumed *Samaritan* character inherent to LXX but rather as the result of the identities of the *recentiores*: They were not Samaritan—they were *Jewish* converts.[1003] Thus, it would not have been appropriate for the collator(s)-translator(s) to adapt the *recentiores* in rendering the *Samaritans*' Hebrew, as they themselves were not Samaritans but Jews, whose works stemmed from a period when the separation between the two groups was increasingly acute. Even in the case of the tradition where Symmachus had been a Samaritan (see Epiphanius, *De Mens et Pond* §16) who had converted to Judaism, his translation would still not have been appropriate. For Epiphanius stated that Symmachus' translation stood expressly *in opposition* to that of the Samaritans' (προς διαστροφην των παρα Σαμαρειταις ερμηνειων ερμηνευσας).[1004]

Thus, the use of the Seventy in rendering SP probably resulted from a process of elimination. Of the Greek translations available (via the *Hexapla Maior*), it was the most appropriate to use. It is difficult to know what if anything the translator(s) thought about the origins of GPent vis-à-vis the Samaritans which could have further justified this decision. Without identifying the translator(s) beyond doubt, any attempt to explain the selection of LXX for the adaptation of the μονον-translation is pure speculation. However, it bears repeating Kahle's reasonable deduction that the responsible party did not have any such σαμ΄ translation to hand (→ **§§1.2.1.2**; **1.2.2.3**). Had this been so, it would have been

[1002] For various patristic testimonies on these matters, see Pummer's survey (2002).

[1003] On these, see Fernández Marcos, 2000: 111-13 (Aquila), 123-26 (Symmachus), and 142-44 (Theodotion). Eusebius held that Symmachus was an Ebionite (*H.E.* 6.17.1; Jerome followed this adding Theodotion [*De Vir. Ill.* 54]). Even if the μονον-translator(s) believed Symmachus (and/or Theodotion) an Ebionite, the same line of reasoning would apply.

[1004] PG 43.263-64. On this passage see Field (2005: 57 [1: xxviii]) and Fernández Marcos (2000: 124, n. 5). Note Salvesen, 1998: 178-80, and Pummer, 1998: 277-78.

natural—and fundamentally more appropriate—to cite that translation. There would have been no reason for the laborious adaption of the G parallels, a process to which the s-group's **Num 13.1א-ד** *scholion* and the SH **Deut 1.6-8 cross-reference** explicitly testify.

4.2.1 – The Assumption of Origen

In considering the centuries-old, scholarly presumption of Origen's role in the production of the μονον-collation specifically, there are five elements requiring consideration: **1)** the ⸀οʌ *scholion* (Deut 27.26), **2)** Masius' description of SH Deut 34.1b-1א-2, **3)** Origen's textual praxis, **4)** his comments on Hebrew scripts, and **5)** his expressed opinion of the Samaritans' reception of divine revelation. While his literary remains are admittedly fragmentary, these five aspects of Origen's works can serve to further clarify an historical reconstruction of the μονον-collation's origins.

Deut 27.26+: *The* ⸀οʌ *scholion*

The most important piece of evidence regarding Origen's potential interaction with SP is the ⸀οʌ *scholion* found in many (mostly catena) MSS at Deut 27.26.[1005] In this annotation, it is remarked that GDeut and 'the Samaritan copy' agree in reading '*all* the words of this Law':

Deut 27.26+: The ⸀οʌ *Scholion*	Origen^{AdnotDt} (?) SH^{V} Jerome^{CommGal} Procop (?)[1006] $C'^{,comm}$
Origen *Adnot. in Deut* (PG 17.36, "*ex Bibliotheca Gallandiana* ", likely 'Veneto 534' = MS 739) Στιχ. κς΄. Επικαταρατος πας ανθρωπος, ος ουκ εμμενει εν πασι τοις λογοις του νομου. Το, εν πασι, κειμενον παρα τοις Εβδομηκοντα, κυρουται απο του Σαμαρειτικου αντιγραγου, εν ω το χολ, οπερ εστι πασιν η παντα, φερομενον ευρομεν. Οις συναδει και ο Αποστολος λεγων Οσοι γαρ εξ εργων νομου εισιν, υπο καταραν εισιν. Οθεν οι εκ περιτομης ελεγχονται υπο καταραν οντες, το {ed: τω} μη παντα ποιειν *Accursed is every man, who does not abide by all the words of the law* 'In all' is extant in the Seventy, (something which) is confirmed by the Samaritan exemplar, in which we found transmitted *chol*, that is 'in all' or 'all'. Now also the Apostle [Paul] is in harmony with this, saying: 'For as many as are from the works of the law, they are under a curse.' [Gal 3.10] From which, those from the circumcision are put to shame under a curse, having failed to do 'everything'.	

[1005] See, Wevers' App^{II} *ad loc*, where it is recorded anonymously.

[1006] So Procopius' *Comm. in Octateuch* as recorded in PG 87/1.944. The edition reproduced the Greek from *Cat*^{Nic} (1/3.1590), where the latter recorded it sub *ΠΡΟΚΟΠΟΥ. For Nicephorus' imprecise editorial policy regarding his use of asterisks, see Devreesse, 1959: ix, and Fernández Marcos, 2000: 296, n. 21.

SH^V (fol. 182b) ܗܘ ܕܟܠ ܕܟܠ ܗܘ ܕܟܠ ܕܟܠ ܗܘ ܕܟܠ ܕܟܠ

Samaritan information from Origen? Or had Jerome independently consulted SP himself? Many scholars have remained uncommitted with respect to the present case,[1013] presumably due to the paucity of wider evidence for Jerome's having consulted SP. Recently, M. Williams openly doubted this specific instance was an indication of Jerome's independent research.[1014]

Historical ambiguities aside, the Stridonite's testimony is an important piece of historical datum. This is especially so in connection with the marginal *scholion* from **SH^{V}**—one Wevers left out of his edition. SH^{V}'s witness is significant because it relocates the context of the *scholion* to one within the hexaplaric endeavour.[1015] There, though the end of the passage is fragmentary, the text reads precisely as the extant Greek from Gallandi's source, relating each part of the note in corresponding order: **1)** GDeut 'reads' (κειμενον / ܟܬܝܒ) εν πασι, **2)** SP 'corroborates' (κυρουται / ܡܣܗܕ) GDeut's reading; **3)** the transcription χολ for כל;[1016] **3a)** an attending translation of πασιν/παντα for כל; **4)** an explicit reference to its discovery (i.e., 'we found extant' φερομενον ευρομεν / ܐܫܟܚܢ ܘܡܝܬܝܢ ܠܗ); and **5)** mention of the Apostle's (ο Αποστολος / ܫܠܝܚܐ) usage thereof, in Galatians. The correspondence to Jerome's *Comm.* is clear—he took this from Origen and adapted(?) it for his argumentation, reordering the elements in the process. The only remaining issue is Jerome's exact source: In what form did he find this *scholion*, Origen's *Commentary* or an hexaplaric MS?

In fact, the two are not mutually exclusive. The Eusebian-Pamphilan εκδοσις often transmitted Origenic scholia, many of which were provided anonymously in the margins.

[1013] *E.g.*, Graves (2007: 54, n.140) and Gallagher (2012: 199-200). Adler is the only exception, calling this present case an "often unacknowledged dependence on Origen" but without citing the *scholion* specifically provided by Gallandi (1990: 10-11).

[1014] Williams, 2006: 75-77 and n. 31; here 77.

[1015] Consequentially, together with Jerome, this would also imply the *scholion* is much older than what the catena literature could provide, notwithstanding attribution to Origen.

[1016] As found in *Secunda*, as opposed to χωλ (= קול; see MS 1098 *ad loc*).

Evidence of this practice is found in the colophon to SH Prov (→ **APPENDIX**).[1017] The case in Prov is germane to the present discussion as many (though not all) of these scholia appear in SH Prov anonymously, *viz.*, [...] ⁘ ܗ̇ܘ̈ܠ̈ܗ̇ (*e.g.*, at 2.9, 3.5, 10, 5.14, 6.22, 9.12, 26.8), whereas in other, Greek sources these same scholia were transmitted as Origen's.[1018] These circumstances have import for the present case. While the SH Deut colophon is lost, it is quite possible that it included such a notice mentioning that Origen's scholia had been added. Certainly, the Caesarea-based collator(s) had to hand Origen's work on Galatians, just as Jerome, and thus they could have excerpted this specific *scholion*, taken from Origen's *Commentary*, given its 'Samaritan' character (→ **§1.1**). It is a fine addition to the μονον-collation, despite its alignment with the otherwise ignored SP = G ≠ MT category. Thus, if Jerome had an hexaplaric MS of Deut, it is possible that he took this from its margins. But since he specifically mentioned using Origen's *Commentary*, as well as his scholia, it is not necessary to assume so. And if, as argued here, the Caesarean collator(s) took the same from Origen's *Commentary*, then there is no difference as to the ultimate origin of the *scholion* itself.

Assuming this reconstruction, the question naturally arises as to Origen's source of such knowledge. Is it necessary to postulate that Origen had acquired such physically from an Hebrew SP? By extension, could it then be inferred that Origen partook in the μονον-collation? One small word is hardly evidence for meaningful textual interaction, the kind of which the μονον-collation requires. Rather the apologetic nature of his *scholion* in its original context, i.e., his *Commentary on Galatians*, bespeaks anecdotal evidence. The purpose of the *scholion*, as composed, is that SP *confirms* GDeut and, by extension, Paul—something rather foreign to the μονον-data.

[1017] Compare also the colophon to Ezek (CODEX Q) reading similarly.

[1018] Ceriani compared (1874: 43ff) these to the scholia recorded by Tischendorf (1860; Mai PG 17.161-252). See Mercati, 1941: 43-44, n. 1.

Of course Origen knew that the Samaritans accepted the Pentateuch alone and mentioned this several times (*e.g.*, *Contra Celsum* 1.49; *Comm. in Matt*. 17.29; *Comm. in John* 13.26.154 and frag. 57).[1019] However, knowing the Samaritans used only the Pentateuch and providing large-scale excerpts illustrating the *unique* (i.e., μονον) textual character of SP are two entirely different things. Additionally, it should be remembered that while Origen's contact with Jews and interaction with Rabbinic traditions (however basic) is well established,[1020] the same for that with Samaritans is another matter.[1021] Nevertheless, it is fair to assume that Origen's Jewish contemporaries knew of this textual distinction (cp. *b. Soṭah* 33b), one which he may have learned from a Jew, not a Samaritan. Thus, in the end, while one might be tempted to interpret the *scholion* as evidence of Origen's personal usage of SP, the case is inconclusive at best.

Masius' "in Hexaplo Origenis" *at SH Deut 34.1b-1א-2*

Another superficial connection between Origen and the μονον-collation is found in Masius' description of Deut 34.1b-1א-2 (→ **§§1.1**; **APPENDIX**):

> ¶ *Και εδειξεν αυτω Κυριος πασαν την γην*. Syrum exemplar notat in margine, quod illa verba, quae sequuntur usque dum dicitur, *και ειπε Κυριος προς* &c. sint [*sic*] in Hexaplo Origenis notate obelisco, eo quod in Hebraico exemplari quod apud Samaritanos extabat, pro illis fuerant scripta haec, [1b] *και εδειξεν αυτω Κυριος πασαν την γην* [1**א**] *απο του ποταμου του Αιγυπτου εως του ποταμου μεγαλου, ποταμου ευφρατου,* [2] *εως της θαλασσης της εσχατης.* [4] *και ειπε Κυριος* &c.[1022]
>
> *And the Lord showed to him all the land*: SH notes in the margin that the words following, up until it says *And the Lord said to* etc [v 4], are obelized **in the Hexapla of Origen**, because the Hebrew exemplar [= ىבשכ] extant amongst the Samaritans has written here, in place of [LXX], as follows: *And the Lord showed him all the land from the River of Egypt until the Great River, the River Euphrates, until the far Sea. And the Lord said etc.*

[1019] These are helpfully collected and translated into English by Pummer (2002).

[1020] See the studies by de Lange (1976), R. Brooks (1988), and P. Blowers (1988).

[1021] Another point was made long ago by **Simon**. Cf. de Lange, 1976: 36-37. Note Pummer: "Origen probably did converse with the Samaritans about their scripture […], *but his writings provide us with no direct evidence*" (2000: 190, *emphasis* mine).

[1022] *CS* col. 285; Masius' use of italics is reproduced though his Greek diacritics are not.

For whatever reason, Masius decided against simply reproducing the Syriac from the margin of his MS (cp. **Deut 5.21א-ח**). Instead, he only supplied a *description* of the annotation, its function and contents, leading to questions about the precise wording and original form of the marginal note, as transmitted by SH^{M}. The most perplexing aspect of Masius' description is the reference to "Origen's Hexapla". The μοναι-collation notes themselves make reference to obeli several times, but the location in which these are found is not described as "Origen's hexapla" but "the Hebrew" (→ **§2.4.2**). So what did Masius mean? Did he intend to specify that "Origen" was explicitly named in the SH's margin with reference to the SP passage? Or rather, had Masius generalized, assuming Origen's authorship of the 'hexapla' and its accoutrements? This is an important point since all editions after Masius reproduced some part of his description, specifically "*sint in Hexaplo Origenis*",[1023] giving the impression that the note specifically named Origen. However, as Origen's name is not referenced in any of the μοναι-materials, especially the colophons, it is safest to presume Masius was generalizing, though admittedly, it is a presumption. Whatever the case, due to the imprecise nature of Masius' description, it should not be considered corroboration of Origen's involvement in μοναι-collation.

Origen's Textual Praxis

A further consideration is Origen's demonstrated textual praxis. Based upon extant MS evidence, it would appear that SP had no role whatsoever in the 'hexapla', insofar as it related to the running text, be it the *Hexapla Maior* or texts derived therefrom (→ **§4.1**). And it follows that if SP had been, in Origen's eyes, a viable authoritative text eligible for critical use in the *Hexapla Maior*, the ensuing hexaplaric base-text would have exhibited profoundly different placement of sigla due to the SP = G ≠ MT category.[1024]

[1023] Field, 1: 327, n. 3; Brooke-McLean, 1911, 1/3: 673 (having corrected *sint* to *sunt*); Wevers' App^{II}.

[1024] While Tov's assessment (2012: 136, n. 228, following K.-R. Kim) that the meaningful agreement between G and SP is less thoroughgoing than has generally been historically described, had SP also counted

One well known example of this classification is Cain's words to Abel in Gen 4.8. However, Origen made no reference to the agreement between G and SP (against MT) when the opportunity presented itself (*Sel. in Gen* 4.8).[1025] In contrast to the above-examined case in Deut 27.26, he seems not to have known that in Gen 4.8 SP agreed with G. Of importance is Origen's usage of the term αποκρυφος in the Gen *scholion*, particularly in light of his use of the same concept in his *Ep. Ad Africanum*. A critical point of the argumentation in Origen's defence of the Susanna story[1026] is that the text was likely suppressed (§§13-15[9]) by the Jewish authorities. In other words, he presupposed the text translated by G did have, at some point, a Hebrew base.[1027]

Recently, scholars have been careful to observe that Origen understood (or claimed to have understood) that the Hebrew text of his day had possibly suffered corruption.[1028] But in actual practice, Origen seems to have made no effort to discover *Hebrew* evidence implying such corruption or suppression, save the exceptional use of SP in the case of Deut 27.26. Certainly, appealing to SP would have assisted his suppression argument in *Ep. Ad Africanum*. *Viz*., if the Jews had suppressed texts or parts of texts, surely *another* Hebrew-speaking, Torah-observing community (cp. Jerome above), such as the Samaritans, could have transmitted the 'apocryphal' portions '*un*suppressed'. For instance,

---

as 'the Hebrew' to Origen, some noticeable passages would not have been marked sub ÷ / ÷ : *e.g.*, Lev 17.4 (sub ÷ / ÷ in MS G^{O}), Num 4.14 (sub ÷ / ÷ in G^{O} and SH), many occurrences of 'the Girgashite(s)', etc (→ ***Table 1.3.2.2***).

[1025] For which, see Petit, 2: 17-18 (# 509) and, especially, Ceulemans, 2011. The latter's deliberation as to whether or not οι περι Ακυλαν might include SP is overly speculative (2011: 75).

[1026] For the present purposes, whether or not Origen's defence was disingenuous (so de Lange, 1985) is immaterial. What is concerned here is what Origen was willing to publically declare or, with respect to the hexaplaric recension, publish for dissemination.

[1027] For Origen's use of the suppression argument, see Gallagher, 2012: 79-85. With respect to the use of this argument in the *Ep. Ad Africanum* Gallagher concludes: "If [Origen was] trying to disguise his requirement for a Hebrew original, he does a very poor job of it" (85). On Gallagher's work generally, see Ceulemans, 2014.

[1028] See, Law, 2008: 12 (citing *Sel. in Ps.* 3.8 [PG 12.1129-30] and *Sel. in Ezek* 7.27 [PG 13.795-96]). Gallagher provides a full exposition of both of these passages (2012: 184-85). He prefaces:

> Therefore, in these cases in which Origen hesitates to revise the LXX toward the Hebrew, the probable reason is that he does not consider the *current* Hebrew text always the correct text; it cannot be "the final court of appeal," […]. However, he maintains even in these instances that the original LXX faithfully represented the *original* Hebrew. (183, *emphasis* mine).

earlier in his letter, he listed various textual differentiations between G and (presumably the proto-)MT (§§3-8), i.e., obelized portions. The list varies widely from the textual situations in Job, to Esther, to Gen, the very difficult situation in Exod, and the like.[1029] However, unlike his argument for Susanna—the point of his letter—he pleads that these should not be excised from the church's Bible, only quoting Prov 22.28 invoking the argument of Providence.

Another procedure, however, would have been to introduce his suppression argument much earlier. For instance, he points out that GGen 1.7 the phrase 'And God saw that it was good' is not found in 'the Hebrew', leading him, he explains, to obelize many such cases in GGen (§7). Yet, only a few verses later, there is another such quantitative difference between G and MT in which SP supports G ('to give light upon the earth', Gen 1.14). Did Origen know SP here? Why did Origen not argue that this phrase or that in 4.8 had been suppressed by the Jews, perhaps in order to undermine SP (cp. *y. Soṭah* 7.3),[1030] and thus provide physical *Hebrew* evidence illustrating the logic (or at least the likelihood) of his defence of Susanna? Or, was it Origen's opinion that SP was ineligible to function as the 'apocrypha' did, ill-suited to grant support to texts sub ÷ / ÷?[1031]

All of this is of course speculative. However, when the cases in Deut 27.26 and Gen 4.8 are juxtaposed with both the hexaplaric remains themselves and Origen's argument for 'Jewish suppression' in the *Ep. Ad Africanum*, one cannot help but surmise that either Origen had no knowledge of the Samaritan textual tradition outside of a word or two, or that it was appealed to only in the most dire of circumstances, *e.g.*, when the

[1029] De Lange argues this wide sampling favours a late date for the letter (1985: 242-43; SC 302: 501).

[1030] *N.B.*, Kamesar: "[Origen] formulates the theory that some passages which at one time were part of the Hebrew Bible may have been excised by the Jews *as detrimental to the interests* of the Jewish authorities" (1993: 101, *emphasis* mine).

[1031] Again, Kamesar: "[…] it would seem logical to conclude that in his view, when the 'pluses' in the Septuagint also appear in apocrypha, they have an extra claim to legitimacy" (1993: 101 [on Gen 4.8]).

credibility of the Apostle (as opposed to text sub ÷ / ÷) was at stake.[1032] Whatever the motive may have been behind the ⸀ *scholion*, the ostensible standard by which Origen judged which parts of GPent were marked sub ÷ / ÷ was undeniably (proto-)MT. SP simply played no part in his textual praxis. This is more easily explained if he never had meaningful interaction with or took possession of SP, be it in Hebrew or Greek.

Samaritan Script

Another issue is Origen's failure to mention the distinctive Samaritan script. Surely, if he had encountered this in person, it would have struck him as remarkable, prompting a comment or two. Yet, Origen's statements on Hebrew scripts say nothing of the Samaritans' letters. Instead, he limited his comments to briefly discussing the change in script during Ezra's period (*Sel. in Ps* 2.2),[1033] and that he had been informed by a Hebrew convert that the mark תָּו mentioned in Ezek 9 bore the shape of the Cross in old Hebrew script (*Sel. in Ezek* 9.4). These two passages are interesting since Jerome later adapted them for his own discussions,[1034] adding mention of the Samaritan script to Origen's previous remarks.[1035]

Even so, Eusebius was the first Father to mention the Samaritans' distinctive letters. He observed (though without any meaningful description) that scripts of the Jews and Samaritans differed, the latter of whose is the older: a fact the former would not deny.[1036] Yet what is significant about this remark is the *context* in which Eusebius discussed the scripts; his was a discussion of the various chronologies in Gen 5 and 11 presented by MT, SP, and G—a *textual* study. It is thus more natural to read Eusebius' comments as related to a material comparison of the versions, i.e., physical use of SP in

[1032] Note Adler, 1990: 9-11.

[1033] PG 12.1103-04. De Lange suggests Origen may have learned this from Rabbinic tradition (1976: 55).

[1034] See Pummer, 2002: 190 (see PL 25.87-88, nn. 'a' and 'b').

[1035] See, respectively, *Prolog. in Libro Regum* and *Comm. in Ezek* 3.9 (CCSL 75:106-107, see F. Glorie's note *ad loc*). Also compare Epiphanius, *De Gemmis*, 188-189 (see Pummer for discussion, 2002: 140).

[1036] *Chronicon* (GCS 20.37; see Pummer, 2002: 91-93, for a reprint of the edition and English translation).

Samaritan script—how else would he have known this?[1037] Contrariwise, one might better interpret Jerome's comments on Samaritan script as being based not on actual interaction with a tangible Samaritan exemplar but rather a re-casting of Origen's comments through the information provided by Eusebius in his *Chronicon*, a work Jerome updated and translated into Latin.[1038]

Origen's Thoughts on Samaritan Reception of Revelation

Last considered is Origen's *Comm. in Rom.* 2.14 (on Rom 3.2), in which he reflected on both Jewish and Samaritan reception of divine revelation:

> […] we must of course ask whether the oracles of God may be said to have been entrusted first to the Samaritans as well. For it appears that among them as well the law of Moses is preserved. Yet I would say that not even the letter, which is said to kill, has been entrusted to them. [He quotes G Amos 6.1; cp. *recentiores*.] By repudiating the prophets, they estrange themselves from the writings of God.[1039]

Origen's *Comm. in Rom.* is considered one of his more mature works, believed to have been written during his later Caesarean period, ca. 246 CE.[1040] Certainly, this strongly worded sentiment, in combination with the absence of SP in his textual works, leaves the impression that he would not have considered SP worth investigating.[1041]

Conclusions

In conclusion, there is simply no irrefutable evidence proving Origen used SP. However, because his writings were so sparsely preserved, it is unsafe to be overly

---

[1037] If one counters that Eusebius observed as much from Samaritan inscriptions in Caesarea, then it would have to be explained why Origen did not similarly refer to this; he too lived in Caesarea for some time.

[1038] Despite Jerome's claim, the letter *Tau* (Samaritan *Tāf*) in extant Samaritan scripts do not form a cross: 𐤕. And while the Leeds Decalogue inscription exhibits a *Tau* which could be construed as an angled cross (so Pummer, 2002: 190), the other Decalogue inscriptions exhibit shapes typical of Samaritan uncial (see Purvis, 1968: *Table VI*). Those from *Jewish* ostraca and Qumran MSS (*Tables II-V*), better fit Origen's and Jerome's comments.

[1039] Scheck's translation (2001: 168-69; cp. Pummer, 2002: 75-76). Naturally, any inference from this passage presumes Rufinus' fidelity to Origen's argument (Pummer, 2002: 44-45).

[1040] See Scheck's introductory discussion (2001: 8-9).

[1041] See de Lange, 1976: 37, with n. 103. Origen's opinion is comparable to Jerome's. In addition to the very sparse references to SP, Jerome expressly calls the Samaritans heretics (Pummer, 2002: 191): *e.g.*, *Ep.* 121.5.4, *Dial. contra Luc* 23, *Comm. in Amos* 2.4.1 (each provided reprinted by Pummer, 2002: 204-5, 207-08). Is this why Jerome did not seem to bother with SP despite his independent researches in Hebrew?

dogmatic about the matter. Perhaps it should be admitted that it is *possible* Origen either took part in or better initiated the μονον-collation, perhaps at the very end of his life (part of which he spent imprisoned). But based on the above, it is very unlikely this was the case. Arguing for Origen's having put SP in the 'hexapla', creates more historical inconsistencies than it resolves.

4.2.2 – The Possibility of Pamphilus[1042]

The second individual considered in connection with the μονον-effort is Eusebius' *Doktorvater*[1043] and Caesarea-based co-worker, the venerable martyr Pamphilus (ca. 240-310 CE). Born to wealth in Beirut,[1044] he furthered his education at Alexandria[1045] before coming to Caesarea ca. 285/6 CE.[1046] There he was ordained a presbyter (*M. Pal.* 11.2) and took over care of the library (*H.E.* 6.32.3; Jerome, *Ep*. 34.1, *De Vir. Ill.* 3, 96) and school (διατριβη, *H.E*. 7.32.25) previously founded by Origen and his immediate circle.[1047] Pamphilus was universally praised for both his character and erudition (*H.E.* 6.32.3; 7.32.25; *M. Pal*. 11), particularly his efforts to circulate the scriptures, and is known to have even copied out Origen's works himself (*De Vir. Ill.* 75; cp. *H.E.* 6.32.3). These efforts included the editing of the hexaplaric text for wider circulation, to which many of the extant colophons attest (→ **APPENDIX**).

Pamphilus and the Caesarean Library

Unfortunately, little is certain regarding the library between the death of Origen and the arrival of Pamphilus in Caesarea. It is unknown whether the Decian persecution affected the library's collections, in part due to the uncertainty of whether or not the

[1042] This section is much indebted to Carriker's research (2003) into the Caesarean library and Pamphilus' role therein.
[1043] See Carriker, who describes the relationship between Eusebius and Pamphilus in similar terms (2003: 18).
[1044] See *M. Pal.* 11.1-2 (long recension); also Simeon Metaphrastes' (fl. c. 960 CE) in PG 20.1500, n. 72.
[1045] Under one Pierius (Venables, "Pamphilus [1]", 178; Photius, *Codex* 118-19).
[1046] This is Carriker's date (2003: 12-13, n. 37, with literature, and p. 37).
[1047] For the Origenic period of the library, see Carriker, 2003: 1-12.

library was the property of the Caesarean church at the time.[1048] The status of the library would have been important since, as Carriker points out, while the church (as an institution) was not the target of Decius' efforts,[1049] Roman judges had the authority to confiscate *personal* property from those arrested.[1050] Whatever the case, Pamphilus went on to head both the Caesarean school and library. These two mutually supporting offices of his tenure resulted in the similarly congruent activities of the **accumulation** and **dissemination** of sacred texts.

The bibliographic activities Pamphilus undertook in the Caesarean library are well attested, both by Eusebius, whose witness was first-hand, and Jerome, whose testimony is secondary though still important, especially since Eusebius' *Life of Pamphilus* has not survived intact. Pamphilus is reported to have dedicated great time and effort to collect literature for the library as well as to issue texts, generously, to those who desired them. With respect to the **in-gathering** of MSS, Eusebius mentioned his teacher had catalogued the library, especially the works of Origen and other ecclesiastical writers (*H.E.* 6.32.3). In one of his many letters to Marcella (*Ep.* 34.1), Jerome claimed Pamphilus matched Demetrius of Phalerum and Pisistratus in his "zeal for a sacred library and [how he] diligently searched throughout the world for copies of words that are true and eternal monuments […]".[1051] Pamphilus' efforts were not limited to those in Greek alone. Jerome

[1048] Compare, G. Downey, who surmised that Origen's library suffered no deterioration during the persecution whatsoever (1975: 27), with the following notes.

[1049] He is of the opinion that had the library been church property, it could have been protected under the *Edict of Toleration* of Gallienus (son of Valerian) in 260 CE (2003: 21 and notes).

[1050] On the issue of the library's status vis-à-vis the Caesarean church, see Carriker (2003: 10-13 and esp. 20-21; compare also Gamble, 1995: 159-60). He notes (2003: 10-11, n. 32) that even if personal property had been confiscated, it was possible (as in Cyprian's case) to regain one's belongings after the cessation of hostilities.

[1051] Carriker's translation (2003: 13, n. 40; CSEL 54.259-60). The passage goes on to include Origen's works among those sought after by Pamphilus.

made remarks to this effect, crediting Pamphilus with acquiring a copy of the "Hebrew" original of the Gospel of Matthew (*De Vir. Ill.* 3 [re: Matthew]).[1052]

Correspondingly, Jerome quoted at length an excerpt from Eusebius' *Life of Pamphilus* in which the latter described Pamphilus' efforts to **disseminate** scriptures (*Adv. Ruf.* 2.9):

> He was also ever ready to distribute copies of Sacred Scriptures not only for reading, but even for private keeping. Not only to men, but even to the women whom he found to be interested in reading them. Thus he prepared many copies [*unde et multos codices praeparabat*],[1053] so that he might present them as gifts, when the occasion arose, to those who wanted them.[1054]

Concomitant with this testimony is the witness of the hexaplaric colophons, some of which transmit first-person snippets from the original subscriptions in which Eusebius and Pamphilus described their efforts in 'preparing' (as Jerome put it) biblical MSS for dissemination (→ ***Table 1.1.1.2***; see Jerome, *Prolog. in Libro Paralip.* = *Adv. Ruf.* 2.27). It should be emphasized, however, that it is unlikely that each and every Pamphilan-prepared MS was an academic edition of the *hexaplaric* biblical text. It is probable that the majority of texts issued were reading (or liturgical?) copies, without the marginal apparatus or any sigla. It is also most probable that roughly half of these were NT MSS (individual gospels, etc.).

The testimony of Jerome to Pamphilus' collecting texts is of importance in determining the latter's potential role in the hexaplaric μονον-collation. Is it possible the activities described, however lionized, of searching "the whole world" over for "true and eternal monuments"[1055] could have included Pamphilus acquiring SP?[1056] Importantly,

---

[1052] Siamake, 1992: 160, and Jerome's *Against the Pelagians* 3.2. See below note.

[1053] Gamble argues this passage plainly implies the presence of a significant scriptorium in the Caesarean library, one he argues went back ultimately to Ambrose of Alexandria's patronage of Origen (1995: 158 and 301, n. 41 [referencing *H.E.* 6.28]). Carriker, however, is more cautious (2003: 16-17, with n. 50).

[1054] J. Hritzu's translation (1965: 70; CCSL 79.8).

[1055] Levine specifically interpreted Jerome's passage as a reference to Pamphilus' search for *scriptural* texts (1975: 125 and n. 103). Venables interpreted the passage in terms of "hunting for and obtaining possession

Pamphilus was martyred in 310 CE and only one year later, Eusebius completed the first edition of his *Chronicon*.[1057] Thus, one might reason that at least SP Gen had come into the possession of the Caesarean library by that time, if not much earlier, since Eusebius provided the Samaritan genealogies from Gen 5 and 11 (see below).[1058] It is further important to observe that if Pamphilus was responsible for the procurement of the "Hebrew" (Aramaic?) text of "Matthew";[1059] such indicates his pursuit of "true and eternal monuments" was not limited to those only in Greek. Of course, the trope of searching 'all the world' for biblical MSS is one which goes back to Origen himself (*H.E.* 6.16, → **§4.1**), and it is only natural that Pamphilus would have assumed this function modelled by Origen. Therefore, in the absence of the full account Eusebius presumably supplied in his *Life of Pamphilus*, the extant data would seem to support the possibility that sometime between Pamphilus' taking up the role as head librarian and Eusebius' use thereof in his *Chronicon*, a copy of SP (in Samaritan characters) came into the possession of the Caesarean library. Pamphilus' curatorship of the collections provides a promising scenario in which this acquisition could have taken place.

Pamphilus' Role as Scriptural Editor

In addition to the proposed acquisition of a copy of SP as part of Pamphilus' expansion of Caesarea's collections, his direct role in the production of the μονον- collation must also be deliberated. Pamphilus' reputation as an editor of scripture is well established, as evinced by the MSS which bear his name in their subscriptions. These include not only most of the non-Pentateuchal hexaplaric books of the OT (→ ***Table***

---

of books illustrative of Holy Scripture from all parts of the world" ("Pamphilus (1)", *DCB* 4: 179). Certainly, Jerome's description (*quae vera sunt et aeterna monumenta*) fits scriptural as well as ecclesiastical writings.

[1056] For lists of works possibly acquired by Pamphilus, see Gamble, 1995: 157; Carriker, 2003: 13-14.

[1057] The final edition of the same work would be finished ca. 325 CE (see Carriker, 2003: 38-40).

[1058] For discussion of Eusebius' hypothetical revision process, see Burgess (1997: 501-02), who argues these 'revisions' were but updates from the years following the first edition.

[1059] What Eusebius calls the *Gospel of the Hebrews* (see *Theophany*, 4.12 and *H.E.* 3.27.4); on the discrepancy, see Lawlor and Oulton, 2: 95-6 and 98, and Wallace-Hadrill, 1960: 63-64 and 67.

1.1.1.2), but nearly half of the NT, namely the Pauline corpus.[1060] Presumably, he would have also taken part in, if not directly sponsored, the production of the Caesarea εκδοσις of the Gospels, if an early date of Eusebius' *Gospel Canons* can be accepted.[1061]

Nevertheless, as discussed above (→ **§1.1.1**), Pamphilus' name is conspicuously absent from the colophons for the hexaplaric Pentateuch. Rather, only Eusebius was named, either as the sole editor of the μονον-bearing exemplar (Exod) or in terms of *his* library (Gen and Num [→ **§3.2**]). It is feasible that 'Pamphilus' was somehow dropped from the subscriptions or του Ευσεβιου και του Παμφιλου became Ευσεβιου του Παμφιλου. However, when both were listed separately (while working in conjunction) in the extant hexaplaric colophons, Pamphilus' name was consistently provided first, preventing any such mistake.[1062] Thus, the venerable martyr's name was most likely never attached to these works.

Conclusions

In conclusion, it is probable Pamphilus' role in the μονον-collation was limited to the acquisition of SP. His curatorship of the Caesarean library and searching for "true and eternal monuments", particularly a Semitic version of 'Matthew', provide for a setting in which SP may have found its way into Christian hands. Perhaps the only argument militating against this understanding is if Eusebius' source for his *Chronicon* was an

---

[1060] For the **Pauline letters**, see Devreesse's discussion (1954: 163-164) of the subscription in MS H^{p} (*H 015 = *Coisl.* 202, after Titus [fols. 14r-v]; also Murphy, 1959: 229). Compare the Harklean colophon (after Heb). The subscription attached to the **Acts** and the **General Epistles** mentions Eusebius' library only (Devreesse, 1954: 168; cp. 162, n. 3).

[1061] Eusebius is thought to have worked on the *Canons* while Pamphilus still lived; so Carriker, 2003: 16, n. 48 (following Barnes [2003: 37, with n. 3]). *N.B.*: Here I use εκδοσις in the sense of a text published for circulation not necessarily that of one specifically 'edited' by Pamphilus and Eusebius, i.e., the contentious 'Caesarean' recension of the NT.

[1062] This was surely done purposefully by subsequent scribes, not only to grant Pamphilus pride of place, but also to avoid any such confusion caused by Eusebius' adopted surname. The only exception to this order is SH Isa's colophon: ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܐܝܓܪܬ ܕܐܘܣܒܝܘܣ ܘܕܦܡܦܝܠܘܣ ܕܐܬܬܩܢ ܘܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܝܓܢܣ ܒܡܟܬܒܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܪܝܐ *from the exemplar of Eusebius and of Pamphilus, which they in turn edited from* (the copy) *from Origen's library*. The SH Kgdm subscription also listed Eusebius before Pamphilus, however, both men's roles were clearly differentiated: ܐܢܐ ܐܘܣܒܝܘܣ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܘܐܬܩܢ ܒܙܡܢ ܕܦܡܦܝܠܘܣ ܩܪܐ *I, Eusebius, edited while Pamphilus collated*.

epitome. However, in light of Eusebius' comments on the Samaritan script within the presentation of SP's chronology, it is more likely that Pamphilus had acquired a Samaritan exemplar sometime between the years 285/6 and 307 CE and that this exemplar served as the library's 'εκδοσις / αντιγραφον of the Samaritans'. If Pamphilus' family's financial resources were available, or if a patron (à la Ambrose) arose amongst the Caesarean church,[1063] the money necessary for such a purchase could have been available to the library.

4.2.3 – The Eusebian Hypothesis

The last discussed is Eusebius, student and friend of Pamphilus and eventual bishop of Caesarea from 315 CE until his death in ca. 340. There are several historical elements favouring him as the one responsible for the addition of SP into the hexaplaric tradition.

The Colophons

First is the joint testimony of the surviving hexaplaric Pentateuch subscriptions. These name Eusebius, specifically Eusebius *Pamphili* (→ **§3.2**), alone as having the *final editorial hand* in the production of the circulated μονον-bearing copies. In the case of Exod, the colophon states that two differing exemplars were collated against each other. This is important since it permits an Origenic *and* an Eusebian copy, the latter of which, according to the subscription, was the μονον-bearing exemplar (→ **§2.2**). Origen alluded to his own textual work on Exod (*Ep. Ad Africanum* §7), so it should be assumed that his 'edition' (whether a separately issued text or the marked fifth column of the *Hexapla Maior*)[1064] of Exod formed the base of the Eusebian εκδοσις. Thus, it is probable that E^1 (in the above stemma → **§2.2**) represented Origen's work, upon which Eusebius' (E^3) was

[1063] On this, see Carriker, 2003: 14.

[1064] While scholars still disagree which of these represents Origen's marked text, the present discussion could apply to either circumstance.

overlaid. The differences between the two are unknown, save the μονον-collation, which was unique to Eusebius'. Otherwise, they may have been the same basic text. The circumstances for Num and Deut, though lacking complete colophons, were probably much the same, as the subscription for Num seems to imply. There only Eusebius' library (i.e., *his* books) is mentioned in connection the μονον-data, as opposed to anyone else's.

Presumably, if Origen's or Pamphilus' name had been connected to the μονον-layer, this would not have been omitted in the scribal rewriting of the subscriptions. After all, Eusebius' reputation suffered due to his Arianizing tendencies.[1065] This is not to say that subsequent scribes would have stripped Eusebius of any due credit in terms of the biblical MSS circulating which transmitted his researches (*e.g.*, the Eusebian *Gospel Canons*); his scholarship was respected.[1066] Rather, the point is that if either Origen's or Pamphilus' names were attached to the μονον-layer, it is unlikely that subsequent scribes would have transmitted Eusebius' name *without* either of the others, particularly Pamphilus.

Use of SP in his Chronicon, *Samaritan Script, and His View of the Samaritans*

As above-stated, the first meaningful, explicit use of SP by a church Father, beyond that of a single word (i.e., the ϗοϟ *scholion* → **§4.2.1**), was Eusebius' integration of the Samaritan chronologies from Gen ch 5 and 11 in his *Chronological Canons*.[1067] His description of the chronologies of SP and G, especially the 'shared agreement' (συμφωνια) with respect to the ages of procreation in ch 11, offered Eusebius an opportunity to buttress the credibility of G:

[1065] *E.g.*, see the *scholion* in MS E of *H.E*. before the listed contents of Book 1. Many Christian writers purposely distanced themselves from Eusebius; for which see the *Testimonies of the Ancients Against Eusebius* (*e.g.*, Epiphanius, Jerome, Athanasius, Socrates, etc.) translated by A. McGiffert (*NPNF* 2/01.67-72 [from H. Valesius' collection reprinted in PG 19.83-98]).

[1066] Note Jerome, *Ep*. 119.11: *Ego et in adulescentia et in extrema aetate profiteor et Origenem et Eusebium Caesariensem viros esse doctissimos, sed errasse in dogmatum veritate* (CSEL 55.468; see McGiffert's translation [*NPNF* 2/01.68]).

[1067] See Pummer 2002: 84-86.

> […] the Hebrew Writings kept by *the Šamyrteans agree with our Reading* with regard to the first mentioned transmitted number of years [that were lived] prior to the procreation of children; and disagree with the Hebrew Writings of the Jews by 650 years; […] now, if according to *the original ancient Hebrew Law which until today is preserved intact by the Šamyrteans – and the Seventy's translation is in agreement with this* – [… then G and SP preserve the true reading regarding the years of begetting against MT which is faulty; … amongst] the Šamyrteans on the other hand, [there are mistakes] only prior to the Flood, since from the Flood until Abraham the years agree *with those in the Tradition upheld by the Seventy*.[1068]

One cannot help but juxtapose the expressed emphasis of the agreement between G and SP, against MT, with the μονον-translator'(s) choice of the G parallels in rendering the Samaritan text. Was this decision made, in conjunction with the above observations (→ **§4.2**), because the Caesarean collator(s)-translator(s) assumed a greater συμφωνια between these two textual traditions, the μονον-passages notwithstanding?

It is also imperative to observe Eusebius' description of the Samaritan script, in this specific *textual* context, for it supports the possibility of his using a *Hebrew* SP:

> The descendants of the Jews have a law that differs from that of the Šamyrteans <Samaritans> who were *newcomers* [*Zuzügler*] to the Jews. Yes, even the *characters of the Hebrew writings*: they are found to be different among the Jews and different among the Šamyrteans <the latter kind of> which not even the descendants of the Jews would probably refuse to consider the true and original ones. This is why there also was no rift between them until the transformation of the characters.[1069]

Here, Eusebius articulated a very different attitude to the Samaritans in comparison to Origen's (and Jerome's). To Eusebius, the Samaritans were "proselytes";[1070] proselytes whose textual tradition was as valid a source as any other.[1071] This, in combination with

[1068] Here citing Pummer's translation (*emphasis* mine) of Karst's German translation (GCS 20.44) of the Armenian translation of Eusebius' *Chronicon* (2002: 95-7). Compare the use of Eusebius in the *Ecloga Chronographica* by George Syncellus (fl. ca. 800 CE; see the reprint of Mosshammer's edition and translation in Pummer [2002: 402-04]).

[1069] Pummer's translation (*emphasis* mine) of Eusebius' *Chronicon* (2002: 91-5; see Karst's, GCS 20.37).

[1070] See Karst's note 'c' for *Zuzügler* in his edition: "t. gr. προσηλυτοι" (GCS 20.37; see Pummer, 2002: 81; PG 19.146). Interestingly, George Syncellus omitted mention of the Samaritans' 'proselyte' status (GCS n.s. 15.32-35 [frags. T16e and T16h).

[1071] This is not to say that he necessarily viewed Jews and Samaritans as the same, since his interpretation of Matt 10.5 (*DE* 9.11), in fulfilment of Deut 18.15-19, suggests otherwise.

his description of SP in his *Chronicon*[1072] makes it more likely that Eusebius would have had both the opportunity and inclination to add SP to the hexaplaric tradition. The only difficulty with this hypothesis is that no evidence survives directly connecting the 'exclusive' Samaritan chronological data to the hexaplaric MS tradition.[1073] Nevertheless, the agreement between G and SP Eusebius discerned in his chronological researches seems like a probable catalyst prompting him to investigate SP further.

Preoccupation with 'Contradictions' in Biblical Parallels

Another factor recommending Eusebius as the probable sponsor of the μονον-collation is his acute sensitivity to and concern for biblical parallels and ostensible 'contradictions'. Specifically, his *Gospel Canons* (290's?) and *Gospel Questions and Solutions* (*Quaestiones ad Stephanum et Marinum*; ca. 320?) occupied a good deal of his earlier efforts.[1074] This preoccupation with parallel accounts of the same story in different biblical books[1075] as expressed in the *Gospel Canons* accords well with the ethos of the μονον-collation, specifically the cross-reference annotations. In addition to supplying the speech or action underlying a later mentioned speech or action, certain issues in the parallel accounts of the Pentateuch are resolved, or rather might be resolved, by resorting to SP, such as the locus of Aaron's death or the differing Wilderness Itineraries (→ **APPENDIX**).[1076] While not all early Christian exegetes bothered with these matters (or the Pent generally), Procopius of Gaza at least cared for this discrepancy—discussing the

[1072] See Ceriani (1863: 153), who also drew this connection; however, he still preferred Origen as the one who introduced SP into the hexaplaric tradition.

[1073] This is confirmed by the lack of μονον-data preserved in SH/JGen and the wider GGen MS tradition.

[1074] Following Carriker's timeline (2003: 37-9). Note that A. Whealey (2013) has argued that the second half of the *Questions and Solutions* (*Quaestiones ad Marinum*) was actually a work by Eusebius' successor, **Acacius** (d. 365 CE). This would not detract from the current point. Instead it would support it, implying this was an element of his biblical study he was sure to impart to his students.

[1075] For a description of the *Gospel Canons* and *Gospel Questions and Solutions* (= *Problems and Solutions*), see Wallace-Hadrill, 1960: 69-71 and 74-77.

[1076] Another ostensible 'contradiction' could have been the differing ethnic designations in **Num 14.45** and Deut 1.44 (→ **§3.3.2** at **Num 14.45א** [attribution]).

locations of Aaron's death without any mention of SP.[1077] This is not to say that such discrepancies would have prompted Eusebius to search for textual means of reconciling any such difficulty, as was at times the case in his *Gospel Questions and Solutions*,[1078] but only to point out he may have viewed this as a happy by-product of the SP collation.

Conclusions

In the end, it can be imagined that Eusebius' career offers the best 'fit' for the μονον-collation. His physical use of SP and the testimony of the colophons, in particular, give greater weight to the case of his sponsorship than to either Origen or Pamphilus. Whether or not Eusebius was involved directly with either the collation or translation or deputed any part of the project to his students is unknown. Given the proposed use of the *Hexapla Maior* in the collation and translation process, it is quite likely that some part of the project could have been delegated to talented students (perhaps the collation). Nevertheless, his final editorial approval would have been required. In this, Eusebius would have purposefully contributed something original to the hexaplaric tradition. His was an additional quantitative layer, one which enabled him to expand the purview of the scriptural traditions available to a Greek Christian audience. Such interaction with SP was undoubtedly academic, the beginnings of which probably dated to his preliminary research for the *Chronicon*. Nothing from Eusebius' extant works suggests that Christian apologetic was the impetus or intended goal of the μονον-collation. However, if the Samaritan community was 'on the rise' from the time of Baba Rabba's (3rd century CE) reforms, it is tempting to view Eusebius' collation as a way of pre-empting or preparing for any potential scriptural disputation between Christians and the ancient adherents of Gerizim.

[1077] See PG 87/1.903-04. This *scholion* was transmitted anonymously in CODEX M (fol. 134aβ).

[1078] Cp. Hollerich's description of the same: "Eusebius in the main kept to what he would have regarded as literal and historical solutions: solving contradictions […] by multiplying episodes and individuals […] and *recognising textual variants* (2013: 638-39, here at 639, *emphasis* mine).

4.3 – Samaritan Considerations

While strictly beyond the primary scope of the present hexaplaric study, it is appropriate before concluding to consider what the μονον-evidence has to offer Samaritan studies. In addition to potential textual variants, there are three principal areas in which the hexaplaric Samaritan collation might contribute: **1)** the apparent absence of a Samaritan Greek translation known in or around Caesarea and Jerusalem at the time of Origen or Eusebius,[1079] **2)** the date and scribal context of the Caesarean SP, and **3)** the ostensible absence of Samaritan-Christian relations.

The Greek Samaritan Version (the 'Samareitikon')

The foregoing historical reconstruction and textual analysis argue that the μονον-collation was Caesarea-based and sponsored, if not directly participated in, by Eusebius. The resulting product formed a 'translation' distinctly cribbed on the Seventy—no Samaritan Greek text was consulted or cited in connection with this endeavour (→ **§1.3**). Rather the earliest extant evidence for the text known as the 'Samareitikon' is from the 5th century CE, in Egypt, not Palestine (→ **§1.2.2.2**; **EXCURSUS B**). It must be emphasized that Origen, Pamphilus, and Eusebius all travelled widely (including Egypt); however, none of their literary remains witness to a Samaritan Greek translation. If the Samaritans produced a translation before the 5th century CE, and utilized such *in Palestine*, Christian scholars—several of whom were actively looking for such translations—did not know about it.[1080] The earliest evidence for use of such a work (barring Cyril → **§1.3.1.1**) is found in non-hexaplaric, Christian MSS from the 7th century CE, and the hexaplaric tradition itself does

[1079] Eusebius is known to have used the Jerusalem church's library (so Carriker, 2003: 181 [citing *H.E.* 6.20.1]).

[1080] This is a serious problem with respect to the presumed place of this so-called Samareitikon in the history of Samaritan exegesis. For example, Bóid places the Samareitikon *before* ST, claiming that the translation of זקנים with συνετοι proves the concept "is older than the time of Baba Rabba" (1988: 615-16). Presumably, he assumes this by comparison with the Jews translating the Torah into Greek before Aramaic (in addition to presuming Origen quoted it). The physical evidence, however, does not support this reconstruction.

not intersect with these readings until the efforts of the s-group scribes based on Athos around 1000 CE (→ **§3.4**).

The Date of SP the Caesarean Exemplar Represents

As discussed above (→ **§1.1.2**), it is now held that the text-type the Samaritans adopted was commonly used in the wider Second Temple Judeo-Israelite matrix. The Samaritans eventually accepted this edition, dated to the Hasmonean period, and at some point thereafter added only a "thin ideological layer", usually reckoned as the Samaritan Tenth Commandment florilegium (**Exod 20.17[13]א-ו** and **Deut 5.21[17]א-ח**) and possibly the omission of כל in Exod 20.24, along with the addition of מול שכם in Deut 11.30.[1081] However, the μονον-collation did not mark the omission of כל in 20.24 (→ ***Table 2.6.2***), and the evidence for **Deut 11.30+** is ambiguous (→ **APPENDIX**). Thus, in determining date of the final redaction of SP, as represented by the hexaplaric tradition, the representation of the *Garizimgebot* in the Decalogue(s) is paramount.

Unfortunately, despite the discovery of many ancient Hebrew texts in the last 80 years, no MS[1082] has been found clarifying *when* the Samaritan Tenth Commandment (or "Gerizim florilegium") first occurred. Nevertheless, many scholars view the time around the destruction of the Gerizim Temple by John Hyrcanus ca. 111 BCE as the point of entry.[1083] Others have hypothesized later dates.[1084] Whatever may be made of the various

[1081] Tov, 2012: 88; Kartveit, 2009: 293 and 300. As above noted, support for a Samaritan origin for the "Gerizim florilegium" is waning.

[1082] Schattner-Rieser wondered whether the alleged Qumran fragment 'XQDeut' (Charlesworth, 2009) reading בהרגרזים was from Deut 27 or possibly **Exod 20.17א-ו** (2010: 279). But, the fragment reads בהרגרזים ושדת which cannot come from the "Gerizim florilegium" reading בהרגרזים ובנית. XQDeut has been dated to just before the turn of the era (Charlesworth, 2009: 202).

[1083] *E.g.*: **Dexinger**, 1977: 133; **Eshel and Eshel**, 2003: 239; **Gallagher**, 2015 (vid). J. **Dušek** is open to it possibly being a bit later (2012: 95 and 93, n. 272 [against the Eshels]). **Purvis** argued "no earlier than the first century B.C." (1968: 85; 1976: 775). Again, **Schorch** has revised his earlier view (→ **§1.1.2**).

[1084] *E.g.*, **Pummer** was struck by Josephus' failure to censure the Samaritans for the *Garizimgebot* (2009: 283 and 27) vis-à-vis later Rabbinic pronouncements, *e.g.*, *y. Soṭah* 7.3 and *b. Soṭah* 33b (2009: 284). **Kartveit** has recently insisted the addition was "later than the turn of the era" (2009: 294). **Ben-Ḥayyim**

arguments for the date of the *Garizimgebot*'s genesis, the earliest *textual* evidence for its existence, comprising its complete shape and form,[1085] is the μονον-collation in SH. The textual primacy of SH is twofold: First, SH *materially* precedes extant SP MSS by roughly 300 years. Second, the recoverable *date of the Greek exemplar* SH translated can be dated at latest to Eusebius via the colophons. Alarmingly, the passage is not specified as part of the Decalogue, i.e., as the Samaritan *Tenth* Commandment. The precise implications of this are difficult to interpret. On the one hand, it is hard to imagine that a Samaritan-produced MS would not have made this clear. On the other, it is also possible that this understanding was para-textual at the time, and only later made more explicit in medieval MSS.[1086]

In accordance with the above analysis (→ **§2.2**), the SH Exod colophon dates the Samaritan collation's *terminus ad quem* to Eusebius' death (ca. 340 CE). Yet this is hardly the end of the matter. The exemplar which Eusebius used, both for his *Chronicon* and, as argued here, the μονον-collation, was acquired when Pamphilus still lived. Not any earlier; no evidence confirms Origen's use of SP (→ **§§4.2.1**; **4.2.2**). Thus, the Caesarean SP was physically older than 310 CE. Further, this SP probably attested at least one scribal, haplographic error (→ **§2.4.2** at **Exod 8.6-7[10-11]**). This may push the origin of the Caesarean SP, or rather the text from which it was copied, back another MS generation, perhaps 285/86 CE or earlier. Thus, the form of the Eusebian SP can be dated conservatively to the mid-3rd century CE, a slightly later date than has been previously assumed.[1087] This copy contained all the so-called 'expansions' in Exod, Num, and

---

suggested the *Garizimgebot* was added in opposition to Christianity (1995). For **A. D. Crown**'s opinion, see below.

[1085] Irrespective of their dates, the Samaritan Decalogue inscriptions abbreviate the *Garizimgebot* variously and thus could not serve to construct the whole text (see Dexinger, 1977).

[1086] I intend to address this more thoroughly in a future study.

[1087] *E.g.*, Crown, 1991: 49 (who assumed Origen; see below).

Deut[1088] in their final, *canonical* 'Samaritan' form, in contradistinction to same as found in the pre-Samaritan MSS (i.e., 4Q22, 4Q27). This is not to say that each and every reading was completely stable. The μονον-collation does transmit variants when compared with medieval codices, though caution is required in establishing these, given septuagintization.[1089] Despite these uncertainties, the canonical shape of the 'Samaritan layer' had clearly already been established.

The Caesarean SP and the Restorations of Baba Rabba

A. D. Crown proposed in a series of articles that the application of the 'thin Samaritan layer' did not occur circa John Hyrcanus, as many scholars would have it, but was part of the programmatic reforms of the Samaritan hero Baba Rabba (fl. 3rd century CE).[1090] Baba instituted many reforms including the Council of *Ḥukama'* and the building of synagogues in cities outside Nablus having a significant Samaritan population.[1091] Crown described these synagogues, based on the depiction given by the Samaritan chronicler **Abū a-Fatḥ**, as "centers of Samaritan scholarship and law-giving" which resembled "the local midrash schools of the Jewish synagogues."[1092] From this, Crown inferred the date for the fixation of the text and the scribal techniques of its copying,[1093]

[1088] While the μονον-collation cannot corroborate **Deut 11.30+**, Rabbinic testimony (from the mid-2nd century CE) confirms the existence of מול שכם (irrespective of Ben-Ḥayyim's 1995 hypothesis). Since the presence of מול שכם in both **Exod 20.17ו** and **Deut 5.21ח** support the notion it existed, presumably, it was added *before* the *Garizimgebot*, as the former was used to create the latter.

[1089] Variant readings are also witnessed by the *Tībåt Mårqe* (3rd / 4th century CE). See MacDonald's edition (1963: *passim*) where these are flagged up in the footnotes to his translation: "As S.P., with var. [relevant MS(S)]"; see his discussion (1963: xxxiv-xxxv).

[1090] 1991: 44-46; 1986: 105-07. As Stenhouse points out, the Samaritan chronological tradition "offers strong support for a third century date, i.e., from 222-254" ("Baba Rabba", *CSS*, 37-38, at 38).

[1091] 1991: 45-46.

[1092] 1991: 46. Quoting Abū a-Fatḥ: "[… each of these synagogues had] 'a place […] in the southern part […] so that anyone with a personal problem could ask the *ḥukamā*' about it and be given a sound answer' ". See also Crown, 1986: 110-12.

[1093] Crown believes the Samaritan Masoretic tradition, notably the colometry, is very old (1984: *passim*, esp. 379-81). See Bóid, 1988: 610.

since proper *halakhic* instruction would require it.[1094] Thus, he concludes: "[…] we are looking at the period between 135 CE and *Origen's citation of the Samaritikon* which would put us squarely into the period of intensive activity in Baba's lifetime".[1095]

While Crown's assumption of Origen's use of the Samareitikon is faulty, his understanding of the environment which produced the MS from which the Caesarean SP was copied is still possible. Of course, if both Origen and Baba died around the same time, it is doubtful the former accessed a text resulting from the latter's reforms. But under the present reconstruction, Baba's scribal institutions—or the revitalization of pre-existing[1096] scribal institutions—can still be the source of the Caesarean SP. Indeed, if the 40 or so years following Baba's death (ca. 254 CE) included a flourishing of scribal training, then it is probable that Pamphilus would have been able to buy an imperfect (or a practice?) copy (≈ ca. 285/86 CE or a little later), possibly from a younger scribe[1097] belonging to the generation after Baba.

Samaritan–Christian (Non-)Interaction

Again, the μονον-translation betrays no knowledge of Samaritan exegesis (*e.g.*, **Exod 23.19א**). Further, the 'translation' appears to have been made by those who lacked anything beyond a rudimentary understanding of the Hebrew language. Had a native Hebrew speaker or Samaritan sage aided or otherwise participated in the μονον-endeavour a much more literal translation should have resulted, and there would have been no reason to use the Seventy as a crutch. Is it really possible that a Samaritan from the era just after

[1094] 1994: 26-29. See especially Bóid, who provides a number of extracts from Abū a-Fatḥ regarding Baba's instructions to "experts" and "learned men" about "the correctness of the readings of the Tora" which was to be taught to the community (1988: 603-11, citation at 604).

[1095] 1994: 29 (= 1991: 49), *emphasis* mine.

[1096] Indeed Bóid views Baba's work as a "restoration, not reformation" (1988: 608) of previous Samaritan exegetical and scribal practice. He argues evidence for a "fixed, official, scriptural exegesis, similar to Tannaic midrashim" can be inferred from the accusation of Simeon B. Eleazar (2nd century CE) in *b. Sanhedrin* 90b (1988: 608-11).

[1097] See Crown, "Scribes", *CSS*, 213-14. Had the scribe(s) of the Caesarean exemplar produced one unfit for synagogual use, they would have naturally tried to sell it.

Baba would not have known the Fourth Plague was one of Ravens—not Flies?[1098] Thus, it would seem that Samaritans and those contributing to the μονον-collation did not converse, certainly nothing on the level of Origen's interactions with the Caesarean Rabbis.[1099]

One could probably argue that in the wake of Baba's reforms, the Samaritan community had been galvanized. It might also be hypothesized that the Samaritan and Jewish communities had strictures in place to try to thwart Christian proselytization, *e.g.*, the Rabbinic cancellation of the recitation of the Decalogue.[1100] Additionally, had the Caesarean Christian community—over which Eusebius presided as bishop for 25 years and was an active member for longer still—included Samaritan or Jewish converts, the μονον-project leader would have naturally involved these persons if possible. But the μονον-collation betrays no such influence, this despite the apparently significant[1101] and possibly affluent[1102] Samaritan population dwelling within Eusebius' ecclesiastical constituency.

4.4 – Summary

In summation, the MS evidence for the SP in Greek attests two distinct groups of readings: a σαμ΄-type (i.e., the Samareitikon) and μονον-type. Only the latter, the subject of the present study, is hexaplarically derived and predates, considerably, any known

---

[1098] Cp. *Tībåt Mårqe* I.8, providing ערב in parallel with ערבה following ST (ed. MacDonald, 1963: 1.18 [text] and 2.26 [translation]; ironically, MacDonald mistranslated "flies"). Again, see the excerpted sources in Bóid, 1988: 604-05, emphasizing the precise reading of SP. He believes the scribal systems intended to fix the correct pronunciation of the Hebrew "was also practiced in the time of Baba Rabba" (1988: 606).

[1099] On the general lack of evidence for pre-Byzantine Christian-Samaritan interaction, specifically in Caesarea, see Pummer, 2000: 191 (re: Origen's *Hom. in Num.* 25.1); also 2002: 5-6. Even the writings of **Justin Martyr** (ca. 100-ca. 165 CE), who hailed from Nablus (i.e., near Gerizim), lack irrefutable evidence of direct interaction (2002: 5-6), though Pummer proposes he may have observed Samaritan ceremonies (2002: 26-27).

[1100] On which see Oppenheimer, 2011.

[1101] See Levine, 1976: 107 and 227, n. 3 (re: *Y. Dem.* 2.1, 22c); also Pummer, 2000: 183; 2002: 41 (with literature). On the paucity of archaeological evidence for Samaritan institutions, see Dar (2011).

[1102] See Levine, 1976: 108, with n. 29 (re: *Y. Abod. Zar.* 1.2, 39c). On which, compare Pummer, 2000: 183-83, 2002: 41, and di Segni, 2006: 243-44.

attestation of the former. The joint testimony of the SH Exod and Num colophons, together with the s-group Num 13.1א-ד *scholion* and SH Deut 1.6-8 cross-reference note, confirm that this μονον-collation was a Caesarea-based project, likely headed by Eusebius himself, which attempted to expand the *quantitative* scope of scriptural traditions provided by the Caesarean εκδοσις. Origen's potential role in both groups has been examined and rejected—no evidence can demonstrate he had anything whatsoever to do with SP, the ×ο٨ *scholion* excepted. In accordance with the present reconstruction, sometime during Pamphilus' tenure at Caesarea, the Library acquired a SP. This exemplar, itself textually closer to SP itself than the so-called 'pre-Samaritan' text-type, was used by Eusebius for his *Chronicon* and the μονον-endeavour. The latter process, executed *after* Pamphilus' martyrdom, was undertaken by Christian scribes working from a real, canonical Hebrew SP, which while attesting some small textual variation, was likely a product of Baba Rabba's reforms. With only minimal Hebrew skill, the Caesarean critic(s) used the *Hexapla Maior* to decipher the foreign text and align it, quantitatively, against G. Then, the 'expansions' found "only in SP" in Exod, Num, and Deut were 'translated', cribbed exclusively from the corresponding G parallel. (The translator(s) apparently resorted to Theodotion only when absolutely necessary.) Further, several collation notes were fashioned, including a number of ancient cross-references flagging up many (though not all) of the Samaritan "exclusivities" which were Deuteronomically derived. No evidence for consultation with the Samaritans themselves or knowledge of their reading tradition was found. The labour involved in this process suggests very strongly that the Greek Samaritan translation, or Samareitikon, was unavailable to Christian scholars, some of whom were actively looking for such texts. Later in the hexaplaric *Textgeschichte*, the translators of SH selected MSS marginally transmitting these readings. Further still, Athos-based scribe(s) included these readings in their critically fashioned MSS also keeping them

in the margins. Eventually, certain Greek scribes took some of these readings and integrated them directly into their running texts. Around the year 705 CE, Jacob of Edessa did the same, taking the μονον-passages from SH and integrated them into his own εκδοσις.

APPENDIX

In accordance with the permission granted for this thesis, passages from primary sources are included here, with translations, under the respective section numbering in which they are treated in the thesis (→ **§1.4.2**). Extant hexaplaric colophons are provided just before the ADDENDUM. Please note the following:

- All translations of the passages are based upon the Syriac, where available.
- Notes concerning codicological and retroversional matters are provided in full, to be consulted as desired. Metobeluses are provided when the MSS supply them.
- Field's (or Ceriani's) retroversions are supplied for those in Exod. Corrections to these are suppled in [brackets] with a footnote explaining the change.
- Occurrences of ܡܪܝܐ / ΠΙΠΠ are signalled with יהוה in the English translation.
- Variants from DSS and related MSS without translational value (*e.g.*, אליכם for אליכמה etc.) are omitted; those from Syriac and Greek MSS are provided in full.

§2.2.2

Retroversion: [1] The book of Exod according to the translation of the Seventy ends.

[2] Now the exemplar {= E[1]} from which [this Exodus] was translated into the Syriac language had this subscription in it:

> **[3]** [1]μετεληφθη εκ (or: απο) των κατα τας εκδοσεις εξαπλων **[3a]** και αντεβληθη εξ ου και αι εκδοσεις παρετεθη[σαν].[1] **[4]** αντεβληθη δε παλιν (or: ετι?) ουτος εξοδος προς τον εξοδου αντιγραφον {= E[2]} ακριβες ʿυποσημειωσινʾ εχον ταυτηνʾ.[2]
>
> > **[5]** « εγραφη η εκδοσις κατα τους εβδομηκοντα [oʹ ?] εκ των εξαπλων [του εξαπλου or τα εξαπλα?] {= E[3]} που η εβραικη [λεξις / αναγνωσις / εκδοσις?][3] αντιβεβλητο? [αντιβεβλημενη?] κατα την των Σαμαρειτων εβραικην [» ?] **[6]** και διωρθωτο [δεδιορθωμενον?] χειρι Ευσεβιου του Παμφιλου **[6a]** καθως (η?)[4] υποσημειωσις εσεσημαντο [εδεδηλωτο?][5] **[6b]** ʿεξ ου και ταʾ[6] ʿεκ τηςʾ[7] των Σαμαρειτων[8] [εκδοσεως] προε[/υ?]τεθη[σαν?][9] **[6c]** μονον προς ενδειξιν[10] οτι επονηθη [διεπονηθη? (επι?)πεπονηται? επιπονον?][11] το αντιγραφον. »

---

[1] So Mercati (with απο for εκ and ων for ου [1941: 36, n. 2]).

[2] Compare the Dan colophon (SH and MS 88) where the word order is slightly different.

[3] As stated above, the implied Greek terms [in angled brackets] are listed in order of preference.

[4] This would appear most probable (cp. Harklean Eph 5.24); perhaps εκεινη?

[5] Perhaps a perf. ptc. is possible? See discussion regarding διωρθωτο. For the Syriac, see PS 1:1557. For δηλοω see Josh 4.8, Isa 42.9, Dan 2.5, etc.; cp. Exod 18.20, Num 10.9, Josh 6.8, etc. where σημαινω is the base. The latter is preferred presuming υποσημειωσις.

[6] Mercati's τα (sc. ρηματα) is probably correct (cp. SH Gen 20.7, Exod 4.16; 24.10); ταυτα is also possible (see Deut 6.6; Perkins, 1980: 114). The same uncertainty is present in the attributions.

[7] Mercati omits but compare SH and GZech 6.10 (on της [or perhaps εκεινης?] see Perkins, 1980: 27).

[8] Mercati's reconstruction has been altered (1941: 38).

[9] Mercati gave the plural (1941: 38). For a singular verb with a neuter plural subject in Greek, see Smyth, §958 (also Wevers, *NGTN*, 515-16; but cp. Perkins, 1980: 182-83). Compare the singular verbs in the attribution note at **Num 10.10א-ג** (where SH^{V} corrects it) and the cross-reference at Deut 2.31 (vid).

[10] Field 2: 166, n. 21; PS 1:1211.

§2.3.1

The People's Complaint

Exod 6.9א (cf. Exod 14.12)	SH[12] (> G)
Field's Reconstructed Greek	f. 22a lower mg sub ※; f. 24a LH mg encircled[13]
[**9א**] ※ και ειπον προς Μωυσην παρες (S. εασον)[14] ημας, και δουλευσ[ω]μεν[15] τοις Αιγυπτιοις κρεισσον γαρ ημιν δουλευειν τοις Αιγυπτιοις η αποθανειν εν τη ερημω [(ταυ)τα φερομενα μονον εν η των σαμαρειτων μεμνηται γαρ τουτων ο λαος μετα [την?] εξοδην ην εξ αιγυπτου λεγων προς μωυσην «ου τουτο ην το ρημα[16], ο ελαλησαμεν προς σε εν Αιγυπτω λεγοντες παρες ημας» και οι λοιποι.][17]	[**9א**] ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܐܬܪ ܠܢ ܘܢܦܠܚ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܕܛܒ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܕܢܡܘܬ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܠ ܬܥܒܕ ܐܢ ܐܝ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܕܢܡܘܬ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܡܨܪ ܕܠܐ ܐܬ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܡܨܪ ܐܠ ܐܬ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܡܨܪ ܕܛܒ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܕܢܡܘܬ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܠ ܬܥܒܕ ܐܢ ܐܝ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܡܨܪ ܐܠ ܐܬ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܡܨܪ ܕܛܒ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܕܢܡܘܬ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ※
SP Exod 6.9א ≠ 4Q1 (DJD 12:26) MT ויאמרו אל משה חדל נא ממנו ונעבדה את מצרים כי טוב לנו עבד את מצרים ממותנו במדבר	

[9א] And they said to Moses: "Leave us alone and we shall serve the Egyptians! For it is better for us to serve the Egyptians than[a] to die in the wilderness."
[a] SP: + for us

Attribution: *This is only transmitted in the* [edition = εκδοσις] *of the Samaritans. Now the people recall this after the exodus from Egypt, saying to Moses*: "*Is this not the thing which we told you in Egypt, when we said* '*Leave us alone*' "*… etc.*

---

[11] See PS 2:2912-13. ܚܕܠ (*ethpe.*) apparently only occurs in translation Syriac in Titus Bostra's (fl. 4th century CE) *Contra Mani.*: [...] ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܕܚܠܨܬܗܘܢ ܕܫܠܦܬ ܒܚܝܪܬܐ [...] for εις δε γην αροσιμον τε και επιπονον αγαγουσα (3.18). However, the SH translator(s) translated επιπονον with ܥܒܕ (Sir 7.15). (For πονεω [*LSJ*, *s.v.*, B. II, 2], compare Gen 49.15, Prov 16.26, and Lam 4.6; ܒܥܕ is often used.

[12] SH[V] is damaged on bottom corner of fol. 24a. The MSS agree insofar as can be determined.

[13] SH[V] marked the text with two crosses, one of which resembles a stylized asterisk.

[14] Field acknowledged the possibility that the Greek could be παριημι or εαω; compare, SH Exod 14.12 *vs.* Gen 38.16, Exod 32.10, and Deut 9.14, respectively. His choice was rightly influenced by the passage in 14.12. The characteristic septuagintism of the μονον-type is determinative here.

[15] Field gave the future inflection. Strictly speaking, the SH does not provide definitive evidence in cases where the future ind. and aorist subj. are well represented in the MS tradition (Perkins, 1980: 269).

[16] Presumably, as with the G parallel. SH did not differentiate between ρημα/λογος (→ **Exod 20.21ד**).

[17] Both Field (1: 90, n. 10) and Ceriani (1863: 153) provided only Latin translations.

The Plague of Frogs

Exod 7.29(8.4)ד-א (cf. Exod 7.26-29[8.1-4])	SH (> G)
Field's Reconstructed Greek	f. 27a top mg sub ※[18]; f. 25b lower mg encircled sub ⁜ ind ✣
[**29א**] ※ και εισηλθε Μωυσης και Ααρων προς Φαραω, και [ελαλησαν][19] [προς αυτον][20] ταδε λεγει ΠΠΠ εξαποστειλον τον λαον μου, ινα λατρευσωσι μοι. [**29ב**] ει δε μη βουλει εξαποστειλαι, ιδου εγω τυπτω[21] ταντα τα ορια σου βατραχοις. [**29ג**] και εξερευξεται ο ποταμος βατραχους, και αναβαντες εισελευσονται εις τους οικους σου, και εις τα ταμιεια των κοιτωνων σου, και επι των κλινων σου, και εις τους οικους των θεραποντων σου, και του λαου σου, και εν τοις κλιβανοις σου, και εν τοις φυραμασι σου. [**29ד**] και επι σε, και επι τον λαον σου, και επι τους θεραποντας σου αναβησονται οι βατραχοι. ↙ [(ταυ)τα εν η των σαμαρειτων μονον φερομενα]	[**29א**] ܡܠ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܢ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܗܘ ܫܕܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܫܠܚ ܠܥܡܝ ܕܢܦܠܚܘܢ ܠܝ. [**29ב**] ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܒܐ ܐܢܬ ܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܗܐ ܡܚܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܬ ܟܠ ܬܚܘܡܝܟ ܒܨܦܪܕܥܐ. [**29ג**] ܘܢܫܪܘ ܢܗܪܐ ܙܚܠܐ ܘܢܦܩ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܢܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘ

The Plague of Flies/Ravens

Exod 8.19(23)א-ד (cf. Exod 8.16-19)	SH (> G)
Field's Reconstructed Greek	f. 29b lower mg sub ※[26] f. 26b RH mg effaced[27]
[**19א**] ※ και εισηλθε Μωυσης και Ααρων προς Φαραω, και ειπον αυτω ταδε λεγει ΠΙΠΙ εξαποστειλον τον λαον μου, ινα λατρευσωσι μοι. [**19ב**] εαν δε μη βουλη εξαποστειλαι τον λαον μου, ιδου εγω εξαποστελλω επι σε, και επι τους θεραποντας σου, και επι τον λαον σου, και επι τους οικους σου, την κυνομυιαν και πλησθησονται αι οικιαι των Αιγυπτιων της κυνομυιας, και εις την γην [or: εν τη γη?][28] εφ ης εισιν επ αυτης. [**19ג**] και παραδοξασω εν τη ημερα εκεινη την γην Γεσεμ, εφ ης ο λαος μου επεστιν επ αυτης, εφ ης ουκ εσται εκει η κυνομυια ινα ειδης οτι εγω ΠΙΠΙ εν μεσω της γης. [**19ד**] και δωσω διαστολην αναμεσον του λαου μου, και αναμεσον του λαου σου εν δε τη αυριον εσται το σημειον τουτο ↙ [και αι ([αυ]τα?) εν η των σαμαρειτων μονον κειμεναι[29]]	[**19א**] ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܥܠܡ ܐܫܠܚ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܐܫܠܚ ܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܥܠܡ

§2.3.2

The Appointment of the Elders

[**Exod 18.24א-ו** …]—**Exod 18.25-25ג-א** (cf. Deut 1.[9-15a…]15b-18)	SH (> SH^{V} G)
Field's Reconstructed Greek	f. 61b top mg sub ※ ind ϟ ad fin v 25
[**25**] και κατεστησεν αυτους ειναι αυτοις ηγουμενους, χιλιαρχους, και εκατονταρχους, και πεντηκονταρχους, και δεκαδαρχους, και γραμματοεισαγωγεις τοις κριταις αυτων. [**25א**] και ενετειλατο τοις κριταις, λεγων διακουετε[31] αναμεσον των αδελφων υμων, και κρινετε[32] δικαιως αναμεσον ανδρος και αναμεσον αδελφου αυτου, και αναμεσον προσηλυτου αυτου. [**25ב**] ουκ επιγνωση προσωπον εν κρισει, κατα τον μικρον και κατα τον μεγαν κρινειτε, ου μη υποστειλητε προσωπον ανδρος οτι η κρισις του θεου εστι. και το ρημα ο[33] εαν σκληρον η αφ υμων, ανοισετε αυτο [προς][34] με, και ακουσομαι αυτο. [**25ג**] και ενετειλατο αυτοις τους λογους ους ποιησουσιν ↙ [και (ταυ)τα εν τη εκδοσει σαμαρειτικη εβραικη μονον φερομενα]	[**25**] ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܫܪܝܢ ܕܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ ܘܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܚܡ̈ܫ̈ܝܢ ܘܥ̈ܫ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܘܫ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ܝܢ ܘܚ̈ܡ̈ܫ̈ܝܢ ܘܥ̈ܣ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܘܣ̈ܦ̈ܪ̈ܝܢ ܠܫ̈ܒ̈ܛ̈ܝܟ̈ܘܢ. [**25א**] ܘܦ̈ܩ̈ܕ ܠܗ̈ܘܢ ܕ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܡ̈ܐ̈ ̈ ̈

§2.3.3

Samaritan Tenth Commandment, Das Garizimgebot

Exod 20.17(13)א-ו (cf. Deut 11.29, 27.2-7, 11.30)[36]	SH (> SH^{V} G)
Field's Reconstructed Greek	fol. 66a top mg sub ※[37]
[**17א**] ※ και εσται εαν εισαγαγη σε ΠΙΠΙ ο Θεος σου εις την γην των Χαναναιων, εις ην συ εισελευση[38] εκει κληρονομησαι , και στησεις [συ ?][39] σεαυτω[40] λιθους μεγαλους, και κονιασεις αυτους κονια [**17ב**] και γραψεις επι των λιθων παντας τους λογους του νομου τουτου. [**17ג**] και εσται ως αν διαβητε τον Ιορδανην, στησετε τους λιθους τουτους, ους εγω εντελλομαι υμιν σημερον εν ορει Γαριζειμ. [**17ד**] και οικοδομησεις εκει θυσιαστηριον ΠΙΠΙ τω θεω σου, θυσιαστηριον εκ λιθων ουκ επιβαλεις επ' [αυτους][41] σιδηρον. [**17ה**] λιθους ολοκληρους οικοδομησεις, θυσιαστηριον ΠΙΠΙ τω θεω σου, και ανοισεις επ αυτο ολοκαυτωματα ΠΙΠΙ τω θεω σου. [**17ו**] και θυσεις θυσιαν ειρηνικην[42] και φαγη εκει, και ευφρανθηση εναντι ΠΙΠΙ του Θεου σου. το ορος εκεινο περαν του Ιορδανου οπισω οδου δυσμων ηλιου εν γη Χανααν το κατοικουν επι δυσμων[43] εχομενον[44] του Γολγολ, [παρα or προς?][45] την δρυν την υψηλην, εχομενον του Συχεμ ↙ [και (ταυ)τα εν τη εκδοσει σαμαρειτικη εβραικη μονον φερομενα]	[**17א**] ܐܬܪ ܕܢ ܐܠܗ ܒܝ ܐܬ ܐܪܥ ܟܢ ܕܐܢ ܐܬ ܐܪܥ ܟܢ ܕܐܢ ܐܬ ܐܪܥ ܟܢ ܕܐܢ

SP Exod 20.17(13)א-ו ≠ ⟨4Q22⟩ ! (DJD 9:102)[46] 4Q158 ?[47] MT
[א17] {Dt 11.29a} והיה כי יביאך יהוה אלהיך אל ארץ הכנעני אשר אתה בא שמה לרשתה {Dt 27.2bוהקמת לך אבנים גדלות ושדת אתם בשיד [ב17] {27.3a} וכתבת על האבנים את כל דברי התורה הזאת [ג17] {27.4} והיה בעברכם את הירדן תקימו את האבנים האלה אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם היום בהר גרזים [ד17] {27.5} ובנית שם מזבח ליהוה אלהיך מזבח אבנים לא תניף עליהם ברזל [ה17] {27.6} אבנים שלמות תבנה את מזבח יהוה אלהיך והעלית עליו עלות ליהוה אלהיך [ו17] {27.7} וזבחת שלמים ואכלת שם ושמחת לפני יהוה אלהיך {Dt 11.30} ההר ההוא בעבר הירדן אחרי דרך מבוא השמש בארץ הכנעני הישב בערבה מול הגלגל אצל אלון מורא {SP Dt 11.30} מול שכם

[17א] And it will be when יהוה[a] your God brings you to the land of the Canaanites[b], to that which you are entering there to inherit[c], then you shall erect for yourself great stones, and you shall plaster them with plaster. **[17ב]** And you shall write upon the stones all the words of this law. **[17ג]** And it shall be when you cross the Jordan, you shall erect the stones, those (about) which I am commanding you this day, in Mt. Gerizim. **[17ד]** And you shall build there an altar to יהוה[a] your God, an altar from[d] stones. You shall not raise upon them (any) iron (tool). **[17ה]** (With) whole stones you shall build the altar to[d] יהוה[a] your God. And you will offer up upon it whole burnt offerings to יהוה[a] your God. **[17ו]** And you shall sacrifice [e]a peace offering[e]. And your will eat there and be joyous before יהוה[a] your God. This mountain (is) in the crossing of the Jordan; beyond the way of the setting of the sun, in the land of Canaan[f], that dwelling [g]upon[h] the west[g], near Galgal, beside[i] the [j]High Oak[j], near[k] Shechem.

[a] SH Deut: ܡܪܝܐ Lord [b] SP: sg [c] SP and SH Deut: + it [d] SP: of [e] SP: pl [f] SP: the Canaanite [g] SP: in the Arabah [h] SH Deut: ܠܥܠ towards [i] SH Deut: ܩܪܝܒ ܡܢ near [j] SP: Oak of Moreh [k] SH Deut: ܩܪܝܒ ܠ close to

Attribution: *And this is only transmitted in the Samaritan Hebrew edition*.

A Prophet Like Moses

Exod 20.21ט-א (17ט-א) (cf. Deut 5.28-29; 18.18-22; 5.30-31)	SH (> SH^{V} G)
Field's Reconstructed Greek	fol. 66b top mg sub ※
[**21א**] ※ και ελαλησε ΠΙΠΙ προς Μωυσην, λεγων ηκουσα την φωνην των λογων του λαου τουτου, οσα ελαλησαν προς σε ορθως παντα οσα ελαλησαν. [**21ב**] τις δωσει ειναι[48] ουτως την καρδιαν αυτων ταυτην εν αυτοις, ωστε φοβεισθαι με, και φυλασσειν πασας τας εντολας μου πασας τας ημερας, ινα ευ η αυτοις και τοις υιους αυτων δι αιωνος; [**21ג**] προφητην αναστησω αυτοις εκ μεσου των αδελφων αυτων, ωσπερ σε και δωσω το ρημα μου εν τω στοματι αυτου,	[**21א**] ܡܚܠܠ ܕܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܚܙ ܩܠ ܡܠܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܠܟ ܫܦܝܪ ܟܠ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܠ ܠܟ. [**21ב**] ܡܢ ܢܬܠ ܘܗܘ ܠܒܗ ܕܢܗ ܕܝܪܐ ܘܢܛܪ ܟܠ ܦܩܕܝ ܕܐܦܩܕ ܠܟ ܘܠܒܢܝ ܒܢܝ ܠܥܠܡ. [**21ג**] ܢܩܝܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܐܚܝܗܘܢ ܢܒܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܘܐܬܠ ܡܠܝ ܒܦܘܡܗ ܘܢܡܠܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܠ ܕܐܦܩܕ ܠܗ.

[46] See discussion below at **Exod 20.21א-ט**.

[47] The MS apparently skips from 20.17 to **20.21ח-ט**. See DJD 5 (plate 1) for the text of fragment 7. See Zahn's discussion (2011: 32-34).

[48] For the SH's use of the imperfect to render an infinitive, see Perkins, 1980: 292-303.

και λαλησει αυτοις καθοτι αν εντειλωμαι αυτω. [**21ד**] και ο ανθρωπος ος αν μη ακουση [των λογων μου][49], οσα εαν λαληση εκεινος[50] ο προφητης επι τω ονοματι μου, εγω εκδικησω εξ αυτου. [**21ה**] πλην ο προφητης, ος αν ασεβηση λαλησαι ρημα επι τω ονοματι μου ο ου προσεταξα αυτω λαλησαι, και ος εαν λαληση επ ονοματι θεων ετερων, αποθανειται ο προφητης εκεινος. [**21ו**] εαν δε ειπης εν τη καρδια σου πως γνωσομεθα το ρημα ο ουκ ελαλησε ΠΙΠΙ; [**21ז**] οσα εαν λαληση ο προφητης επι τω ονοματι ΠΙΠΙ, και μη γενηται το ρημα, και μη συμβη, τουτο το ρημα ο ουκ ελαλησε ΠΙΠΙ, εν ασεβεια ελαλησεν αυτο ο προφητης ουκ αφεξεσθε αυτου. [**21ח**] βαδισον, ειπον αυτοις αποστραφητε υμεις εις τους οικους υμων. [**21ט**] συ δε αυτου στηθι μετ εμου, και λαλησω προς σε πασας τας εντολας και τα δικαιωματα και τα κριματα, οσα διδαξεις αυτους, και ποιειτωσαν εν τη γη, ην εγω διδωμι αυτοις εν κληρω ↙ [και ταυτα εν τη εκδοσει σαμαρειτικη εβραικη μονον φερομενα]	ܗܘ ܕܢܫܡܥ ܠܐ ܢܫܡܥ ܘܗܘ ܢܒܝܐ ܕܢܪܬܚ ܒܟܒܪ ܠܡܐ ܕܦܩܕܬܝܗ ܠܡܡܪ ܒܫܡܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܒܥ ܡܢܗ. [**21ד**] ܗܘ ܢܒܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܚ ܒܟܒܪ ܒܫܡ ܐܚܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܢܒܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܡܘܬ ܗܘ ܢܒܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܚ ܒܟܒܪ ܒܫܡ ܐܚܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܢܒܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܡܘܬ. [**21ה**] ܘܐܦ ܐܢ ܬܐܡܪ ܒܠܒܟ ܠܡܐ ܐܠܠ ܝܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܠܠ ܝܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܐ. [**21ו**] ܐܝ ܐܢ ܬܐܡܪ ܒܠܒܟ ܠܡܐ ܐܠܠ ܝܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܠܠ ܝܗܘܐ. [**21ז**] ܐܝ ܕܡܠܠ ܢܒܝܐ ܒܫܡ ܝܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܠܠ ܝܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܐ. [**21ח**] ܐܝ ܕܡܠܠ ܢܒܝܐ ܒܫܡ ܝܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܠܠ ܝܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܐ. [**21ט**] ܐܢܬ ܐܦ ܬܘܒ ܩܡ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܦܩܕܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܘܬܠܝܡ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܘܬܘܪܥܐ ܘܡܫܦܛܐ ܕܬܠܦ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܝܗܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܚܣܢ ܒܗ.

SP Exod 20.21א-ט ⟨4Q22⟩ (DJD 9:102-103) 4Q158 4Q175 (DJD 5:57-60) ≠ MT[51]

[א21] {Dt 5.28b} וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר שמעתי את קול דברי העם הזה אשר דברו אליך היטיבו כל אשר דברו [ב21] {5.29} מי יתן והיה לבבם זה להם ליראה אתי ולשמר את מצותי כל הימים למען ייטב להם ולבניהם לעולם [ג21] {Dt 18.18} נביא אקים להם מקרב אחיהם כמוך ונתתי דברי בפיו ודבר אליהם את כל אשר אצונו [ד21] {18.19} והיה האיש אשר לא ישמע אל דבריו אשר ידבר בשמי אנכי אדרש מעמו [ה21] {18.20} אך הנביא אשר יזיד לדבר דבר בשמי את אשר לא צויתיו לדבר ואשר ידבר בשם אלהים אחרים ומת הנביא ההוא [ו21] {18.21} וכי תאמר בלבבך איך נודע את הדבר אשר לא דברו יהוה [ז21] {18.22} אשר ידבר הנביא בשם יהוה לא יהיה הדבר ולא יבוא הוא הדבר אשר לא דברו יהוה בזידון דברו הנביא לא תגור ממנו [ח21] {Dt 5.30} לך אמר להם שובו לכם לאהליכם [ט21] {5.31} ואתה פה עמד עמדי ואדברה אליך את כל המצוה החקים והמשפטים אשר תלמדם ועשו בארץ אשר אנכי נתן להם לרשתה

4Q158 הלבב הזה [(ב21) לבבם זה	4Q175 ויהיה [(ב21) והיה	4Q175 שמעת [(א21) שמעתי
4Q158[52] [ועתה לוא ישמעו עוד(?)] את קול דברי אמו[ר] להמה pr [ג21]	4Q175 בפיהו וידבר [בפיו ודבר	4Q175 כול pr [(ב21)] מצותי
4Q175 {ע}אל [(ד21) אל	4Q175 בשמי pr [(ד21) הנבי	4Q175 כול [(ג21) כל
4Q158 או אשר [(ה21) ואשר	4Q175 בשמי pr [(ד21) הנבי	4Q175 דברי [(ד21) דבריו

[49] The accusative (τους λογους) is perhaps also possible (*BDF* §173.2 and *BDAG* ακουω ® α). Field's τον λογον αυτου is incorrect (1: 116; cp. Ceriani, 1863: 262). See JExod 20.21ד: [...] ܗܘ ܕܢܫܡܥ ܠܐ ܢܫܡܥ ܘܗܘ ܢܒܝܐ (fol. 150ר). The Greek in Deut 18.19 is presently retained being without lexical variant. See comment at **20.21ד**.

[50] So Field (1: 116) based on Ceriani's translation (*ille propheta* [1863: 262]). See discussion at **20.21ד**.

[51] 11Q19 (col. 61) is not collated as there is no evidence of a direct connection with the Decalogue as 4Q175.

[52] For the reconstruction and accompanying literature, see Zahn, 2011: 31-32. She discusses (32, n. 18) Strugnell's two hypothetical reconstructions: 1) [ועתה למען ישמעו]; and 2) [ועתה כאשר שמעתה]. Though her own reconstruction differs, she is more convinced of the latter (cf. Strugnell, 1970: 172). Zahn (mistakenly?) omits the initial *waw* of Strugnell's first reconstruction.

[21א] And יהוה spoke to Moses, saying: "I[a] have heard the sound of the words of this people, which they spoke to you; [b]they spoke correctly (in) everything[b]. **[21ב]** Whoever might grant that[c] their[d] heart be thus[e], this within[f] them, so to fear me and to keep [e]all of[e] [= 4Q175] my commands always, in order that it might be well for them and their children forever! **[21ג]** [g]A prophet I will raise up for them from amongst their brothers like you. And I will give my word[h] in his mouth; and he shall speak to them [i]just as[i] I command him. **[21ד]** And[j] the man who should not heed my[k] words, which [e]that prophet[e] [= 4Q175] might speak by my name, I will requite from him. **[21ה]** However, the prophet who should act impiously speaking something by my name, something which I did not command him to speak, and[l] if he should speak by the name of other gods[m]—[m]that prophet shall die. **[21ו]** Now if you should say in your heart: 'How shall [n]we know[n] the thing which יהוה has not spoken[o]?' **[21ז]** Whatever a prophet might speak by the name of יהוה and[e] the matter not happen nor come about: this is the thing which יהוה did not speak[o]. With impiety the prophet spoke it. You shall not [p]withhold yourselves[p] from him. **[21ח]** Go say to them: '(Re)turn you[q] to your houses[r].' **[21ט]** Yet you stand here with me. And I will tell you all the commands[s] and[e] the regulations and the judgments which you shall teach them and they might do (them) in the land which I am giving to them [t]by lot[t].

[a] 4Q175: You [b] SP: they did well (by) all which they spoke [c] SP: and [d] > 4Q158 [e] > SP [f] SP: to [g] 4Q158: pr ⟨And now they shall not still hear⟩ the sound of my word. Say to them [h] SP: ? see discussion; ST[J]: words [i] 4Q175 and SP: all which [j] SP: + it shall be [k] so 4Q175; SP: his [l] 4Q158: or [m] SP: then [n] SP, Sam. vocal., and ST: it be recognized [o] SP: + it [p] SP: you(sg.) shall not fear [q] SP: yourselves [r] SP: tents [s] SP: sg [t] SP: to inherit it

Attribution: *And this is only transmitted in the Samaritan Hebrew edition* [εκδοσις].

§2.4.1

The Incense Altar Transposition Notation

Transposition Notation Exod 26.35א-י (Exod 30.1-2…[53])	SH (> SH^{V} G)
Ceriani's Retroversion {Field's variations}	fol. 84b lower mg
({Exemplar}ia) *Hebraea* {-aeum} *Samaritanorum.*[54] *Post ista* {haec} *est in eo* (exemplari {>}) *exinde a*: [**35א**] και ποιησεις θυσιαστηριον θυμιατηριον[55] θυμιαματος εκ ξυλον ασηπτων. και ποιησεις αυτο [**35ב**] πηχεως το μηκος, και πηχεως το ευρος τετραγωνον [αυτου?]. *Quae etiam hic* {"[nempe in textu LXXvirali]"}[56] *post ista reperies, post* [**29.46**] και γνωσονται, οτι εγω ειμι κυριος ο θεος αυτων, ο εξεγαγων αυτους εκ γης αιγυπτου, [οτι επικληθησομαι επ αυτους], και [εσομαι θεος αυτων][57].	ܚܕܐ ܕܡܫܟܢ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܗܘ

SP Exod 26.35א-ב ⟨4Q22⟩ (DJD 9:9:113 see col. 30.2-13) ≠ MT
[**35א**] {Ex 30.1} ועשית מזבח מקטיר קטרת עצי שטים תעשה אתו [**35ב**] {30.2a} אמה ארכו ואמה רחבו רבוע יהיה ...

'The Samaritan Hebrew Transposes' Note (w/ partial reading): *After this* [sc. the indexed part of the Seventy] (*in*) *the Hebrew* (*copies*) [sic, rd. 'copy' w/ חס] *of the Samaritans, from this* (*part*): "[**35א**] And you shall make an altar, [a]a censer for[a] incense, from[b] [c]wood not liable to decay. And[b] you shall make it[c] [**35ב**]: a cubit long[d] and a cubit wide[e]: [f]four of its corners[f] […]" *you will find here, as well as that* [i.e., the rest] *which follows after this* (*verse*)*:* "[**Exod 29.46**] And they shall know that I am the Lord their God; he who brought them from the land of Egypt. That I may be called upon them and I will be their God".
[a] SP: (one) burning [b] > SP [c] SP: ; (with) acacia wood you shall make it. [d] SP: its length [e] SP: its width [f] SP: square it shall be

§2.4.2

Notation at Exod 29.20

"SP Omits" Notation Exod 29.20 (cf. MT 29.21 // SP 29.28א ?)	SH[58] (> SH[V])
Ceriani's Reconstruction {Field omits}[59]	fol. 93b RH mg, encircled ornamentally
ωβελισμενα εν τω εβραικω, ως μεν[60] μη κειμενα εν τω των σαμαρειτων εβραικω	ܗܟ ܕܒܥܪܝܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܣܡܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܫܡܪܘܢܝܐ ❖
fol. 93b, corresponding running text ܘܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܟܦܪܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܒܟܠ ܫܢܝ ܡܕ ܬܥܒܕ ܟܦܪܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܒܟܠ ܫܢܝ ܡܕ ܬܥܒܕ ܠ	

'SP Omits' Note: *This has obeli set upon it in the Hebrew, since it is not extant in the Hebrew of the Samaritans.*

Notation at Exod 8.6-7 (10-11)

"SP Omits" Notation SH Exod 8.6-7 (10-11)	SH
Ceriani's Reconstruction {Field's variations}	fol. 28a LH mg ind ※; fol. 26a LH mg ind ✠
A cruce usque ad crucem in Hebraeis (exemplaribus?) *obeli superponuntur eis, quia desunt in eo* (textu) {*in editione*} *Samaritanorum*	ܗܟ ܒ ܠܒܫܢ ܕܒܥܪܝܐ ܠܝ ܠܒܫܢ. ܕܒܫܡܪܘܢܝܐ ❖ ܗܠܟ ܕܒܚܝ ܐ ܕܒ, ܕܒܥܪܝܐ ❖ ❖ ❖

§2.5

'...and every man his neighbour…'

Exod 3.22+ (cf. Exod 11.2; → **§3.3.1**)	58^{O}
in-text and unattributed	
[**22**] αλλα αιτησει [**22+**] ανηρ παρα του πλησιον αυτου και [**22**] γυνη παρα γειτονος και συσκηνου αυτης σκευη αργυρα και χρυσα και ιματισμον, και επιθησετε επι τους υιους υμων και επι τας θυγατερας, και σκυλευσετε τους Αιγυπτιους.	
SP Exod 3.22+ ≠ MT	
[22] ושאל [+22] איש מאת רעהו [22] אשה [+22] מאת רעותה [22] משכינתה ומגירת ביתה כלי כסף וכלי זהב ושמלות ושמתם על בניכם ועל בנתיכם ונצלתם את מצרים [+22]	

[**22**] but (each) shall ask, [**22+**] a man from his neighbour and[a] [**22**] a woman[b] from her cohabitant and tent-mate, for vessels of silver and gold and clothing, and you will put (them) upon your sons and daughters and you will plunder the Egyptians
[a] > SP [b] SP: + from her neighbour

…in its Mother's Milk…

Exod 23.19א (?; cf. Deut 14.20[21]; ~ Exod 34.26)	58-767^{O} (> SH)
in-text and unattributed	
[**19**] τας απαρχας των πρωτογενηματων της γης σου εισοισεις εις τον οικον κυριου του θεου σου (> 767). ▫ουχ (ουκ 767) εψησεις αρνα εν γαλακτι μητρος αυτου.` (▫ 58: -ου ∩ -ου) [**19א**] οτι ο ποιων τοιαυτην (-τας 767) θυσιαν (-ας 767) μισος και παραβασις εστιν τω θεω ιακωβ.	
SP Exod 23.19א 4QMMT?[62] ≠ MT	
[19] ראשית בכורי אדמתך תביא בית יהוה אלהיך לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמו [א19] כי עשה זאת כזבח שכח ועברה היא לאלהי יעקב	

[19] The first offerings of the first fruits of your land you will bring to the house of the Lord your God. [a]You shall not boil a kid in the milk of its mother[a]; [**19א**] for the one doing [b]such a sacrifice[b] (is) [c]a hated (thing)[c] and is a transgression[d] to the God of Jacob.
[a] > 58 [b] 767: pl; SP (and vocal.): this (is) as one sacrificing [c] SP and ST[J]: a forgetting; ST[AN]: a delaying (see discussion and at **Deut 14.20[21]א**) [d] SP (and vocal.) and ST: enragement (see discussion)

Deut 14.20(21)א (?; cf. **Exod 23.19א**)	*Version 1*: $F^{a\ mg}$ M^{mg} n 71′-527^{y} 55^{mx} *Version 2*: SH JDeut^{mg} C′′ $s^{-30′}$ 28^{mx} 319^{mx} 407^{mx}
in-text (F^{a} M JDeut marginal) and unattributed	
[**20א** (**F^{a} M^{mg}** et al)] ος γαρ ποιει τουτο ωσει θυσει ασφαλακα μηνιμα εστι(ν) τω θεω ιακωβ ος: ως 458^{n} ποιει: ποιη 54^{*n}; ποιησει 71′-527; inc F^{a} ωσει: ωσε 458 θυσει: θυσι W^{I}-75′; θυει 127^{n} 55^{mx} ασφαλακα: ασπ. 54-75′ μηνιμα: μινημα 75^{n} εστι(ν): επι 458; inc F^{a}; tr post ιακωβ 71′-527	
[**20א** (**SH**[63] et al)] ος γαρ ποιει τουτο ωσει ασπαλακα θυσει οτι μιασμα εστι(ν) τω θεω ιακωβ γαρ: + αν 407^{mx} ποιει: ποιη 407^{c} ωσει: ως 407 ασπαλακα: ασπλλακα 528^{cI}; tr post θυσει SH JDeut θυσει: θυει 761^{cI} 407 οτι: > SH JDeut μιασμα: μιαμμα 407; μηνιμα 85^{mg}-321′^{mg} εστι(ν): + κ̄ω̄ 16^{C}	
Deut 14.20(21)א 1Q4 (DJD 1:55)[64] ≠ **SP** 4Q45 (DJD 9:141)[65] MT	

[62] Teeter believes the text referred to as the authority for the halakhic discussion reflects one with the addition : "[…] or at least some form of it" (2009: 62; see 38-40 [transcription and translation] and 63).

[63] Wevers listed SH as agreeing with F^{a} M et al, but this is improbable. 𐤀𐤁𐤋𐤏 does not mean 'anger' / 'wrath' as μηνιμα (see SH Sir 40.5[4] 𐤀𐤁𐤓 for μηνια[σ?]μα; Gen 49.7 and Num 35.21 both have 𐤀𐤁𐤓 for μηνις), but rather 'defilement' / 'abomination' much more akin to μιασμα (see SH Ezek 33.31 [but cp. Lev 7.18 𐤐𐤂𐤋 and Jer 39(32).34 𐤔𐤒𐤑]; see PS 1:1490-91).

[**20א** F[a] M[mg] et al] For whoever does this, is as one sacrificing a mole[a]; it[b] is *a cause of enragement* to the God of Jacob
[a] Exod SP and ST[J]: a forgetting; Exod ST[AN]: a delaying (so Teeter) [b] Exod SP: pr and

[**20א** SH JDeut[mg] et al] For whoever does[a] this, is as one sacrificing a mole[b]; for[c] it is *a defilement*[d] to the[e] God of Jacob
[a] 407: should do [b] Exod SP and ST[J]: a forgetting; Exod ST[AN]: a delaying (so Teeter) [c] > SH JDeut; Exod SP: and [d] 85[mg]-321′[mg]: a cause of enragement (see F[a] M[mg] et al = Exod SP, ST) [e] 16: + Lord

§2.5.2

'And you shall make garments…'

Exod 27.19א (T-F: "תוספת עצמאית"[66]; cf. Exod 39.13 [39.1]; 28.5 [w/ *recentiores*]; cp. 36.8-40 [39.1-31])	58^{O}; 707^{oII} f^{-56txt} 527^{y} = Ald
in-text (56 marginal) and unattributed	
[19א (58)] και ποιησεις στολην υακινθου και πορφυρας κοκκινου κεκλωσμενου και σκωλικος διαφορου του λειτουργειν εν αυτη εν τω αγιω [19א (707 f^{-56txt} 527 = Ald)] και ποιησεις ιματια υακινθινα και πορφυρα και κοκκινα του λειτουργειν εν αυτοις εν τοις αγιοις ιματια: > 246 υακινθινα: υιακ. 527 πορφυρα: -ραν Ald κοκκινα: κκοκινα 53 λειτουργειν: λιτ. 707* 129 εν αυτοις: εναυτοις 707	
SP Exod 27.19א 4Q22 (DJD 9:113-14)[67] 2Q3? ≠ 2Q3 (DJD 3:54)[68] MT	
[19] ועשית את כל כלי המשכן בכל עבדתו וכל יתדתיו וכל יתדת החצר נחשת [19א] ועשית בגדי תכלת וארגמן ותולעת שני לשרת בהם בקדש	

[19א (58)] And you shall make [a]*a vestment*[a] of hyacinth and purple, of *twisted*[b] [c]scarlet and[c] [b]*various worm*[b] in *which*[a] to minister in the *Holy place*.
[a] SP: pl [b] > SP (for *worm*, see discussion) [c] SP: and scarlet

[19א (707 et al)] And you shall make *garments*[a]—(of) hyacinth and purple *and* scarlet—to minister in *them* in the *sacred precincts*.[b]
[a] > 246 [b] SP: sg

---

[64] Barthélemy: "ב *peut corresponde à une glose comme en ont ici Ps-Jon et Lxx. Les autres témoins terminent ici le verset et la* parashah." McCarthy disagreed with the reconstructed ב suggesting that 1Q4 may have read, similar to the G MSS here and the SP at **Exod 23.19א**,]כמו אמ with *kaf* instead of *beth* since the photograph (plate IX, frag. 11) could be construed either way (*BHQ*). Teeter concurred (2009: 53, n. 40).

[65] Ulrich and Sanderson: "The spacing […] indicates that the MS agreed with 𝔐𝔖𝔊 and lacked the expansion יעקב ... כי עשה זאת reflected in 𝔊[mss]." Also: "4QpaleoDeut[r] appears to have agreed with 𝔐𝔊 in lacking the typological features of the Samaritan Deuteronomy. In minor variants the manuscript most often presents a unique reading, less often agrees with 𝔖, and least often agrees with 𝔐" (134).

[66] T-F: "Independent addition" (758).

[67] Sanderson overturned her earlier analysis that the fragment [ית]אעשׂ represented Exod 28.2 (1986: 210).

[68] Baillet: "*v. 18: l. 5 mal remplie par le TM. Texte plus long, ou plutôt un espace en blanc après le v. 18. Sam commence le v. 19 par* ועשית את כל כלי [which is longer than MT]." Earlier he stated: "*Le texte s'écarte du TM par quelques détails morphologiques et trouve parfois un appui dans les versions anciennes*" (53).

'And the Lord was very angry with Aaron…'

Exod 32.10א (cf. Deut 9.20)	58-767^{O} 318^{y}
in-text and unattributed	
[**10**] και νυν εασον με και θυμωθεις οργη εις αυτους εκτριψω αυτους, και ποιησω σε εις εθνος μεγα. [**10א**] και επι ααρων εθυμωθη (-θην 318) κς̄ (> 318) σφοδρα του εξολοθρευσαι αυτον και ηυξατο μωσης (μωυσης 767) περι (επι 767) ααρων 58-767 318	
SP Exod 32.10א 4Q22 ≠ MT	
[10] ועתה הניחה לי ויחר אפי בם ואכלם ואעשה אתך לגוי גדול [א10] ובאהרן התאנף יהוה מאד להשמידו ויתפלל משה בעד אהרן	

[10 (Lord speaking)] "And now let me be and being taken with rage against them I will wipe them out, and I will make you into a great nation." [**10א**] And [a]the Lord[a] was much enraged with Aaron, to destroy him; so Moses interceded for Aaron.

[a] 318: I (dialogue continuing: … to destroy him';)

§3.2

Retroversion: **[1]** The book of Num ends according to the translation of the Seventy. {Lns. **2-3** = N^1}

> **[2]** μετεληφθησαν [i.e., οι αριθμοι] δε εξ αντιγραφου {= E^2} εχοντος ταυτην επι τελους σημειωσιν {= N^2}, **[3]** εν η και ο γραψας αντιγραφον {= E^2} εμαρυρησεν αληθειαν
>
> > **[4]** μετεληφθησαν οι αριθμοι εκ των του αντιγραφου {= E^3} εξαπλων {= S^1} της εν Καισαρια βιβλιοθηκης του Ευσεβιου (του) Παμφιλου **[5a]** του {= E^3} και εχοντος [69]{= E^3} σημειωσιν {= N^3} δειξασαν οτι [ην? cp. SH Exod 1.5?][70] ο εβραιοις του[του?] βιβλιου αντιβεβληται προς τον των Σαμαρειτων εβραιον {= S^2} **[5b]** εξ ου {= E^3} και προσθηκαι παραγραψαμεναι (?)[71] εν τουτω βιβλιω {= E^3} (εν?) των εξαπλων **[6]** και εν τουτο ομοιως […]

[69] By analogy (?) from the colophons in SH Dan and MS 88.

[70] I am unclear what place ܟܬܒ ,ܡܬܒܪܟ has here.

[71] Or perhaps παρεπιγραψαμεναι, or παρατιτλα εν τουτω βιβλιω, or επι μετωπου του βιβλιου? Maybe παρασημειοομαι or an adjectival form is possible? Presumably παρακειμαι is too general to have resulted in the corresponding Syriac.

§3.3.1

'It is time to leave Horeb…'

Num 10.10א-ג (cf. Deut 1.6-8)	767[n] SH
MS 767 in-text and s nom	fol. 8a lower mg sub ⸗[72] ind ✸[73]; fol.118a LH mg sub ÷ ind ⁜
[**10א**] και ελαλησεν $\overline{\text{κς}}$ προς μωσην λεγων ικανουσθω υμιν κατοικειν εν τω ορει τουτο [**10ב**] επιστραφηται και απαραται υμεις και εισπορευεσθαι εις ορος αμορραιων και προς παντας τους περιοικους αυτου τους εν τη παιδιαδι εις ορος και παιδιον και προς λιβαν και παραλιαν θαλασσης γην χαναναιων και αντιλιβανον εως του μεγαλου ποταμου ευφρατου [**10ג**] εισσελθατε (-ται*) παραδεδωκα ενωπιον υμων την γην εισελθονται κλιρονομησαται την γην ην ωμοσα τοις πατρασιν υμων τω αβρααμ και ισαακ και ιακωβ δουναι τω σπερματι αυτου μετ αυτους	[**10א**] ܡܚܠ ܡܪܝ ܠܡܐ ܡܪ ܗܘ ܠܡܫ ܕܒ ܐܡܪ. ܣܓܐ ܠܟ ܐܬܝܬܒ ܒܗ ܠܟ ܗܘ ܠܡܪ ܐܡ ܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܠܟ ܐܬܝܬܒ ܒܗ ܠܟ ܗܘ ܠܡܪ ܐܡ ܡܪ ܐܝܟ [**10ב**] ܦܢ ܘܐܙܠ ܠܟ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܛܘܪ ܕܐܡܪܝ ܘܠܟܠ ܫܟܢܘܗܝ ܕܒ ܒܩܥܬܐ ܘܒ ܛܘܪ ܘܒ ܒܩܥܬܐ ܘܠ ܬܝܡܢ ܘܥܠ ܣܦ ܝܡܐ ܐܪܥ ܟܢܥܢܝ ܘܠܒܢܢ ܥܕ ܢܗܪ ܪܒ ܢܗܪ ܦܪܬ [**10ג**] ܐܬܐ ܗܐ ܝܗܒ ܐܢܐ ܩܕܡ ܟܘܢ ܐܬܐ ܘܝܪܬ ܐܬ ܐܪܥ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܐ ܠܐܒܗ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܝܨܚܩ ܘܠܝܥܩܒ ܠܡܬ ܠܗ ܘܠܙܪܥ ܐܚܪ ܡܢ ܗ ❖ ܡܢ ܗ ❖ ܐܬ ܐܪܥ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܐ ܠܐܒܗ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܝܨܚܩ ܘܠܝܥܩܒ ܠܡܬ ܠܗ ܘܠܙܪܥ ❖
❖ ܐܬ ܐܪܥ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܐ ܠܐܒܗ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܝܨܚܩ ܘܠܝܥܩܒ ܠܡܬ ܠܗ ܘܠܙܪܥ ❖	
[10א (10א)] ܡܪ > SH[V] ; [10ב (10ב)] ܗ ܠ ܗ SH[V] ; [10ג (10ג)] ܗ ܗ ܝ ܗ SH[V] ; [10ב (10ב)] ܐ ܡ ܪ > SH[V]	
SP Num 10.10א-ג ≠ MT[74]	
[א10] {Deut 1.6} וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר רב לכם שבת בהר הזה [ב10] {Deut 1.7} פנו וסעו לכם ובאו הר האמרי ואל כל שכיניו בערבה בהר ובשפילה ובנגב ובחוף הים ארץ הכנעני והלבנון עד הנהר הגדול נהר פרת [ג10] {Deut 1.8} ראו נתתי לפניכם את הארץ באו ורשו את הארץ אשר נשבעתי לאבתיכם לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב לתת לזרעם אחריהם	

[**10א**] And the Lord spoke to Moses[a] saying: "You have dwelt in this mountain long enough.

[**10ב**] Turn and you[b] depart and enter to the mountain of the Amorites[c]; and to all its neighbouring inhabitants, those in [d]the plain[d], in the mountain, and in[e] the plain and[f] to the south, and upon[e] the shore of the Sea, the land of the Canaanites[c] and the Antilebanon[g], until the Great River, [ae]the River[ae] Euphrates. [**10ג**] [h]Go in[h], I have delivered the land before you. [i]Enter in and inherit it[i], the land which I swore to your fathers, to Abraham, to[j] Isaac,[k]to Jacob, to give it[el] to their[m] seed after them.

[a] > SH[V] [b] SP: for yourselves [c] SP: sg [d] SP: the Arabah [e] > 767 [f] > SH[L] [g] SP: Lebanon [h] SP: See [i] 767: Entering in, inherit [j] 767: and [k] SP and 767: pr and [l] > SP [m] 767: his

Attribution (SH): *This has been placed*[75] (*here*) *from the exemplar of the Samaritans*; *now Moses mentioned* (or: *recalled*) *this in Deut since* (*it had already*) *been said by the Lord.*

---

[72] Field was careful to note the specific form of the lemniscus in his edition—including in his *Prolegomena* (2005: 143, the siglum is marred in Norton's translation [1: lxxxiii])—specifying the curved half-ringlet BM ADD 14,437 evinces (1: 236, n. 8). As such, Field's siglum is used for SH's sub siglum in this study.

[73] With slightly more elongated rays. The corresponding running text is no longer extant due to folio damage. Presumably the exact corresponding ind marker was in the margin adjacent to (or within) the proper verse. The sigla Burris describes are from SH[V], not SH[L] (2009: 249).

[74] 4Q23 cuts off from 9.20—10.13 (frags 55 and 56) and thus cannot be determined in this case. In fact, the whole of the scroll's remains resist comparison with the μονον-type readings, save the 'half tribe of Manasseh' readings in Num 32 which it does not have at 32.29, 31, and 33 (DJD 12:173).

[75] Possibly επικειμενα (see PS 2:2559-60) or παρετεθη/επιθηται (→ **§2.2**)?

The Israelite's Emissary to the Amorites

Num 21.(22+)**ב-א22** (cf. Deut 2:[27]28-29a)	15^{oI} SH (> SH^{V})
15^{oI} in-text and unattributed (post fin v 22)	fol. 34b low. mg sub ⳨ ind ☩ (post ܐܚܝ)
[**22א**] τροφην αργυριου μεταδωσεις μοι και φαγομαι και υδωρ αργυριου μεταδωσεις μοι και πιομαι και μονον τοις ποσιν μου παρελευσομαι [**22ב**] ον τροπον πεποιηκαν μοι οι υιοι ησαυ οι κατοικουντες εν γαβαλα και οι μωαβιται οι κατοικουντες εν τη ορινη	[**22א**] ܗܟܬ ܡܟܪ ܠܝ ܡܐܟܠ ܠܚܡ ܘܐܫܬܐ ܘܡ̈ ܡܝ ܫܩܝ ܠܝ ܡܟܪ ܠܝ ܘܐܫܬܐ ܒܣ̈ ܐܥܒܪ ܒܪ̈ܓܠܝ. [**22ב**] ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܠܝ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܥܣܘ ܘܝܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܒܥܠܡ ܘܐܕܡ̈ ❖ ܘܝܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܒܥܪ̈ܒܬܐ ❖
SP Num 21.(22+)**ב-א22** ⟨4Q27?⟩ (DJD 12:230)[76] ≠ MT	
[22] אעברה בארצך [+22] {Deut 2.27} בדרך המלך אלך לא אסור ימין ושמאל [22] לא אטה בשדה ובכרם [א22] {Deut 2.28} אכל בכסף תשבירני ואכלתי ומים בכסף תתן לי ושתיתי רק אעברה ברגלי [ב22] {Deut 2.29a} כאשר עשו לי בני עשו היושבים בשעיר והמואבים היושבים בער	

[**22א**] You shall sell[a] me [b]food stuffs[b] for silver, and I will eat; also for silver you shall sell[ac] me water, and I will drink. But[d] I will cross [sc. your land] on foot; [**22ב**] [e]just as[e] the sons of Esau, those dwelling in Seir[f], dealt with me, and the Moabites, those dwelling in Adoer[g].

[a] 15: share with [b] 15: provision (cp. SP) [c] SP: give [d] 15: but only [e] 15: in the same way [f] = SP; 15: Gabala (see discussion) [g] SH *sic* rd. Aroer; SP: Ar; 15: the hill country

Attribution (SH): *And this (is) only in* [that] *of the Samaritans*.

…and his [sc. Sihon's] *sons and all of his people…*

Num 21.24+ (cf. Num 21.35)	58^{O} SH (> SH^{L})
58^{O} in-text s nom (pr φονω μαχαιρας)	fol. 132b RH mg ind ☩ pr ܕ[ܚ]ܫܒ̈ܢ
και τους υιους αυτου και παντα τον λαον αυτου	[24א] ܘܝܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܒܥܠܡ ܘܒܠ ܘܟ̈ ܒܥܠ ܒܥܠ. ܘܐܕܡ̈ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܒܗ.
SP Num 21.24+ ≠ MT	
[24] ויכהו ישראל [+24] {Num 21.35} ואת בניו ואת כל עמו [24] לפי חרב ויירשו את ארצו מארנן עד יבק עד בני עמון כי עז גבול בני עמון	

Attribution (SH): [This is] *only in* [that] *of the Samaritans*.

… and the half tribe of Manasseh…

Num 32.1+ and **29+** (cf. v 33)	15^{oI}; see Procop. (PG 87/1.887) and C'^{cat} (both at v 33+)
15^{oI} in-text and unattributed (post Γαδ)	
[**1+**] και τω ημισει φυλης μανασση [**29+**] και το ημισυ φυλης μανασση	
SP Num 32.1+, **2+**, **6+**, **25+**, **29+**, **31+** (Num 32.33) 4Q27[77] ≠ MT 4Q23 (DJD 12:173)	
[1] ומקנה רב היה לבני ראובן ולבני גד [+1] {Num 32.33} ולחצי שבט המנשה [1] עצום מאד ויראו את ארץ יעזיר ואת ארץ גלעד והנה המקום מקום מקנה [+'half tribe of M.' in vv 2+, 6+, 25+, 29+, 31+]	

[**1+**] ... and to the half tribe of Manasseh … [**29+**] … and the half tribe of Manasseh …

---

[76] Jastram reconstructed **ב-א22**, though not **22+**, in DJD stating "[this interpolation occurs] too far removed from the preserved fragments for certain conclusions, but there is no reason to suppose [its] absence" (215).

[77] Jastram reconstructs with ולחצי שבט המנשה in vv 1, 6, and 29 (DJD 12: 253-57). Vv 2 and 31 are too fragmentary; v 25 is extant (col. 28, ln. 6 [255, 257]):

[25 ויואמרו ב]ני ראו֯בן ובני גד[וחצי שב]ט֯ המנשה[אל]מושה לאמור…

§3.3.2

'Let us send men before us to spy out the land…'

Num 13.1ד-א (12.16ד-א in T-F; cf. Deut 1.20-23)	85′^{s}-344^{s} SH (> 321′^{s} [78] SH^{V} [79])
85′^{s}-344^{s} marginal; 321′ attrib. only	fol. 14a lower mg sub ÷ [80] ind ⁜ [81]

και τουτων μνημονευει Μωυσης εν τοις πρωτοις του Δευτερονομιου α και αυτα εκ του των Σαμαρειτων Ἑβραικου μετεβαλομεν καταλληλως τη των ο′ ερμηνεια τη εν τω Δευτερονομιω φερομενη (γενομενη 130) 85′-321′-344[82]

[**א1**] (※ 344)[83] και ειπεν Μωυσης τοις υιοις ιηλ Ηλθετε (-θατε 344) εως ορους του Αμορραιου (αμωρ. 130*; αμωρρ. 130^{c}), οπερ κς ο θς ημων διδωσιν ημιν. [**ב1**] ειδετε (ειδε 130-344) οτι εδωκεν κς ο θς σου εμπροσθεν σου την γην· αναβας κληρονομησον, καθα ελαλησεν κς ο θς των πρωων σου σοι (συ codd) · μη φοβου μηδε οκνησης. [**ג1**] και προσηλθον προς (> 85) Μωυσην και ειπαν Αποστειλωμεν (-λομεν 344) ανδρας εμπροσθεν ημων, και κατασκοπησωμεν (-σωσιν ημιν 344) την γην, και υποστρεψουσιν ημιν λογον περι της οδου, δι᾽ ης ανελευσομεθα, και τας πολεις, εις ας εισελευσομεθα. [**ד1**] και ηρεσεν ο λογος εν οφθαλμοις Μωυση

[**א1**] ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܒܢܝ ܝܫܪܐܝܠ ܒܐܬܡ ܥܕ ܗܪ ܗܐܡܪܝ ܐܫܪ ܝܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܝܢܘ ܢܬܢ ܠܢ ⁜ ܐܬܝܬܡ ܥܠ ܗܪ ܗܐܡܪܝ ܐܫܪ ܝܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܝ ܐܒܘܬܝܟ ܠܟ ܐܠ ܬܝܪܐ ܘܐܠ ܬܚܬ: [**ב1**] ܪܐܗ ܢܬܢ ܝܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܝܟ ܠܦܢܝܟ ܐܪܥ ܗܥܠ ܘܪܫ ܐܫܪ ܕܒܪ ܝܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܝ ܐܒܘܬܝܟ ܠܟ ܥܠܘ ܪܫ ܐܬ ܗܐܪܥ ܐܫܪ ܝܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܝ ܐܒܘܬܝܟ ܠܟ ܐܠ ܬܝܪܐ ܘܐܠ ܬܦܚܬ. [**ג1**] ⁜ ܘܬܩܪܒܘܢ ܐܠܝ ⁜ ܘܬܐܡܪܘ ⁜ ܢܫܠܚܐ ⁜ ܐܢܫܝܡ ⁜ ܠܦܢܝܢܘ ⁜ ܘܝܚܦܪܘ ⁜ ܠܢܘ ⁜ ܐܬ ܗܐܪܥ ⁜ ܘܝܫܝܒܘ ⁜ ⁜ ⁜

send men before us. And they[j1] will [k]cross through[k] the land [j2]for us[j2], and they will make[l] [m]a (formal) report[m] to us concerning the way in which we will go up, as well as the cities, those[n] into which we will enter." [**1ד**] And [m]the matter[m] was agreeable before[o] Moses.

[a] SP and *s*: Amorite Mountain [b] SP and 130-344: sg; *s*: + that [c] SP and *s*: sg [d] SP: is giving; *s*: gave [e] *s*: just as [f] SP and *s*: the God of your (sg) fathers [g] SP and *s*: spoke [h] *s*: be hesitant (or: be cowardly; see discussion) [i] > 85 [j1] *s*-344: we [j2] > s-344 [k] SP and *s*: spy out [l] SP and *s*: return [m] SP and *s*: word [n] > *s* [o] SP and *s*: in the eyes of

Attribution (SH): *And this is <u>only transmitted</u> in the Hebrew of the Samaritans. Now Moses also mentioned this in Deut, <u>as already</u>* (ܗܕܐ ܒܟ ܐܡܪ = ηδη, see PS 1:959) *<u>previously having been said</u>.*

'…just as bees do…'

Num 14.45א (cf. Deut 1.44)	85′-321′-344[s] (s nom) 343 (in-text, s nom) SH
s marg. (in-text 343) post εκεινω	f. 19b RH mg ind ⁜ post ܗܘ ܡܝܟܠ f. 123b mg ind ✠
[**45א**] ο′ (+ ※ 85-321′) εις συναντησιν αυτων, και κατεδιωξαν (-ξεν 85-344) αυτους, ωσει ποιησαισαν αι μελισσαι 85′-321′-344	[**45א**] ܠܡܗܘ̈ܢ ܕܚܩܪ ܒܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܐ ܗܘ̈ܐ ܕܐ ܡܫܬ ܒܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܐ ܗܘ̈ܐ ܕܐ ܡܫܬ ⁘ ܗܘ̈ܐ ܕܐ ܡܫܬ ⁘ ܗܘ̈ܐ ܕܐ ܡܫܬ ⁘ ܗܘ̈ܐ ܕܐ ܡܫܬ ⁘ ⁘ ⁘

SP Num 21.11א 4Q27 (DJ 12:228-29 [as "12[a]"]) ≠ MT
[11א] {Deut 2.9} ויאמר יהוה אל משה אל תצור את מואב ואל תתגר בם כי לא אתן לך מארצו ירשה כי לבני לוט נתתי את ער ירשה
בם] ⟨+ מלחמה⟩ 4Q27 לך] > 4Q27

[**11א**] And יהוה[a] said to Moses: "You[b] shall not be enemies to [c]the Moabites[c], nor shall you[b] join against them[d]. For I will not give to you[be] from their[f] land by lot; for to the sons of Lot I gave [g]it, the mountain[g] by lot."

[a] *s*: the Lord [b] SP: sg [c] SP: Moab [d] 4Q27: ⟨+ in battle⟩ [e] > 4Q27 [f] SP: his [g] SP: Ar; it > *s*

Attribution (SH): *And this is only extant in the* [edition = εκδοσις] *of the Samaritans. Now Moses remembers it in Deut.*

Attribution (130-344): *And Moses remembers this in Deut, something which we found* (*here*) *in the* [exemplar = αντιγραφον] *of the Samaritans.*

'You shall not quarrel with the Ammonites…'

Num 21.12א-ג–13a[88] (cf. Deut 2.17-19)	85′[s]-344[s] (343[s] in-text at → **21.11א**, s nom) SH
85′[s]-344[s] marg.; 343[s] in-text	f. 33b lower mg sub ⊣ ind ⁜ f. 132a LH mg encircled ind ✠[89]
[**12א**] και ειπεν κυριος (κς 344[90] 343) προς Μωυσην λεγων [**12ב**] Συ παραπορευη σημερον τα ορια Μωαβ την Αροηρ, [**12ג**] και προσαξετε (-ται 344) εγγυς υμων Αμμαν (εμμε 130). μη εχθραινετε (-θρεν. 130) αυτοις (αυτον 130) και μη συναψητε προς αυτους· ου γαρ μη δω απο (εκ 130) της γης υιων Αμμαν ʿσοι εν κληρωʾ (ʿσυγκληρονʾ 343), οτι (το 130) τοις υιοις Λωτ δεδωκα αυτην εν κληρω (οτι—κληρω bis scr 344) [**13a**] και απηραν εκ της φαραγγος Ζαρεθ και παρενεβαλον (> κ. παρε. 343)	[**12א**] ⁜ [**12ב**] ⁜ [**12ג**] ⁜ ⁜ [**13a**] ⁜ ⁜ ⁜
και τουτων μεμνηται μωυσης (μωσ. 344) εν δευτερονομιω α (> 130) εν μονοις των σαμαρειτων ευρομεν 85′-344	SH[V] [ ] SH[V] (vid) SH[V] > SH[V] +
SP Num 21.12א-ג 4Q27 (DJ 12:228-29 [as 13[a]]) ≠ MT	
[12א] {Deut 2.17} וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר [12ב] {Deut 2.18} אתה עבר היום את גבול מואב את ער [12ג] {Deut 2.19} וקרבת מול בני עמון אל תצורם ואל תתגר בם כי לא אתן מארץ בני עמון לך ירשה כי לבני לוט נתתיה ירשה [13a] ויסעו מנחל זרד	

[**12א**] And the Lord said[a] to Moses, saying: [**12ב**] "You are crossing this day the boarders[b] of Moab (that is) the Adoer[c] [**12ג**] And you[b] will draw near [d]to the sons of[d] Ammon[e]. You[b] shall not be enemies to them[f]; you[b] nor shall you join against them. For I will not give from the land of the sons of Ammon [g]to you by lot[g]; [h]for[i] to the sons of Lot I have given it by lot."[h] [**13a**] And they departed from the torrent of Zareth[j]. [k](And they encamped …)[k]

[a] SP: spoke [b] SP: sg [c] SH *sic* rd. w/ SH[V] and *s*: Aroer; SP: Ar [d] *s*: you(pl) [e] 130: Emme [f] 130: him [g] 343: belonging to [h] written twice in 344 [i] 130: which [j] SP and SH[V]: Zared [k] > 343

[88] T-F: 21.12ב-א.

[89] Wevers App[II] (thus McClurg [2011: 86]) correctly places SH[V]'s ind marker at the end of v 11.

[90] 344's abbreviated form is unacknowledged in App[II].

Attribution (SH): *And this is only extant* (*here*) *in the* [edition = εκδοσις] *of the Samaritans* [SH^V: + only]. *Now Moses recalled this in Deut.* [a]*<u>This is only found in the</u>* [edition = εκδοσις] *<u>of the Samaritans</u>*.[a] [$^{a\text{-}a}$ > SH^V]

Attribution (s-group): *And Moses recalls this in Deut, which* [> 130] *<u>we found</u> only in the* [?] *of the Samaritans.*

'… for the Lord your God will fight them for you…'

Num 27.23ב-א (cf. Deut 3.21-22)[91]	85′-321′-343^{txt} (s nom)-344 SH (> SH^L [lac])
85′-321′-344 marginal; 343 in-text	fol. 140a LH mg sub ÷ ind ✠
[**23א**] και ειπεν προς αυτον Οι οφθαλμοι σου ιδοσαν (ειδ. 343′) οσα εποιησεν κς (> 85′-321′) τοις δυσι βασιλευσιν ουτως ποιησει κς πασαις ταις βασιλειαις εις ας συ παρελευση (-σει 343) εκει [**23ב**] ου φοβηθηση (-σηʳ 130) οτι (> 130) κς ο θς σου αυτος πολεμησει αυτους μεθ' υμων και ταυτα κειται εν τω δευτερονομιω s^{-343}	[**23א**] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܥܝܢܝܟ ܚܙܝܬ ܕܥܒܕ ܝܗܘܗ ܠܬܪܝܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܥܒܪ ܐܢܬ ܫܡ ܗܟܢ ܢܥܒܕ ܝܗܘܗ ܠܟܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܢܬ ܥܒܪ ܫܡ [**23ב**] ܠܐ ܬܕܚܠ. ܝܗܘܗ ܐܠܗܟܘܢ ܗܘ ܢܓܚ ܠܟܘܢ ❖
SP Num 27.23ב-א 4Q27 (DJD 12:243-45 [as "23[b]"]) ≠ MT	
[23א] ויאמר אליו עיניך הראות את אשר עשה יהוה לשני המלכים האלה כן יעשה יהוה לכל {Deut 3.21} הממלכות אשר אתה עבר שמה [23ב] לא תיראם כי יהוה אלהיכם הוא הנלחם לכם {Deut 3.22} ויאמר] + ה[מוש] 4Q27[92]	

[**23א**] And he[a] said to him: Your eyes saw that which the Lord[b] did to the[c] two kings. Thus, the Lord will do to all the kingdoms (to) which you are crossing there. [**23ב**] Do not fear[d], for[e] the Lord your[f] God, he will fight them[g] with[h] you[fi].

[a] 4Q27: Moses [b] > 85′-321′ [c] SP: these [d] SP: + them [e] > 130 [f] SP: pl [g] > SP [h] SP: for [i] *s*: pl

Attribution (SH): *And this is only transmitted* (*here*) *in the* [edition = εκδοσις] *of the Samaritans. Now Moses recalls it in Deut.*

Attribution (s-group): *And this is extant in Deut.* (See discussion → **§3.3.2** at **27.23ב-א**.)

ALL μονον-PASSAGES IN DEUTERONOMY

As argued in the present thesis, the following passages were originally included in the Caesarean, hexaplaric μονον-collation. Regrettably, the MS tradition has poorly preserved them. Fortunately, the joint testimony of JDeut and MS 767 aids in reconstituting the original collation. Only **Deut 11.30+** cannot be restored with confidence:

	(extant) SH	**JDeut**	**Greek MSS**	**Notes**
2.7ג-א	>	fol. 347ר sub ÷	767^{n}	Num 20.4, 17-18
5.21ח-א	SH^M subscr. (→ **§1.1**)	>	>	Deut 11.29; 27.2b-3a, 4a, 5-7; 11.30
10.6-6א-7-7א	SH^V (partial *scholion* only)	fol. 363ב	767^{n} *t d*	Num 33.31-38
11.30+ (?)	>	fol. 366ב	>	מול שכם
27.4	> SH^M lac.	fol. 398ב w/ scholion	Gie ^{Lat}cod 100 $C'^{,comm}$	Γαιβαλ] … ουκ εν ορει Γεβαλ εχει το σαμ' αλλ' εν τω Γαριζειν

[91] T-F divides the verses differently beginning v **23ב** after לא תיראם (cf. Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977: 508).

[92] See Jastram's discussion regarding the reconstructed *he* as opposed to *reš* in ln. 31 (245).

27.26	κοΛ *scholion* (SH^V; > SH^M lac.)	>	= G	"…all the words…"
34.1b-1א-2	SH^M	> (lac.)	15^{ol} (harm.)	Gen 15.18c; Deut 11.24b

In the text tables to follow the evidence is laid out without significant comment. In accordance with Jacob's textual method, the passages taken from JDeut are really a textual blend of SH and the corresponding P parallel. No attempt is made here to reconstruct SH from Jacob's amalgam. All of his μονον-passages are in-text unless otherwise noted. The **κοΛ *scholion*** at **27.26** is discussed above (→ **§4.2.1**) and not presented here.

'And we sent emissaries to the king of Edom…'

Deut 2.7א-ג (Num 20.14a, 17-18)[93]	767^n JDeut (> SH^V)[94]
767^n in-text s nom	fol. 347ב sub ÷
[**א7**] και απεστειλαμεν αγγελλους προς βασιλεα εδωμ λεγων [**ב7**] παρελευσωμεθα δια της γη σου ουκ εκληνω$^{\mu}$ δι αγρων ουδε αμπελωνων ου ποιωμεθα υδωρ εκ λακου οδω βασιλικη πορευσωμεθα ουκ επιστρεψω$^{\mu}$ δεξια και ευωνυμα εως αν παρελθω$^{\mu}$ τα ορια σου [**ג7**] και ειπεν ου διελευσει δι εμου ει δε μη εν πολεμω εξελευσωμαι εις συναντησιν σοι	[**א7**] ומשלח אני מלאכים אל מלך אדום ואומר לו [**ב7**] נעברה בארצך לא נעבור בשדה ולא בכרם ולא נשתה מי באר בדרך המלך נלך לא נסור ימין ושמאל עד אשר נעבר גבולך [**ג7**] ויאמר לו לא תעבר בי פן בחרב אצא לקראתך ÷
SP Deut 2.7א-ג ≠ MT[95]	
[א7] {Num 20.14a} ואשלחה מלאכים אל מלך אדום לאמר [ב7] {Num 20.17} אעברה בארצך לא נעבר בשדה ובכרם ולא נשתה מי בור דרך המלך נלך לא נסור ימין ושמאל עד אשר נעבר גבולך [ג7] {Num 20.18} ויאמר לא תעבר בי פן בחרב אצא לקראתך	

[א7 Moses:] "And I[a] sent emissaries to the king of Edom [b]and I said to him[b]: [ב7] 'Let us[c] cross through your land. And[d] we[e] will not turn aside into fields[f] or into[g] vinyards[f]. And[g] we will not drink [h]water from wells[hi]. In the King's Road we will go. And[d] we will not turn aside[g] to the right or the left, until we cross your boarders[f].' [ג7] And he said: 'You shall not cross upon[j] me. Lest, [k]in battle[k] we[l] come out to meet you.' "

[a] 767: we [b] SP 767: saying [c] SP: me [d] > SP 767 [e] SP: I [f] SP: sg [g] > 767 [h] SP: well water [i] 767: a well [j] SP 767: against/through [k] SP: with the sword [l] SP 767: I

The Samaritan Tenth Commandment (Deut version)

SH Deut 5.21(17)ח-א (→ **§2.3.3**)	SH^M in Deut colophon(?), ind for Deut 5
[א21] ולא תחמד אשת רעך ולא תתאוה בית רעך שדהו ועבדו ושורו וחמורו וכל אשר לרעך כי אני יהוה אלהיך אתכם. [ב21] ולא תחמד כסף וזהב עליהם ולקחתה לך פן תוקש בו כי תועבת יהוה אלהיך הוא. [ג21] ולא תביא תועבה אל ביתך והיית חרם כמהו שקץ תשקצנו ותעב תתעבנו כי חרם הוא. [ד21] ששת ימים תעבד ועשית כל מלאכתך ויום השביעי שבת ליהוה אלהיך לא תעשה כל מלאכה אתה ובנך ובתך עבדך ואמתך ושורך וחמורך וכל בהמתך וגרך אשר בשעריך למען ינוח עבדך ואמתך כמוך. [ה21] וזכרת כי עבד היית בארץ מצרים ויצא יהוה אלהיך משם ביד חזקה ובזרוע נטויה על כן צוך יהוה אלהיך לעשות את יום השבת. [ו21] כבד את אביך ואת אמך כאשר צוך יהוה אלהיך למען יאריכון ימיך ולמען ייטב לך על האדמה אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך. [ז21] לא תרצח ולא תנאף ולא תגנב ולא תענה ברעך עד שקר. [ח21] ולא תחמד אשת רעך ולא תתאוה בית רעך שדהו ועבדו ושורו וחמורו וכל אשר לרעך כי אני יהוה אלהיך אתכם.	

[93] TF's listing (759): במדבר ה 14, 17-18 – דברים ב 7[א-ג]. This is a typo and should read במדבר כ 14, 17-18 –.

[94] The portion should be in the margin of fol. 154a.

[95] 4Q35, frag. 6 cuts off after the second word in v 6. It cannot be determined whether or not the MS contains this passage (DJD 14:65-66). 4Q42 contains only a few words from 2.8 (frag. 1, DJD 14:130).

SP Deut 5.21(17)ח-א (cf. Deut 11.29a, 27.3a-7, 11.30) ≠ 4Q41 MT et al (see McCarthy, *BHQ*)

[א17] {Dt 11.29a} והיה כי יביאך יהוה אלהיך אל ארץ הכנעני אשר אתה בא שמה לרשתה [ב17] {Dt 27.2b} והקמת לך אבנים גדלות ושדת אתם בשיד [ג17] {Dt 27.3a} וכתבת על האבנים את כל דברי התורה הזאת [ד17] {Dt 27.4} והיה בעברכם את הירדן תקימו את האבנים האלה אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם היום בהרגרזים [ה17] {Dt 27.5} ובנית שם מזבח ליהוה אלהיך מזבח אבנים לא תניף עליהם ברזל [ו17] {Dt 27.6} אבנים שלמות תבנה את מזבח יהוה אלהיך והעלית עליו עלות ליהוה אלהיך [ז17] {Dt 27.7} וזבחת שלמים ואכלת שם ושמחת לפני יהוה אלהיך {Dt 11.30} [ח17] ההר ההוא בעבר הירדן אחרי דרך מבוא השמש בארץ הכנעני הישב בערבה מול הגלגל אצל אלון מורא מול שכם

As noted above (→ **§1.1**), the Caesarean critic(s) appears to have recorded this in the colophon to Deut. The reason(s) for this is unclear. For a translation of the text, see that at **Exod 20.17(13)ו-א** (→ **§2.3.3**), where the variants are recorded as "SH Deut". The florilegium was not reproduced in JDeut. Why Jacob would have added such in his revision of Exod 20 and not here is unknown. Perhaps he felt the addition to the first account of the Decalogue was sufficient.

The Samaritan Itinerary

Deut 10.6-6א-7-7א-6 (cf. Num 33:31-38)	767^{n} d t; JDeut
767^{n} d t in-text, s nom	fol. 363ב encircled (in the column)
[**6**] και οι υιοι Ισραηλ απηραν [**6א**] εκ μασωρωθ και παρενεβαλον εις βανειακαν [**7** > d] εκειθεν απηραν και παρενεβαλον εις Γαδγαδ, εκει απηραν και παρενεβαλον εις ιεταβαθα, γην χειμαρρων υδατων [**7א**] εκειθεν απηραν και παρενεβαλον εις εβρωνα εκειθεν απηραν και παρενεβαλον εις γασιον γαβερ εκειθεν απηραν και παρενεβαλον εις την ερημον σιν αυτη εστιν καδης εκειθεν απηραν και παρενεβαλον εις ωρ το ορος και απεθανεν εκει [**6**] Ααρων και εταφη εκει, και ιερατευσεν Ελεαζαρ ο υιος αυτου αντ' αυτου. {d [7א] κακειθεν απηραν και παρενεβαλον εις εβρωνα ειτα (εκειθεν απηραν και παρενεβαλον 106) εν γασιων γαβερ κακειθεν (εκειθεν απηραν και 106) παρενεβαλον (εις—παρενεβαλον 2° > 610) εν τη ερημω σιν αυτη καδης ειτα (κακειθεν απηραν [απει-*] και παρενεβαλον 106) εν τω ορει ωρ (σιωρ 610) και (> 106) **d**} μασωρωθ (6א)] μακηδωθ (-κι- 799^{t}) d t βανειακαν (6א)] βηρωθ εν υιοις ιακιμ μισ-αδαι (μησωδαι 799) d t εκειθεν (**7**)] κακειθεν t και παρενεβαλον 1° (**7**)] > t εκει απηραν και παρενεβαλον (**7**)] και απο Γαδγαδ t ιεταβαθα (**7**)] εταβαθα t γην (7)] γη t χειμαρρων (7)] χειμαρρου t εκειθεν 1° (7א)] κακ. 134^{t} 602^{t} d εις 2° (7א)] εν d t^{-602} γασιον (7א)] γασιων d t εις την ερημον (7א)] εν τη ερημω d t εστιν (7א)] > d t εις ωρ το ορος (7א)] εν τω ορει ωρ d t και 5°—fin (7א)] εκει (εκειθεν 134^{t}) απεθανεν d t Ελεαζαρ (6)] εζεαραρ 44^{d} ο (6)] > 799^{t}	[**6**] ו֗בני ישׂראל נסעו ממסרות ויחנו בבני יעקן ׀ [**6א**] משם נסעו ויחנו בהגדגדה משם נסעו ויחנו ביטבתה ארץ נחלי מים ׀ [**7**] משם נסעו ויחנו בעברנה משם נסעו ויחנו בעציון גבר משם נסעו ויחנו במדבר צן היא קדש משם נסעו ויחנו בהר ההר וימת שם [**6**] אהרן ויקבר שם ויכהן אלעזר בנו תחתיו. ממסרות (**6א**)] vid; ממבארות or מבארות?

SP Deut 10.6-6א-7-7א 4Q364 (frag. 27, see DJD 13:240) ≠ 4Q30 (DJD 14:20)[96] MT

[6] ובני ישראל נסעו [6א] {Num 33.31-32} ממסרות ויחנו בבני יעקן [7] {Num 33.32-34} משם נסעו ויחנו הגדגדה משם נסעו ויחנו ביטבתה ארץ נחלי מים [7א] {Num 33.34-38} משם נסעו ויחנו בעברנה משם נסעו ויחנו בעציון גבר משם נסעו ויחנו במדבר צן היא קדש משם נסעו ויחנו בהר ההר וימת שם [6] אהרן ויקבר שם ויכהן אלעזר בנו תחתיו

ויחנו (6א)] > 4Q364 מבארות [ממסרות 4Q364

[96] As McCarthy rightly points out (*BHQ*), 4Q30 follows MT.

JDeut Introduction: [The text] *from this word* '*And the sons of Israel departed from Byraot of the sons of Yaiqym*' [v 6a] *until this* (*part*) '*of the running waters*' [v 7b] *is not*[97] *in the* [exemplar = ס"ש] *of the Samaritans, rather instead it is as follows*:

[**6**] And the sons of Israel departed [**6א**] from Maserot[a] [b]and they encamped[b] in the [c]sons of Yaiqym.[c] [**7**] [d]And[e] from there they departed [f]and encamped[f] in Gadgad, and[e] from[g] [h]there they departed and encamped[h] in Yatabat(h)a[i], [j]the[g] land[j] of the t⟨orrents⟩[k] of waters.[d] †[**7א**] [e]And[l] from there, they departed and encamped in Hebrona, [e]and[f] ⟨from there⟩ they departed and encamped in Iatsyon-Gaber[m]. [e]And[f] from there ⟨they departed⟩ and encamped in the desert of Sin (that is[df] Qadesh). [e]And[f] ⟨from⟩ there, they departed and encamped in [n]Hor Mountain[n]. † And[f] ⟨there[o] died⟩ [**6**] Aaron. And he was buried there. And Eleazar his son served as priest ⟨in place of him⟩.

[a] 767: Masoroth; *d t*: Makedoth; 4Q364: Beeroth [b] > 4Q364 [c] 767: Baneiakan; *d t*: Beroth in the sons of Iakim Misadai [d] > *d* [e] > SP 767 [f] > *t* [g] > 767 [h] *t*: Gadgad [i] 767: Ietabatha; *t*: Etabatha [j] *t*: in (the) land [k] *t*: sg [l] > *t*-134 602 [m] 767 and *t*: γασιον (-ων *t*) γαβερ [n] SP and *t*: Mt. Hor [o] 134: from there

† 7א in the *d*-group: And from there they departed and encamped [aa]in Ebrona, ⌜then (from there they departed and encamped 106) in Gasion-Gaber, ⌜and from there⌝ (from there they departed and 106) they encamped[aa] ([aa] > 610) in the desert of Sin (which [is] Qadesh), ⌜then (and from there they departed and encamped 106) in Mt. Hor[bb] ([bb] 610: Sior). And (> 106) there he died. †

JDeut attribution: *This is written in the* [exemplar = ס"ש] *of the Samaritans instead of these* (i.e. vv 6-7) *here*.

Observe **Figure 1**, illustrating the process of integration in 767 and groups *d t*.[98] Of further interest is the *scholion* from Procopius' *Comm in Deut* (see PG 87/1.903-04), which discusses the disagreement between the location of Aaron's death in Num 20.22-29 (and 33.38) and (MT and G) Deut 10.6, without mention of SP. The same *scholion* is also transmitted, anonymously, in CODEX M (fol. 134aβ). Perhaps Procopius composed the note from his own observation.

[97] Compare the language of the partial note in SH[V] (fol. 164b):

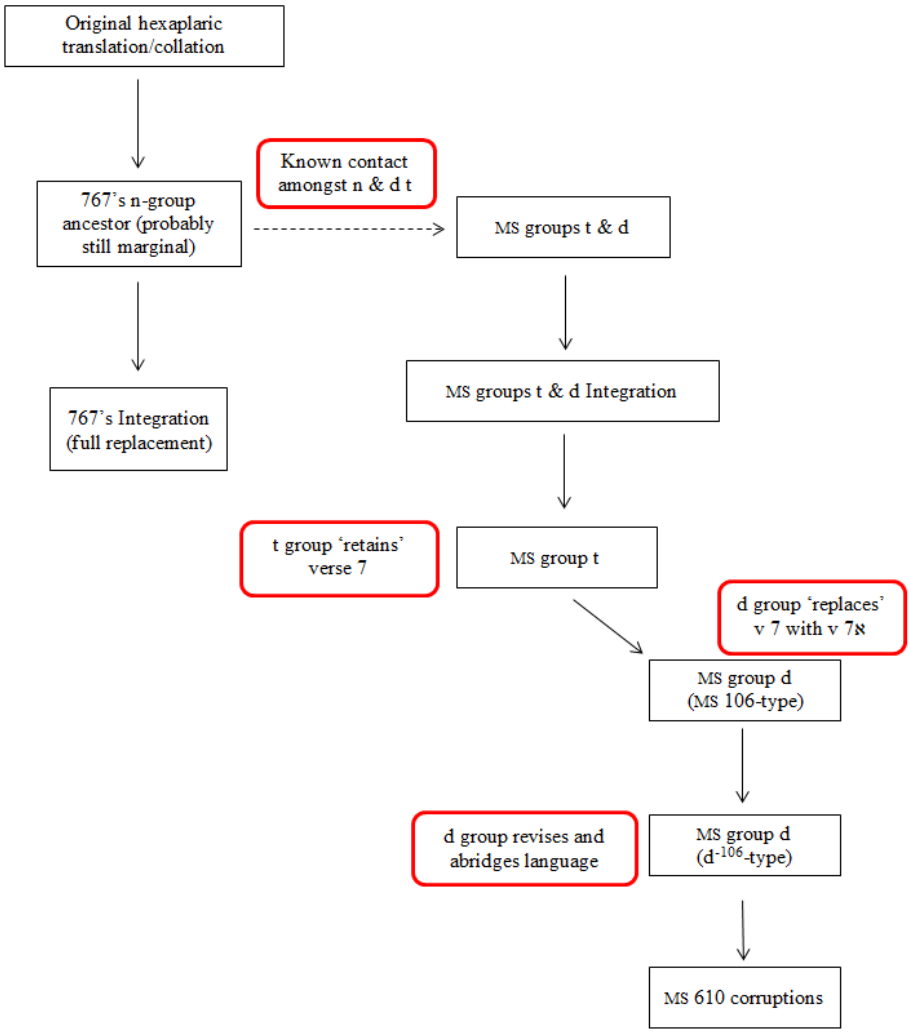
÷ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܪ ܒܥܒܪܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܬ ܒܣܦܪܐ ܕܫܡܪܝܢ ⋄

And this had set upon it obeli in the Hebrew, since it was not extant in the [edition = εκδοσις] *of the Samaritans*.

[98] On the point of contact between groups n and d t in Deut, see Wevers, *THGD*, 25.

Figure 1

The "Samaritan Itinerary": MS Groups and Associations in Deut 10.6-6א-7-7א-6



'… opposite Shechem.'

Deut 11.30+	JDeut (> G SH^{V})
JDeut (reference text): [...] לממול [...] ב ד חלוה ש מה .וכוי	JDeut^{mg} (encircled fol. 366ב mg btwn the cols): חלוה שמ מה ד[ח]כוי וכוי מה ש מ מ ל. וכוי מוכח וכוי חלוה שמ .מממוש ש מ מ ל., וכוי מה ד[ח]כוי וכוי עכוכ
SP Deut 11.30+ ≠ [4Q45; see McCarthy *BHQ*; DJD 9:134, 138][99] MT [30] הלוא הם בעבר הירדן אחרי דרך מבוא השמש בארץ הכנעני הישב בערבה מול הגלגל אצל אלון מורה [+30] מול שכם	

JDeut *scholion*: *This oak which he is talking about here is not that of Mamre, which is near Hebron, rather it is that near Shechem.*.[100]

[99] [Skehan and] Ulrich: "The reconstruction of frg. 13 $_{2\text{-}3}$ suggests that at Deut 11:30 מול שכם as in [SP] was probably lacking […]" (9:134; cf. 138). Barthélemy does not comment on 1Q4 (DJD 1:55) and 1Q5 (DJD 1:58) as too little of the MSS survive to evaluate.

The present evidence should not suggest that Jacob was influenced by any μονον-passage in SH *at Deut 11.30 itself*. Had this been so, one would have expected Jacob to add ܗܘ ܕܚܠ ܥܒܪ ܠܚܕ in-text (probably sub ÷), per his usual procedure. In any case, he had already adopted **Exod 20.17(13)א-ו**, establishing the location of Gerizim vis-à-vis Shechem and the 'High Oak'. It is likely that passage was read back into Deut.

The location of Gerizim was debated amongst early Christians. Generally the older traditions side with the Samaritans in relation to Gerizim's proximity to Shechem. However, from Eusebius' *Onomasticon* onwards sources often disagree claiming it is near Jericho.[101] However, the oldest such tradition may be the one attributed to Hippolytus (d. ca. 236 CE) known from a late Arabic catena. The tradition may be summarized as follows:

Hippolytus (?) and Jacob of Edessa (ref. at Deut 27):[102]

> 116.14-15] Attribution to Mar **Jacob of Edessa** and **Hippolytus**,[103] "*der Ausleger des Targums*".
> 16-25] The command to pronounce the curses and blessing (Deut 27) on the respective mountains.
> **26-29] "*Wir sagen*" the mountains are [A] near Shechem, [B] Shechem is Nabulus, [C] Gerizim is "*rechts von*" the city while Ebal is "*links von der Stadt*",[104] [D] both are associated with one another ("*sind mit einander verbunden*") while the city is set between the mountains.**
> 30-117.4] **"*Und wir sagen*"** that after Joshua, the son of Nun, had led the Israelites into the Promised Land, **he led them to the city of Shechem, that is Nablus.** […] And there, Joshua selected a man each from the tribes and placed them, six people each, on each of these mountains. For Gerizim, he selected six, one each from the tribes of Simian, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin.
> 117.5-8] Then he selected those from Ruben, Gad, Asher, Zebulon, Dan, and Naphtali, and set them on Ebal. And the people of Israel were positioned between the two mountains in the valley.
> 9-15] The people carried out the orders to pronounce the blessings and curses with the affirmations.
> 16-18] And God commanded Moses to keep this command, and Moses commanded Joshua, the son of Nun, to keep it; **and Joshua fulfilled it "in the Land of Shechem"**.
> 18-22] **"*Wir sagen*" that "*die Gemeinde der Samaritaner*" has taken for itself Mt. Gerizim as a possession**. "*Und man sagt*" [Achelis: "oder: „sie sagen" (Jakob von Edessa und Hippolytus?)"]: **it (the mountain) is a Temple ("*ein Gotteshaus*") to the present day**. And on it, they offer sacrifice for themselves, and pray to God; it lies to the right of Shechem, i.e., Nabulus, "*gegen Westen* (!)".
> 23-30] Additionally on this Mountain, Jacob buried the idols (Gen 31) which Rachel stole […]. And […] Shechem the son of Hemor dishonored Dinah (Gen 34) […]. Lastly, it was in this city that Christ had a conversation with the Samaritan woman […] (Jn 4).

---

[100] This same *scholion* is also found in (Ps.?-)Ephrem's (d. 373 CE) *Comm. in Deut*, as transmitted in *Cat*^{Severi} (MS Vat. Syr. 103, fol. 81b, at Deut 11.29-30). *Cat*^{Sev} omits ܗܘ. Jacob's *Comm. in Deut* (11.29-30), as transmitted in the *Cat*^{Severi} (fol. 60b), makes no such comment.

[101] See Pummer (2002) for primary sources and discussion: the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (Shechem), Eusebius (Jericho), Epiphanius (Jericho), Jerome (Jericho, then Shechem?), Procopius of Gaza (Jericho), etc. The correct interpretation of the Madaba mosaicist's (fl. 6th cent. CE) double representation (i.e., one set of mountains is near Shechem while another is by Jericho) is debated (see further: Kartveit, 2009: 233-34, and Pummer, 2002: 86-87).

[102] From GCS 1/2.116-117 (lines cited are those from the edition; **bold** mine). This text is not found in Pummer, 2002. H. Achelis, editor of the Hippolytian materials in question, did not provide the Garshuni text, only a German translation. The textual basis *Monacensis arab*. 235 is admittedly very late (1550 CE).

[103] Jacob and Hippolytus is the order of attribution provided by Achelis. The only other example of double attribution in the catena Achelis published is frag. 4 (Gen 8.1 [GCS 1/2.90-91]) which reverses the order.

[104] Achelis: "*rechts-links*] *südlich-nördlich* (*nach Osten orientiert*)".

Strikingly the alleged Hippolytan *scholion* does not attribute this information to SP but the Samaritan "community". In light of the joint testimony of these *scholia*, it seems unlikely that the note at JDeut 11.30[mg] was related to the μονον-collation in any way.

Deut 27.4: '…which I am commanding you this day in Mount Gerizim…'

As mentioned above (→ **§2.3.3** at **Exod 20.17**), the collective testimony of Jacob of Edessa's recension, Isho'dad of Merv's *Commentary*, and Barhebraeus' *Scholia*, each of whom transmit μονον-passages (or μονον-derived information) from SH, all mention—independently of one another—Gerizim in "the Samaritan ܣܦܪ of Deut" 27.4:

Three Syriac Fathers on the Location of the Altar in Deut 27.4
JACOB OF EDESSA (d. 708 CE; Syrian Orthodox; *scholion* excerpted from Ephrem's *Comm. in Deut* (at 11.29-30) as transmitted in *Cat*^{Severi} [fol. 81b])[105] ܟܬ[108] ,ܒܓܪܙܝܡ ܕܥܠ ܛܘܪ[107] ܓܒܠ ܕܐܢܐ ܡܦܩܕ ܠܟ ܗܘܢ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܥܒܪ ܒܝܪܕܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܟܬ[106] ❖ ❖ ❖ ܐܒܢܝ ܠܟ ܐܢܝ ܡܦܩܕ ܠܟ ܗܘܢ ܝܘܡܐ. ܐܬ ܥܒܪ ܒܝܪܕܢܐ ܐܠ ܛܘܪ ܓܪܙܝܡ ܗܘ ܕܟܬ ܒܗ ܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܒܓܪܙܝܡ ܛܘܪ ܕܒܪܟܬܐ ܐܠ ܛܘܪ ܓܒܠ ܗܘ ܕܟܬ ܒܗ ܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܒܓܒܠ ܛܘܪ ܕܠܥܢܬܐ ❖ ܘܒܢܝ ⟨ܠ⟩ ܡܕܒܚ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܒܓܪܙܝܡ ܛܘܪ ܕܒܪܟܬܐ ܐܠ ܛܘܪ ܓܒܠ ܗܘ ܕܟܬ ܒܗ ܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܒܓܒܠ ܛܘܪ ܕܠܥܢܬܐ ❖ ܘܐܢ ܟܕ ܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܒܓܪܙܝܡ ܛܘܪ ܕܒܪܟܬܐ ܐܠ ܛܘܪ ܓܒܠ ܗܘ ܕܟܬ ܒܗ ܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܒܓܒܠ ܛܘܪ ܕܠܥܢܬܐ ❖ ܘܐܢ ܟܕ ܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܒܓܪܙܝܡ ܛܘܪ ܕܒܪܟܬܐ ❖ ❖ ❖

BARHEBRAEUS (1226-86 CE; Syrian Orthodox; from *The Storehouse of Mysteries*, or *Scholia*)

ܓ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܕܒܣܦܪ ܕܫܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܬܒ ܫܟܡ ܘܟܬܝܒ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܫܪܝܪ. ܟܕ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܠܠ ܠܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܛܘܪ ܓܪܙܝܡ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܪܟܬܐ ܡܬܐܡܪ ܘܒܛܘܪ ܥܝܒܠ ܠܥܠ ܠܬܪܥܝܬܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܒܪܟܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܚܢ ܕܐܦ ܠܗ ܢܒܢܐ ܠܡܕܒܚ ܒܛܘܪ ܥܝܒܠ ܠܥܠ ܠܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܕܢܒܢܐ ܠܗ ܡܕܒܚ ܒܗ ܠܡܪܒ ܐܝ ܘܐܦ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ ܒܢܐ ܡܕܒܚ ܒܛܘܪ ܥܝܒܠ ܟܕ ܚܪܒ ܠܥܝ ܘܟܬܒ ܒܣܦܪܗ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܪ ܒܫܬܐ ܕܣܦܪܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܒܪ ܢܘܢ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ

… from the River of Egypt until the Great River …

Deut 34.1b-1א-2 (< 3)[110] (cf. Gen 15.18b; Deut 11.24b)		15^{oI} SH^{M}
15^{oI} in-text and unattributed	SH^{M} (*CS* col. 285)[111]; > SH^{V} JDeut (both lac.)	
και ανεβη Μωυσης απο Αραβωθ Μωαβ επι το ορος Ναβαυ επι κορυφην Φασγα, η εστιν επι προσωπου Ιεριχω, και εδειξεν αυτω κυριος πασαν την γην Γαλααδ εως Δαν [1א] απο του ποταμου αιγυπτου εως του ποταμου του μεγαλου ποταμου ευφρατου [2] και πασαν την γην Ἐφραιμ και Μανασση και πασαν την γην Ἰουδα εως της θαλασσης της εσχατης, [3] και την ερημον και τα περιχωρα Ἰεριχω, πολιν φοινικων, εως Σηγωρ [4] και ειπεν κυριος προς Μωυσην	¶ *Και εδειξεν αυτω Κυριος πασαν την γην*. Syrum exemplar notat in margine, quod illa verba, quae sequuntur usque dum dicitur, *και ειπε Κυριος προς* &c. sint [*sic*?] in Hexaplo Origenis notate obelisco, eo quod in Hebraico exemplari quod apud Samaritanos extabat, pro illis fuerant scripta haec, [1b] *και εδειξεν αυτω Κυριος πασαν την γην* [1א] *απο του ποταμου του Αιγυπτου εως του ποταμου μεγαλου, ποταμου ευφρατου,* [2] *εως της θαλασσης της εσχατης.* [4] *και ειπε Κυριος* &c.	
SP Deut 34.1b-1א-2 (< 3) 4Q45 ? ≠ 4Q45 ? (DJD 9:148; cf. 134)[112] MasDeut[113] MT		
[1] ויעל משה מערבת מואב אל הר נבא ראש הפסגה אשר על פני יריחו ויראיהו יהוה את כל הארץ [1א] מנהר מצרים עד הנהר הגדול נהר פרת [2] ועד הים האחרון [4] ויאמר יהוה אליו ... {Gen 15.18b}		

MS 15 (→ **§4.2.1** for a translation of Masius): [1] And Moses went up from Araboth Moab upon Mt. Nabau, upon the summit of Phasga, which is opposite Jericho. And the Lord showed to him all the land, [a]Galaad until Dan,[a] [**1א**] from the River of Egypt until the Great River, the River Euphrates; [2] [a]and all the Land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah,[a] [b]until the far Sea, [a][3] and the desert and surrounding region of Jericho, city of date palms, until Segor.[a] [4] And the Lord said to Moses …

[a] > SP [b] SP: pr. and

EXTANT SYRIAC AND GREEK HEXAPLARIC SUBSCRIPTIONS[114]

SH Genesis (SH^{L} fol. 46b < ܫܡܐ—ܒܪܫܝܬ [leaf loss]; SH^{V} fol. 19a)
ܥܠ ܡܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܒܪܫܝܬ ܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܝܡ ܐܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܟܠ ܙܝܥ ܫܡܝܐ ܘ

❖ ܟ ܫܢ ܫܢܝ ܕܡ ܒܫ ܒܫ ܒܫ

❖ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ

ܫܡ. ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܟܠܗ [BM Mus Orient 8732 – 1st half of Isa]
ܦܝܫܐ ܒܝܬ ܩܪܝܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

ܟ ܫܡܫܝܢ ܕܫܒܬ. ܒܝܬ ܩܪܝܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܡ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ ܒܟܠܗ [same – 2nd half]
ܟܠ ܟܬܒܐ ❖ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܟ. ܠ ܦܝܫ ܒܝܬ ܩܪܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܕܐ. ܘܠܡܒܪܟܐ ܘܠܡܫܒܚܐ ܫܡ ܕ
ܒܪ.

SH Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, and Letter
ܟܬܒ ܟܠܗ
❖ ܒܝܬ ܩܪܝܐ ܫܡ ܫܒܬ ܟܬܒܝܢ ܟܠ ❖ ܚܕ ܟܠܗ
❖ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܒܪܘܟ
❖ ܠܐ ܫܡ ܒܝܬ ܩܪܝܐ ܟ. ܠܐ ܟܬܒ ܒ
ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܓܪܬܐ ܟܠܗ

SH Ezek SH^{C} [= BM ADD 14668]
❖ ܒܝܬ ܩܪܝܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܡ ܟܬܒ ܠܡܪܡܝ ܟܬܒ ܟܠܗ

SH Daniel, Susana, Bel and Dragon
[After Dan proper]
..ܒܝܬ ܩܪܝܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܡ ܠܡܪܝ ܟܠܗ
ܒܪ ܟܬܒ ❖ ܟܡ ܟܬܒ ܠܡܪ ܒܥܒܪ ܡܛ ܟܬ ܠܥ ❖ ܟܡ ܟܬܒ ܠܡܪ ܒܥܒܪ ܡܛ ܟܬ ܠܥ
❖ ܒܥܒܪ ܒܪ ܫܡܝܐ. ܪ ܩ ܒܝ ܟ ❖ ܒܥܒܪ ܒܪ ܫܡܝܐ. ❖ ܪ ܩ ܒܝ ܟ
[After Sus, Bel]
❖ ܒܝܬ ܩܪܝܐ ܫܡ ܠܡܪ
❖ ܟܠ ❖ ܒܝܬ ܩܪܝܐ ❖ ❖ ❖

ϣⲥⲏⲓⲟⲛⲁ ⲙ ⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ❖ ⲉⲗⲙⲟ ⲉⲑⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲁ. ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲥⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛ
❖ ❖ ❖ ⲥⲩⲙⲙⲉⲧⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲗⲙ
❖ ⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲥⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛ ❖ ⲥⲟⲟⲇⲁ

SH Wisdom
ⲗⲁⲁ ⲃⲓⲃⲗⲟⲥ + ⲛⲩⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲓⲫⲟⲛⲓⲕⲏ ⲥⲁⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲓⲇ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲓ ⲫⲗⲉ
+ Η ΠΑΝΑΡΕΤΟC

SH Eccles
❖ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲥⲁⲫⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲩⲁ ⲫⲗⲉ
❖ ⲛⲥⲁⲙ ⲙⲫⲗⲟⲉ ⲓⲱⲥ ⲛⲥⲩⲓⲟⲙⲉⲗ ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲥⲙ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲓ ⲫⲉⲣⲟⲩⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲥⲱⲟ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲓ ⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲓ ❖ ⲙⲡⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲱⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲓ ⲉⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲃⲓⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲟⲩⲁ ❖ ⲉⲙⲁ ⲙⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛ ⲥⲟⲟⲇⲁ ❖ ⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲥⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁ

SH Cant
ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲓ ⲉⲧ ⲛⲩⲟⲩⲉ ⲫⲉⲣⲟⲩⲓ. ⲉⲓⲱⲥ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲱⲉⲏ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲓ ⲫⲗⲉ
ⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲧ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲃⲉⲛⲉⲫⲁⲡⲉ ⲃⲉⲛⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲅⲛⲱⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲃⲏ ❖ ⲛⲥⲁⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲥⲱ
ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲥⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲥⲩⲙⲙⲉⲧⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲗⲙ ⲉⲧ ⲙ ⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ, ⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲁ. ⲉⲗⲙⲟ ⲉⲑⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲟ ⲛⲥⲱⲟ. ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲓ ⲉⲧ
❖ ⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲥⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲗⲁⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲛ ⲉⲃⲏ ⲥⲟⲟⲇⲁ ❖ ❖ ⲛⲥⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉ

SH Job
❖ ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲁⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲓ ⲫⲗⲉ
❖ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲧ ⲛ ⲅⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲏ ⲥⲟⲟⲇⲁ ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲓ

Ms 88
[Baruch] βαρουχ ολος ωβελισται κατα τους ο′
[Lam] θρηνοι ιερεμιου· εγραφη εκ των εξαπλων εξ ων και παρετεθη
[Dan 12] δανιηλ κατα τους ο′· εγραφη εξ αντιγραφου εχοντος την υποσημειωσιν ταυτην· εγραφη εκ των τετραπλων εξ ων και παρετεθη

CODEX Q
[pre-Isaiah] Μετεληφθη ο Ησαιας απο αντιγραφου του αββα Ἀπολ‹λ›ιναριου του κοινοβιαρχου, εν ω καθυπε‹τε›τακτο ταυτα· Μετεληφθη ο Ησαιας εκ των κατα τας εκδοσεις Ἑξαπλων. αντεβληθη δε και προς ετερον εξαπλουν εχον τγν παρασημειωσιν ταυτην· Διορθωνται ακριβως πασαι αι εκδοσεις· αντεβληθησαν γαρ προς τετραπλουν Ησαιαν, ετι δε και προς εξαπλουν. προς τουτοις και τα απο της αρχης εως του οραματος Τυρου ακριβεστερον διορθωται. ευπορησαντες γαρ των μεχρι τελους του οραματος Τυρου τομων εξηγητικων εις τον Ησαιαν Ὡριγενους και ακριβως επιστησαντες τη εννοια, καθ’ ην εξηγησατο εκαστην λεξιν, καθως οιον τε ην και παν αμφιβολον κατα την εκεινου εννοιαν διορθωσαμεθα. προς τουτοις συνεκριθη η των Ἑβδομηκοντα εκδοσις και προς τα υπο Ευσεβιου εις τον Ησαιαν ειρημενα, εν οις διεφωνουν, της εξηγησεως την εννοιαν ζητησαντες και προς αυτην διορθωσαμενοι
[pre-Ezek] Μετεληφθη δε απο αντιγραφου του αββα απολιναριου του κοινοβιαρχου εν ω καθυπετακτο ταυτα· μετεληφθη απο των κατα τας εκδοσεις εξαπλων και διορθωθη απο των ωριγενους αυτου τετραπλων ατινα και αυτου χειρι διορθωτο και εσχολιογραφητο· οθεν ευσεβειος εγω τα σχολια παρεθηκα· παμφιλος και ευσεβειος διορθωσαντο

CODEX S [א]
[2 Ezra (corrector)] αντεβληθη προς παλαιω|τατον λιαν αντιγραφον| δεδιορθωμενον χειρι του| αγιου μαρτυρος παμφιλου| οπερ αντιγραφον προς τω| τελει υποσημειωσις τις| ιδιοχειρος αυτου υπεκειτο| εχουσα ουτως:| μετελημφθη και διορθωθη| προς τα εξαπλα ωριγενους| αντωνινος αντεβαλεν·| παμφιλος διορθωσα [Esther (corrector, 7th CE)] αντεβληθη προς παλαιωτατον λιαν αντιγραφον δεδιορθωμενον χειρι του αγιου μαρτυρος παμφιλου· προς δε τω τελει του αυτου παλαιωτατου βιβλιου οπερ αρχην μεν ειχεν απο της πρωτης των βασιλειων εις δε την εσθηρ εληγεν τοιαυτη τις εν πλατει ιδιοχειρος υποσημειωσις (-μιωσις*) του αυτου μαρτυρος υπεκειτο εχουσα ουτως· μετελημφθη και διορθωθη προς τα εξαπλα ωριγενους υπ αυτου διορθωμενα· αντωνινος ομολογητης αντεβαλεν, παμφιλος διορθωσα το) τευχος εν τη φυλακη δια την του θεου πολλην και χαριν και πλατυσμον· και ει γε μη βαρυ ειπειν τουτω τω αντιγραφω παραπλησιον ευρειν αντιγραφον ου ραδιον. διεφωνη δε το αυτο παλαιωτατον βιβλιον προς τοδε το τευχος εις τινα (τα*) κυρια ονοματα.

PROV SCHOLION (Tischendorf's *Notitia editionis codicis bibliorum Sinaitici* [122])
Μετεληφθησαν αφ ων ευρομεν εξαπλων. και παλιν αυτα χειρι (Field corrects αυτοχειρι) Παμφιλος και Ευσεβιος διορθωσαντο (Field corrects διωρ)

ADDENDUM: LIST OF 'ΤΟ ΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΙΚΟΝ' IN LXX EDITIONS

In the following table, the entry of το σαμ΄-readings is recorded as they occur in significant editions of the Septuagint or hexaplaric fragments. Those cases marked $^{+}$ indicate that the entry is found in an appendix, addenda, or introduction to the edition. Entries marked * indicate 'Samaritan' evidence was provided but without the specific Greek identifier το σαμ΄ (*e.g.*, from patristic commentary). Those marked = indicate readings now known to reflect a σαμ΄ reading in MSS discovered since said edition's publication, but were not recorded by the editor/collator as το σαμ΄ due to their being differently or anonymously attributed in the sources of the edition.

	SIXTINE	LATIN SIXT	Drusius	Montfaucon	Field	Wevers
Gen 4.8	x	x	x^{+}	*	x	x
5.25				*	*	x
5.26		* (v 27)	*$^{+}$ (see 25-28)	*	x*	x*
44.5	x	x	x	x (at v 15)	x	x
44.15	=	=	=$^{+}$	=	=	x
46.28						x
47.22						x
49.15	=	=		=	x	x
49.23-24	x	x	x	x	x (Nobl.)	x
50.19	x	x	x	x	x	x
Exod 3.6				x^{+}	x	

3.15				x^{+} (at v 6)	x (at v 6)	
3.22						x
8.14(10)						x
8.15(11)						x
8.16(12)	= (αλλος)					x
8.21(17)	x	x	x	x	x (Nobl.)	x
9.4						x
9.27	= (partially)				see Field	x
10.7(a)	x	x	x	x	x (Nobl.)	x
10.7(b)	x	x	x	x	x	x
12.42	x	x	x	x	x	x
13.13				x	x	x
14.15	x	x	x	x	x	x
14.20	x	x	x	x	x	x
16.31	x	x	x	x	x	x
23.16	x	x	x	x	x	x
26.5	x	x	x	x	x	x
28.4	x	x	x	x	x	x
28.9				x^{+}	x	x
28.11						x
32.18	x	x	x	x	x	x
38.2(37.2)				x	x	x
38.26(38.8)					x	x
Lev 1.15	x	x	x	x	x (Nobl.)	x
1.17(a)	x	x	x	= (at v 15)	x (at v 15)	x
1.17(b)	x	x	x	= (at v 15)	x (at v 15)	x
4.15					x^{+} (anon.)	see App^{II}
7.35 (7.25)					x^{+} (anon.)	see App^{II}
8.9				x (and $^{+}$)	x (at v 13)	x
8.15	x	x	x	x	x	x
13.8	x	x	x	x	x (Nobl.)	x
13.51	x	x	x	x	x	x
15.3				x^{+}	x	x
15.8				$=^{+}$	x	x
20.20 (2)				x (at v 11)	x (vv 11, 20)	x
25.5	x	x	x	x	x	x
25.25	x	x	x	x (Drus.)	x (Nobl.)	x
26.24	x	x	x	x	x	x
26.41	x	x	x	x	x	x
26.43	x	x	x	x	x	x
27.14	x	x	x	x	x	x
27.23				$=^{+}$ (anon.)	= (αλλος)	x
Num 4.25	x	x	x	x	x	x
5.18					x^{+} (anon.)	
7.3	x	x	x	x	x	x
13.33(32)	x	x	x	x	x	x
18.7	x	x	x	x	x	x
21.11					x^{+} (anon.)	
23.1						x
29.1	x	x	x	x	x	x

29.35	x	x	x	x	x	x
31.16	x	x	x	x	x	x
31.18					x	x
31.26	x	x	x	x	x	x
32.12	x	x	x	x	x	x
32.13						x
32.29					x (at v 33)	x
32.31						x
32.33	x	x	> !	> !	x	x
32.35					x (ex ?)	
Deut 10.22	=	=			x	x
27.4	> !					x
27.26	> !				x	x
32.8	=	=	=	x	x	x
34.1b-1ᵴ-2					x (!)	
‘34.12’					x (at **5.21**; !)	x

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Primary source editions (sorted by ancient text)
   Biblical and related literatures
   Patristic
   Other
2. Reference literature
3. Secondary literature

N.B.: Entries list those cited by an abbreviated title first, then anonymous works, then authored, alphabetically. Volumes from the Migne series are cited PL or PG vol.column(s). Those from the *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* series are cited GCS vol.page(s).

Note on Manuscripts Consulted Directly *(when possible, in conjunction with editions)* When citing MSS directly, the numbered folio is that provided by the original cataloguer as written on the page. In the case of columned MSS, the folio and columns are cited as follows: *e.g.* fols. 106bβ-107aα, meaning the data is found on folio 106 on the backside (i.e., 'b' or 'verso') starting with the second column (i.e., β). Columns are referred to using the alphabet of the language the MS uses. All transcriptions of Jacob of Edessa's Pentateuch (= JPent, BnF Syr. 26) are preliminary.

1. EDITIONS OF PRIMARY SOURCES

Standard, recent editions and their respective MS sigla are cited throughout.

1. Biblical Texts

Polyglotta

S.S. BIBLIA Polyglotta Complectentia Textus Originales Hebraicos cum Pent. Samarit: Chaldaicos Graecos… Edited by Brian Walton. 6 vols. London, 1653-57.

Vetus Testamentum hebraicum cum variis lectionibus. Vol 1. Edidit Benjaminus Kennicott. Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1776.

Samaritan Pentateuch (and related texts)

SP = T-F = חמישה חומשי תורה: נוסח שומרון ונוסח המסורה: מבוא, הערות, נספחים. ההדירו אברהם טל ומשה פלורנטין. אוניברסיטת תל-אביב ההוצאה לאור ע"ש חיים רובין, מהדורה ראשונה. English: *The Pentateuch – The Samaritan version and the Masoretic version*. Edited and annotated by Abraham Tal and Moshe Florentin, The Haim Rubin Tel Aviv University Press: 2010.

= *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*. Fünfter Teil: Deuteronomium nebst Nachträgen und Verbesserungen. Edited by August Fr. von Gall. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1918.

Samaritan Reading Tradition = עברית וארמית נוסח שומרון: על פי תעודות שבכתב ועדות שבעל פה כרך רביעי: מלי תורה / *The Words of the Pentateuch*. Edited by Ze'ev Ben-Ḥayyim. The Academy of the Hebrew Language, Texts and Studies 10. Vol. IV. Jerusalem: 1977.

ST = התרגום השומרוני לתורה ; מהדורה ביקורתית - כרך א : בראשית, שמות = *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch: A Critical Edition, Part I. Genesis, Exodus*. Edited by A. Tal. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1980.

התרגום השומרוני לתורה ; מהדורה ביקורתית - כרך ג: מבוא = *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch: A Critical Edition, Part III. Introduction*. Edited by A. Tal. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1983.

התרגום השומרוני לתורה ; מהדורה ביקורתית - כרך ב ויקרא, במדבר, דברים = *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch: A Critical Edition, Part II: Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium*. Edited by A. Tal. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1981.

Also consulted: *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* maintained by Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati, OH, USA). The ST files were provided by A. Tal.

Tībåt Mårqe = Memar Marqah, the teaching of Marqah: Volume I, The text, Volume II, The translation. Edited by John Macdonald. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 84. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1963.

The Samaritan liturgy. 2 Vols. Edited by A. E. Cowley. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1909.

Hebrew Bible (and related texts)

1. MT

*Several electronic modules of MT/BHS (each of these are based on the so-called 'Michigan-Claremont-Westminster Text')

BHQ = Deuteronomy / אלה הדברים. Edited by Carmel McCarthy. Biblia Hebraica Quinta editione cum apparatu critico novis curis elaborato. Vol 5. Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft: 2007. Electronic edition (Logos).

T-F = see above

2. DSS and related literatures

DJD = *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*

Volumes cited:

DJD 1 = *Qumran Cave I*. Edited by D. Barthélemy, J.T. Milik et al. London: OUP / Clarendon Press, 1955.

DJD 3 = *Le "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân: Textes Exploration de la falaise; Les Grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q*. Edited by M. Baillet, J.T. Milik et al. London: OUP / Clarendon Press, 1962.

DJD 5 = *Qumran Cave 4: I : (4Q158-4Q186)*. Edited J.M. Allegro, A.A. Anderson. London: OUP / Clarendon Press, 1968.
DJD 9 = *Qumran Cave 4 - IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*. Edited by P.W. Skehan, E.C. Ulrich, and J.E. Sanderson. Judith E. London: OUP / Clarendon Press, 1992.
DJD 12 = *Qumran Cave 4 - VII: Genesis to Numbers*. Edited by E.C. Ulrich, F.M. Cross, J.R. Davila, et al. London: OUP / Clarendon Press, 1994.
DJD 13 = *Qumran Cave 4 - VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*. Edited by H.W., T. Elgvin, J.T. Milik, et al. London: OUP / Clarendon Press, 1994.
DJD 14 = *Qumran Cave 4 - IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*. Edited by E.C. Ulrich, F.M. Cross, S.W. Crawford, et al. London: OUP / Clarendon Press, 1995.

The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants. Edited by Eugene Ulrich; based on the identification of fragments by Frank Moore Cross, J. T. Milik, Patrick W. Skehan, et al.; and on the editions of the Biblical Qumran Scrolls by Maurice Baillet, Dominique Barthélemy, Millar Burrows, et al. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 134. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Qumran Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls Database. Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2011. [Database created from Stephen Pfann's transcriptions of the Hebrew and Greek Qumran materials.]

The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. 2 Vols. Edited by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Masada VI: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, Final Reports - Hebrew Fragments from Masada - The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada. Edited by Yigael Yadin and Shemaryahu Talmon. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999.

3. *Targumim* (non-Samaritan)

Tg^{O}, Tg^{N}, Tg^{PJ}, CG^{D} et al = Targum Onkelos, Neofiti, Pseudo-Jon., Cairo Geniza Tg. frag. D, etc. : All *Targumim* were taken from the files of *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* (Hebrew Union College, 2005). These modules are based on the respective research projects and/or editions of Sokoloff, M. Cohen, Sperber, Klein, Clarke, Macho, Kaufman, et al. For which, consult the provided source notes.

Greek Bible (incl. modern translations and Wevers' companion studies)

H-P = *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus*. Edidit Robertus Holmes. Tomus Primus. Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano. M DCC XCVIII.

Brooke-McLean, or Br.-M. = *The Old Testament in Greek according to the text of Codex Vaticanus*… Vol.1, parts 1-3. Cambridge: CUP, 1906—. [H. St. J. Thackeray joined the editorial team for the volumes after the Octateuch, from 1927 on] Volumes cited: Gen 1906; Exod-Lev 1909; Num-Deut 1911; Josh 1917; 4 Kgdm 1930.

Gen = Genesis. Edited by J.W. Wevers. Vol. I. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974.

Exod = Exodus. Edited by John William Wevers. Vol. II/ 1. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991.

Lev = Leviticus. Edited by J.W. Wevers. Vol. II/2. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.

Num = Numeri. Edited by J.W. Wevers. Vol. III/1. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982.

Deut = Deuteronomium. Edited by J.W. Wevers. Vol. III/ 2. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006[2].

Pss = Psalmi Cum Odis. Edited by A. Rahlfs. Vol. X. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis Editum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979.

Isa = Isaias. Edited by Joseph Ziegler. Vol. XIV. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983.

Duodecim = Duodecim Prophetae. Edited by Joseph Ziegler. Vol. XIII. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984.

BA 1 = *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. Vol 1. *L'Genèse*. Translated with notes and introduction by M. Harl. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1986.

BA 2 = *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. Vol 2. *L'Exode*. Translated with notes and introduction by A. Le Boulluec et P. Sandevoir. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2004.

BA 3 = *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. Vol 3. *Le Lévitique*. Translated with notes and introduction by P. Harlé et D. Pralon. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1988.

BA 4 = *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. Vol 4. *Les Nombres*. Translated with notes and introduction by G. Dorival et al. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994.

BA 5 = *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. Vol 5. *Le Deutéronome*. Translated with notes and introduction by C. Dogniez et M. Harl. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2007.

N. King = N. King (transl.). *The Old Testament: A new, cutting-edge translation of the Septuagint*. Vol. 1. The Pentateuch. Suffolk: Peter Mayhew, 2010.

NETS = Peters, M.K (transl.). *Deuteronomion* in the *New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. Oxford: OUP, 2009.

NGTG = Wevers, J. W. *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*. Septuagint and Cognate Studies 35. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1993.

NGTE = _____. *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*. Septuagint and Cognate Studies 30. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990.

NGTL = _____. *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*. Septuagint and Cognate Studies 44. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1997.

NGTN = _____. *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*. Septuagint and Cognate Studies 46. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1998.

NGTD = _____. *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*. Septuagint and Cognate Studies 39. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1995.

THGG = _____. *Text History of the Greek Genesis*. Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens 11. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974.

THGE = _____. *Text History of the Greek Exodus*. Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens 21. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992.

THGL = _____. *Text History of the Greek Leviticus*. Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens 19. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.

THGN = _____. *Text History of the Greek Numbers*. Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens 16. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982.

THGD = _____. *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy*. Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens 13. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978.

Η ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ / VETVS TESTAMENTVM, SECVNDVM LXX, TOMVS PRIMVS, LVTETIAE PARISIORVM, Apud SEBASTIANVM CHAPPELET, M. DC. XXVIII.

Bülow-Jacobsen, A and J. Strange. 'P. Carlsberg 49: Fragment of an Unknown Greek Translation of the Old Testament (Exod. 3,2-6. 12-13. 16-19). Same Codex as H 16 (Strasb. inv. 748)' *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 32 (1986): 15-21.

Fragments of the Books of Kings According to the Translation of Aquila: From a MS. Formerly in the Geniza at Cairo Now in the Possession of C. Taylor D.D. Master of S. John's College and S. Schechter M.A. University Reader in Talmudic Literature. Edited by F. Crawford Burkitt (preface by C. Taylor). Cambridge: CUP, 1897.

Psalterii hexapli reliquiae: Pars prima, Codex rescriptvs bibliothecae Ambrosianae O 39 svp. Edited by G. Mercati. Rome: Vatican Library, 1958.

Rahlfs, Alfred and Paul Glaue. *Fragmente einer griechischen Übersetzung des samaritanischen Pentateuchs*, Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens 1/2, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1911.

Hexapla Editions

Drusius, Johannes. *Veterum Interpretvm Graecorum in totum vetus Testamentum. Fragmenta. Collecta, versa & Notis illustrata*. Arnhemiae: Apud Iohannem Ianssonium Bibliopolam, 1622.

Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt… Edited by Frederick Field. 2 Vols. Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1875. [Pentateuch fascicle published in 1871]

Frederick Field's Prolegomena to Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta. Translated and annotated by Gérard J. Norton; with the collaboration of Carmen Hardin. Paris: J. Gabalda, 2005.

Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt… Edited by Bernard de Montfaucon. 2 Vols. Paris: 1713.

Syriac Bible (including SH)

SH^L = *Bibliothecae Syriacae a Paulo de Lagarde Collectae.* Edited by P.A. de Lagarde and A. Rahlfs. Gottingae: 1892.

SH^M = *CS* = Extracts from: *Critici Sacri Sive Annotata Doctissimorum Virorum Vetus Ac Novum Testamentum…*. Tomi Primi, pars secunda [Lev-Deut]. Edited by Sebastianus Munsterus et al. Amsterdam: Henricus & Vidua Theodori Boom et al, 1698.

SH^V = *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla : A Fac-similie Edition of a Midyat MS. Discovered 1964*. Edited by Arthur Vööbus. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 369. Subsidia 45. Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO Waversebaan, 49, 1975.

New Syro-Hexaplaric texts: Edited, Commented upon and Compared with the Septuagint. Edited by Wilhelm Baars. Leiden: Brill, 1968.

Monumenta Sacra et Profana, ex Codicibus Praesertim Bibliotheca Ambrosianae: Pentateuchi Syro-Hexaplaris quae supersunt cum notis. Accedunt nonnulla alia fragmenta Syriaca. Tomus 2, Fascicles 1-4. Edited by A.M. Ceriani. Mediolani: Impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1863. (Fascicle 5 published ca. 1907? Material quoted from fasc. 5 is still cited '1863: page'.)

Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae. Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice editus curante et adnotante.

Tomus 7. Edited by A.M. Ceriani. Mediolani: Impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1874.

Veteris testamenti ab Origene recensiti fragmenta apud Syros servata quinque. Edited by P.A. de Lagarde, Gottingen: 1880.

The Apocalypse in the Harklean Version: A Facsimile Edition of MS. Mardin Orth. 35, fol. 143r-159v. Edited by Arthur Vööbus. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium Vol. 400. Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO Waversebaan, 1978.

The Old Testament in Syriac: According to the Peshitta Version. Part I: 2. Edited by J.H Hospers and H.J.W. Drijvers *et al*. Leiden: Brill, 1991.

2. Patristic Works (chronologically; those partially reprinted in Pummer 2002 are noted)

Catenae/Collections:

Cat^{Nic} = Νικηφορος Θεοτοκης (ed.). Σειρα ενος και πεντηκοντα υπομνηματιστων εις την Οκτατευχον και τα των Βασιλειων. Leipzig, 1772-73.

Petit, F (ed.). *La Chaîne sur la Genèse: édition intégrale: chapitres 4 à 11*. Traditio exegetica Graeca 2. Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 1993.

See also, Devreesse 1959.

Also consulted: Lienhard, J. and R. Rombs (eds.). *Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*. Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament. Vol III. Edited by T. Oden (series editor). Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP, 2001.

Martin, F., E. Smith, and T. Oden. *Acts*. Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament. Vol V. Edited by T. Oden (series editor). Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP, 2006.

Elowsky. J. and T. Oden. *John 1-10*. Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament Vol. IVa. Edited by T. Oden (series editor). Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP, 2006.

Africanus:

Wallraff, M, et al (ed.). *Iulius Africanus Chronographiae*: *The Extant Fragments*. Translated by W. Adler. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte N.F. 15. Berlin: Walter de Grutyer, 2007.

Hippolytus:

Arabic Catena fragment = Bonwetsch, G. and H. Achelis (eds.). *Hippolytus Werke: Exegetische und Homiletische Schriften*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte 1/2. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1897.

Origen:

Ep. Ad Africanum = de Lange, N. and M. Harl (eds.). *Philocalie, 1-20 Sur les Écritures* and *La lettre à Africanus sur l'Histoire de Suzanne*. Sources Chrétiennes 302. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1983.

Comm. in Matt. = Klostermann, E (ed.). *Origenes Mattäuserklärung*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 40. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1935.

Contra Celsum = Borret, M. (ed.). *Contre Celse*. Sources Chrétiennes 132. Paris: Éditions du Cerf 1967. Reprinted in Pummer 2002.

Comm. in John = Preuschen, E. (ed.). *Der Johanneskommentar*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 10. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1903. Reprinted in Pummer 2002.

Comm. in Rom. = Bammel, C.P.H. (ed.). *Der Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes: Kritische Ausgabe der Übersetzung Rufins*. Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel. Aus der Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibel 16. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1990. Reprinted in Pummer 2002.
= Scheck, T. (transl.) *Origen: Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Books 1-5*. Fathers of the Church 103. Washington DC: CUA Press, 2001.

Hom. in Num. = Baehrens, W. (ed.). *Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 30. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1921. Reprint in Pummer 2002.
= Scheck, T. (transl.). *Homilies on Numbers*. Ancient Christian Texts. Edited by C.A. Hall. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2009.

Sel. in Ps. = PG 12

Sel. in Ezek = PG 13

Eusebius:

Chonicon = Karst, J (ed. and transl.). *Die Chronik aus dem armenischen Übersetzt mit textkritischem Commentar*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 20. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1911. Reprinted in Pummer 2002.

DE = Gaisford, T. (transl.). *Evangelicae Demonstrationis Libri Decem…* Oxonii: e Typographeo Academico, 1852.

Eclogae = Gaisford, T. (ed.). *Eusebii Pamphili episcopi Caesariensis eclogae propheticae*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1842.

H.E. = Lake, K. and J. Oulton (transl.). *Eusebius Ecclesiastical History*. 2 vols. The Loeb Classical Library 153 and 265. Cambridge, MA: HUP, 1926-1932.
= Schwartz, E (ed.). *Die Kirchengeschichte*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 9/1-3, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1903-09.
= Wright, W., N. McLean, and A. Merx (eds.). *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphili, 265-339, Bishop of Caesarea: Syriac Text…* London: C.J. Clay and Sons (CUP), 1898.
= Bardy, G (ed. and transl.). *Histoire ecclésiastique*. *Livres V-VII*. Sources Chrétiennes 41. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1955.
= Lawlor and Oulton 1927-28.

M.Pal. = Bardy, G (ed. and transl.). *Histoire ecclésiastique*. Vol 3. Sources Chrétiennes 55. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1958.
= Cureton, W. (ed. and transl.). *History of the Martyrs of Palestine by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea…* London: Williams and Norgate: 1861.
= Lawlor and Oulton 1927-28.

PE = Gifford, E (transl.). *Eusebius of Caesarea: Praeparatio Evangelica (Preparation for the Gospel)*. 3 Vols. Oxonii: e typographeo academico, 1903.

Theophany = Lee, S. (ed. and transl.). *Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea on Theophania …* Cambridge: CUP, 1843. Reprinted partially in Pummer 2002.

Titus of Bostra:

Contra Mani. = Roman, A., T. Schmidt, P.-H. Poitier, and É. Crégheur (eds.). *Titi Bostrensis Contra Manichaeos Libri IV*. Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca 82. Turnholt: Brepols, 2013.

Jerome:

Adv. Ruf. = Lardet, P. (ed.). *Contra Rufinum*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 79. Turnholt: Brepols, 1982.
= Hritzu J. (transl.). "The Apology Against the Books of Rufinus". Pages 47-220 in *Saint Jerome, Dogmatic and Polemical Works*. Washington, DC: CUA Press, 1965.

Comm. in Amos = M. Adriaen, M. (ed.). *Commentarii in prophetas minores*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 76. Turnholt: Brepols, 1969. Reprint in Pummer 2002.

Comm. on Gal. = Raspanti, G. (ed.). *Commentarii in epistulam Pauli apostoli ad Galatas*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 77A. Turnholt: Brepols, 2006.
= See Cain 2011.

Comm. in Ezek = Glorie, F. (ed.). *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 75. Turnholt: Brepols, 1964. Reprint in Pummer 2002.

Comm. in Ps = de Lagarde, P., G. Morin, and M. Adriaen (eds.). *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos. Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum. Commentarioli in psalmos. Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 72. Turnholt: Brepols, 1959.

De Vir. Ill. = Siamake, K (ed.). Ἱερωνυμοῦ, *De viris Illustribus*. Thessalonica, 1992.
= Halton, T. (transl.). *Saint Jerome: On Illustrious Men*. Fathers of the Church 100. Washington, DC, CUA Press, 1999.

Dial. contra Luc = PL 23. Reprint in Pummer 2002.

Ep. Titus = Bucchi, F. (ed.). *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli apostoli ad Titum et ad Philemonem*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 77C. Turnholt: Brepols, 2003.

Letters (25, 34, 119, and 121) = Hilberg, I. (ed.). *Sancti Eusebii Hieromymus Epistulae*. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum Vols. 54-56/1. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1910/1918. Reprinted partially in Pummer 2002.

Prologues = Weber, R. and R. Gryson (eds.). *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. 5th revised edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969. [English translations of many of Jerome's Prologues by K.P. Edgecomb (presently a graduate student at U. of Oxford) can be found on http://www.fourthcentury.com/index.php/jerome-translations-of-scripture (managed by Wisconsin Lutheran College, Milwaukee, WI, USA).]

Theodore of Mopsuestia:

Conti, M. (transl.) and J. Elowsky (ed.). *Commentary on the Gospel of John*. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP,2010.

Epiphanius:

De Mens et Pond = Dean, J.E. (ed. and transl.). *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 11. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1935. [Cf. PG 43.237-94]

Panarion = Holl, K. (ed.). Epiphanius (Ancoratus and Panarion). Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 25. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913.

Panarion = Williams, F. (transl.). *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis: De fide. Books II and III*. Revised Edition. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean studies: Volume 2 of The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

De Gemmis = Blake, R.P. and H. De Vis (eds. and transl.). *Epiphanius de Gemmis*. Studies and Documents 2. Blake, R.P. — London: Christophers, 1934.

Theodoret:
Quaest. in [relevant book] = Petruccione, J.F. (ed.) and R.C. Hill (transl.). *The Questions on the Octateuch*. 2 Vols. Greek text, English translation with introduction and commentary. The Library of Early Christianity 1. Washington DC: The CUA Press, 2007.

Procopius:
PG = Migne, J.P. (ed.). *Commentarii in Octateuchum*. Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graecae, Vols 87/1-3. Paris: Migne, 1860. [Note: PG's Greek text is from *Cat*^{Nic}.]
Also consulted: Karin Metzler (ed.), Prokop von Gaza. *Eclogarum in Libros Historicos Veteris Testamenti Epitome*. Teil 1: Der Genesiskommentar. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte. (NF) 22. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015.
Also: Pieter W. van der Horst's review of Metzler's edition in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2015/2015-06-31.html; dated 6/31/2015; accessed 4/18/2016).

George Syncellus:
See Africanus. Reprinted in Pummer 2002.

Photius:
Codex = Freese, J.H. (transl.). *The Library of Photius, Volume 1*. Vol. 11 of Translations of Christian Literature. Ser. 1. London: SPCK, 1920.

Timothy I:
Ep. 47 = Braun, O. (ed.). 'Ein Brief des Katholikos Timotheos I über biblische Studien des 9 Jahrhunderts'. *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1901): 299-313.

Isho'dad of Merv:
Comm. = van den Eynde, C. (ed.). *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*, II: Exode–Deutéronome. 2 Vols. (text and French translation). CSCO 176, 179, Syr. 80-81. Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1958.

Barhebraeus:
Scholia = Sprengling, M. and W. Graham (eds. and transl.). *Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament*: Part I: Genesis - II Samuel. Oriental Institute Publications 13. Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1931.
Chron. Eccl. = Abbeloos, J.B. and T.J. Lamy (eds.). *Gregorii Barhebræi Chronicon ecclesiasticum*. 2 Vols. Louvain: Peeters, 1872-1877.

3. Other (Josephus, Rabbinic, etc.)

Josephus (cited by Loeb paragraphs):
Ant = Antiquities of the Jews
Bell. Iud. = Wars of the Jews

Edition: Niese, B. (ed.). *Flavii Iosephi Opera*. 7 Vols. Berolini: apvd Weidmannos, 1888-94.

2. REFERENCE LITERATURE

(Handbooks, Catalogues, Encyclopaedias, Dictionaries, etc.)

ABD = *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. 6 vols. Edited by David Noel Freedman, et al. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
Articles referenced:
S.P. Brock, 'Ancient Versions (Syriac)' 6:794-799; **R.L. Roth**, 'Gebal' 2: 922-23; **B. Waltke**, 'Samaritan Pentateuch' 5:932-40.

BDAG = Arndt, W., F.W. Danker, and W. Bauer (eds.). *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

BDF = Blass, F., A. Debrunner, and R. Walter Funk. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Brockelmann-Sokoloff, *Lexicon* = Sokoloff, M. [and C. Brockelmann]. *A Syriac Lexicon*: *A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum*. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press & Eisenbrauns, 2009.

CBS = *A Classified Bibliography of the Septuagint*. Edited by S.P. Brock, C.T. Fritsch, and S. Jellicoe. Leiden: Brill, 1973.

CSMBM = Wright, William. *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*: *Acquired since the Year 1838*. 2 Vols. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1870-1872.

CSS = *A Companion to Samaritan Studies*. Edited by Alan David Crown, Reinhard Pummer, Abraham Tal. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993.
Articles referenced:
Alan D. Crown, "Scribes", 213-14; **Gilles Firmin**: "Castell, Edmund", 49; **Gilles Firmin** and **Paul Lester Stenhouse**: "Morin, Jean", 160; **Jarl Fossum**, "God, names of", 105; "Dustån and Dosithean Sects", 80-82; **Jean Margain**: "Kahle, Paul", 141; **Reinhard Pummer**, "Šēmå", 216; **Phillipe de Robert**: "Postel, Guillaume", 189; "Sancy, Achille Harlay de", 211; **Paul Lester Stenhouse** "Baba Rabba", 37-38; **Abraham Tal**: "Mårqe", 152-53; "Tībåt Mårqe", 235-36; "Tetragrammaton", 232; **David Talshir:** "Kohn, Samuel", 146

DBSup = *Dictionnaire de la Bible : Supplément*
Articles referenced:
M. Baillet 'Samaritains – Sources Littéraires Samaritaines. 1. Inscriptions'. *DBSup* 11: 860-74.

DCB = A *Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*. Edited by William Smith and Henry Wace. London: John Murray, 1877-87.

Articles referenced:
C. Elliott: "Hebrew Learning among the Fathers" 2: 851-72; **J. Gwynn**: "Paulus (48) Tellensis", 4: 266-71; **W.J. Josling**: "Decalogue", 1: 797; **C. Taylor**: "Hexapla, The", 3: 14-23; **E. Venables**: "Pamphilus (1)", 4: 178-79.

DSA = מילון הארמית של השומרונים = *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*. Edited by A. Tal. 2 Vols. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

GEDSH = Gorgias Encyclopaedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage. Edited by Sebastian P. Brock, Aaron Michael Butts, George Anton Kiraz & Lucas Van Rompay. Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2011.
Articles referenced:
Lucas van Rompay: "Ceriani, Antonio Maria (1828-1907)", 91; "Masius, Andreas", 275-6; "Pawlos of Tella", 325-26; **Andreas Juckel**: "The Enaton (Ennaton)", 144-45; "Ḥarqlean Version", 188-91; "Tumo of Ḥarqel", 418-20; **Jack Tannous**: "Athanasios I Gamolo", 45-46; **D. Bundy**: "Timotheos I", 414-15; "Wright, William", 427-28.

GLRB = Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (From B. C. 146 to A. D. 1100). Edited by E. A. Sophocles. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.

H-R = Hatch, Edwin and Redpath, H.A. *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek versions of the Old Testament (including the Apocryphal books)*. Second Revised Edition. Baker Books, 1998.
Also consulted: *The Lexham Analytical Lexicon to the Septuagint*. Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2012. [Based on Swete's edition of CODEX B, each lexeme is aligned to the underlying Hebrew / Aramaic word(s); this information is then catalogued, listed in each Greek lexical entry. It thus approximates H-R and permits useful searching, much like using H-R with Muraoka's *Two-Way Index* but less cumbersome.]

HALOT = The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament. Edited by Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, M. E. J. Richardson, and Johann Jakob Stamm. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994-2000.

Lampe = *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Edited by G. W. H. Lampe. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961.

LEH = A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint. Revised Edition. Edited by Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie. Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft: Stuttgart, 2003.

LSJ = Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

ODCC = The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. Edited by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

PS = *Thesaurus Syriacus*. 2 Vols. Edited by R. Payne Smith, et al. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879-1901.

Smyth = Smyth, Herbert Weir. *A Greek Grammar for Colleges*. New York: American Book Company, 1920.

Appendice al catalogo delle edizioni Hoepli. Edited *Libreria antiquaria Hoepli*. Milan: 1905.

Ben-Ḥayyim, Z. *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew: Based on the Recitation of the Law in Comparison with the Tiberian and Other Jewish Traditions*. With assistance from Tal Abraham. Jerusalem The Hebrew University: Magnes Press/Eisenbrauns, 2000.

Devreesse, Robert. *Introduction à L'Etude des Manuscrits Grecs*. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1954.

Dines, J. *The Septuagint*. Edited by Michael A. Knibb. London: T & T Clark, 2004.

Fernández Marcos, N. *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Jellicoe, Sidney. *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

Lake, K. 'Texts from Mount Athos'. Pages 89-185 in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica: Essays in Biblical and Patristic Criticism*. Vol. 5. London: Clarendon Press, 1903.

Muraoka T. *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two-way Index to the Septuagint*. Leuven: Peeters, 2010.

Nöldeke, Theodor. *Compendious Syriac Grammar*. Translated by James A. Crichton. London: Williams & Norgate, 1904.

Rahlfs, A. (ed.) *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*. Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens 2. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1914.

Rahlfs, Alfred and Detlef Fraenkel (eds.) *Supplementum*. Vol. I/1. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.

Sokoloff, M. (ed.). *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*. Second Edition. Johns Hopkins University / Bar Ilan University Press, 2002.

Spicq, Ceslas. *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament.* Translated by and J.A. Ernest. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.

Swete, Henry Barclay. *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914.

Tov, E. *Textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Third edition, revised and expanded. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2012.

Townley, J. *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, 2 Vols., New York: Carton & Porter, 1856.

3. SECONDARY LITERATURE

Adler, W. 'The Jews as Falsifiers: Charges of Tendentious Emendation in anti-Jewish Christian Polemic'. Pages 1-27 in *Translation of Scripture*. Edited by David Goldenberg. Philadelphia: Annenberg Research Institute, 1990.

Aldrich, H. *Aristeae Historia LXXII Interpretum: Accessere Veterum Testimonia De Eorum Versione*. Oxon: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1692.

Anderson, R.T. and T. Giles. *The Samaritan Pentateuch: An Introduction to its Origin, History, and Significance for Biblical Studies*. Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study, Volume 72. Atlanta (Ga.): SBL, 2012

Barthélemy, D. 'Origène et Le Texte de L'Ancien Testament'. Pages 203-217 in *Etudes d'Histoire du Texte de l'Ancien Testament*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 21. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1978.

_____. 'Quinta ou Version selon les Hébreux?' *Theologische Zeitschrift* 16 (1960): 342-353. Reprinted: Pages 54-65 in *Etudes d'Histoire du Texte de l'Ancien Testament*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 21. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1978.

Ben-Dov, J. 'Early Texts of the Torah: Revisiting the Greek Scholarly Context'. Journal of Ancient Judaism 4 (2013): 210-34.

Ben-Ḥayyim, Z. 'The Tenth Commandment in the Samaritan Pentateuch'. Pages 487-492 in *New Samaritan Studies of the Société d'Études Samaritaines*. Ed. A. D. Crown. London: Mandelbaum Publishing (The University of Sydney), 1995.

Blowers, P. 'Origen, the Rabbis, and the Bible'. Pages 96-116 in *Origen of Alexandria: His World and His Legacy*. Edited by Charles Kannengiesser and William L. Petersen. Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 1. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988.

Bóid, I.R. 'Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Samaritan Tradition'. Pages 595-633 in *Mikra*. Edited by Martin Jan Mulder. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 1988.

Bowman, J. and S. Talmon. 'Samaritan Decalogue Inscriptions'. *Bulletin of the John Ryland's University Library of Manchester* 33 (1951): 211-236

Brock, S.P. 'Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique'. Pages 1-14 in *III Symposium Syriacum 1980*. Edited by Lavenant René. Roma : Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium / Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1983.

_____. *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*. Volume 9 of Mōrān 'Eth'ō. Baker Hill, Kottayam, India: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1997.

Brooks, R. ‘Straw Dogs and Scholarly Ecumenism’. Pages 63-95 in *Origen of Alexandria: His World and His Legacy*. Edited by Charles Kannengiesser and William L. Petersen. Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 1. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988.

Bruneau, P. ‘“Les Israélites de Délos” et la Juiverie Délienne’ *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 106 (1982): 465-504.

Bruns J.E. ‘The “Agreement of Moses and Jesus” in the “Demonstratio Evangelica” of Eusebius’. *Vigiliae Christianae* 31 (1977): 117-125.

Burgess, R.W. ‘The Dates and Editions of Eusebius’ *Chronici Canones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*’. *Journal of Theological Studies* 48 (1997): 471-504.

Burn, J. H. ‘Frederick Field, M.A., LL.D.’ *The Expository Times* 8/7 (1897): 325-328.

Burnett, S. ‘Later Christian Hebraists’. Pages 785-801 in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*: The History of Its Interpretation. Vol. II: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment. Edited by Magne Saebø. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.

Burris, K.R. *A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Numbers 1-18*. PhD Thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary: 2009.

Cain, A. ‘An unidentified patristic quotation in Jerome's commentary on Galatians (3.6.11)’. *Journal of Theological Studies* 61/1 (2010a): 216-225.

_____ (transl.). *St. Jerome: Commentary on Galatians*. Fathers of the Church 121, Washington DC: CUA Press, 2010b.

Carriker, Andrew. *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea*. Vigiliae Christianae Supplements Series 67. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Ceulemans, R. ‘The Greek Christian afterlife of the minor versions: the possibilities of a shift in perspective’. Pages 101-17 in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in honour of Florentino García Martínez*. Edited by H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, M. Vervenne. Leuven: Peeters, 2008.

_____. ‘Readings attributed to “οι περι (τον) Ακυλαν and/or (τον) Συμμαχον” by Greek Christian scribes and authors (Theodoret excepted)’. *Semitica et Classica* 4 (2011): 73-88.

_____. ‘Greek Christian access to ‘the Three’, 250-600 CE’. Pages 165-91 in *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. Edited T. Michael Law and Alison Salvesen. Leuven: Peeters, 2012.

_____. Review article of Gallagher 2012. *Louvain Studies* 38 (2014): 86-103.

Charlesworth, J.H. “What is a Variant? Announcing a Dead Sea Scrolls fragment of Deuteronomy”. *MAARAV* 16/2 (2009): 201-212.

Clements, R.A. ‘Origen’s Hexapla and Christian-Jewish Encounter in the Second and Third Centuries’. Pages 303-29 in *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima*. Edited by Terence L Donaldson. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000.

‘Notice of *Proposals for Publishing by Subscription Origenis Hexaplorum*… and *Otium Norvicence, sive Tentamen de Reliquiis*’ in *The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record.* Edited by B.H. Cowper. Vol. 7 *New Series* (1865): 475-76.

Crown, A.D. ‘Problems in Epigraphy and Paleography: The Nature of the Evidence in Samaritan Sources’. *Bulletin of the John Ryland’s University Library of Manchester* 62 (1979): 37-60.

_____. ‘The Samaritans in the Byzantine Orbit’. *Bulletin of the John Ryland’s University Library of Manchester* 69 (1986): 96-138.

_____. ‘Redating the Schism between the Judeans and the Samaritans’. *Jewish Quarterly Review* n.s. 82 (1991): 17-50.

_____. ‘Samaritan Literature and its Manuscripts’. *Bulletin of the John Ryland’s University Library of Manchester* 76 (1994): 21-49.

Dar, S. ‘The Samaritans in Caesarea Maritima’. Pages 225-35 in *Studia Samaritana: Samaria, Samarians, Samaritans: Studies on Bible, History and Linguistics*. Studia Samaritana 6. Edited by József Zsengellér. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011.

de Lange, N. *Origen and the Jews: Studies in Jewish-Christian Relations in Third-century Palestine.* Cambridge: CUP, 1976.

_____. ‘The Letter to Africanus: Origen’s Recantation?’ *Studia Patristica* 16 (1985): 42-247.

de Sacy, A.I. Silvestre. ‘Notice d’un manuscrit syriaque, contenant les livres de Moïse’. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale.* 4 (1798-99) : 648-668.

di Segni, L. Review article on Pummer 2002. *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 37/2 (2006): 241-59.

Devreesse, R. *Les Anciens Commentateurs Grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois (Fragments tirés des Chaînes)*. Studi e Testi 201. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959.

Dexinger, Ferdinand. ‘Das Garizimgebot im Dekalog der Samaritaner’. Pages 111-133 in *Studien zum Pentateuch, FS Kornfeld Walter*. Vienna: Herder Verlag, 1977.

_____. ‘Limits of Tolerance in Judaism: The Samaritan Example’. Pages 88-114 in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition. Volume Two: Aspects of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period*. Edited by Ed Sanders. London: SCM Press, 1981.

Downey, G. ‘Caesarea and the Christian Church’. Pages 23-42 in *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima*. Edited by Glanville Downey and Charles T Fritsch. Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima 1 / Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplemental Studies 19. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press for the American Schools of Oriental Research, 1975.

Dupin, Louis E. *Dissertation Préliminaire ou Prolégomènes sur la Bible*. Paris: Andrew Pralard, 1699. Anonymously translated: *A Compleat History of the Canon and Writers of the Books of the Old And New Testament*. London: 1699.

Dušek, J. *Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim and Samaria between Antiochus III and Antiochus IV Epiphanes*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 54 Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Eshel, E. and Hanan, E. ‘Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls’. Pages 215-40 in *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in honor of Emanuel Tov.* Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 94. Edited by Paul, Shalom, Robert Kraft, et al. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Fernández Marcos, N. ‘The Textual Context of the Hexapla: Lucianic Texts and Vetus Latina’. Pages 408-20 in *Origen’s Hexapla and Fragments*. Edited by Alison Salvesen. Tübingen : J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1998.

_____. ‘On Symmachus and Lucian in Ezekiel’ Pages 151-61 in *Interpreting Translation*. Edited by García Martínez Florentino. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005.

Fitzmyer, Joseph. ‘ “4Q Testimonia” and the New Testament’. *Theological Studies* 18 (1957): 513-537.

François, Wim, ‘Andreas Masius (1514–1573): Humanist, Exegete and Syriac Scholar’, *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 61/3-4 (2009): 199-244.

Gallagher, Edmon. *Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory: Canon, Language, Text*. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 114. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

_____. ‘The Septuagint's fidelity to its Vorlage in Greek patristic thought’. Pages 663-76 in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010*. Edited by Melvin K. H. Peters. Atlanta (Ga.): SBL, 2013.

_____. ‘The religious provenance of Aquila manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah’. *Journal of Jewish Studies* 64/2 (2013): 283-305.

_____. ‘Is the Samaritan Pentateuch a sectarian text?’ *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 127 (2015): 96-107.

Gamble, H.Y. *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.

Gaster, M. *The Samaritans: Their History, Doctrines and Literature*. London: OUP, 1925.

Geiger, A. ‘Die gesetzlichen Differenzen zwischen Samaritanern und Juden’. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 20 (1866): 527-573.

_____. ‘Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften.’ Pages 1-279 in *Nachgelassene Schriften*. Vol 4. Edited by Ludwig Geiger. Berlin: Louis Gershel Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1876.

Gentry, P. ‘Hexaplaric Materials in Ecclesiastes and the Role of the Syro-Hexapla’. *Aramaic Studies* 1 (2003): 5-28.

Gesenius, W. *De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine indole et auctoritate : commentatio philologico-critica*. Halae: Rengerianae, 1815.

Gibert, P. ‘The Catholic Counterpart and Response to the Protestant Orthodoxy’. Pages 758-73 in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*: The History of Its Interpretation. Vol. II: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment. Edited by Magne Saebø. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.

Graf, G. *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*. Fünfter Band. Studi e Testi 172. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1953.

Grafton, A. and Megan Williams. *Christianity and the transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea*. Cambridge (Mass.): Belknap Press of HUP, 2006.

Grant, R. ‘The Decalogue in Early Christianity’. *Harvard Theological Review* 40 (1947): 1-17.

Graves, Michael. *Jerome’s Hebrew Philology: a Study Based on his Commentary on Jeremiah*. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 90. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Hiebert, Robert J.V. The “Syrohexaplaric” Psalter. SCS / SBL 27. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1989.

_____. ‘Syriac Biblical Textual History and the Greek Psalter’. Pages 178-204 in *The Old Greek Psalter*. Edited by Pietersma Albert. Sheffield : Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.

Hody, Humphrey. *De Bibliorum Textis Originalibus*… Libri IV. Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1705.

Hollerich M.J. ‘Eusebius as a Polemical Interpreter of Scripture’. Pages 585-615 in *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*. Edited by Harold W Attridge. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

_____. *Eusebius of Caesarea’s Commentary on Isaiah: Christian Exegesis in the Age of Constantine*. Oxford Early Christian Studies. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

_____. ‘Eusebius’. Pages 629-52 in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible From the Beginnings to 600.* Edited by James Carleton Paget and Joachim Schaper. Cambridge: CUP, 2013.

Horne, T.H. *An Introduction to the Critical Study and the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*. Vol. 1. 8th Ed. New York: Robert Carter, 1847 [1st Ed. 1818].

Hottinger, Johanne. *Exercitationes Anti-Morinianae de Pentateucho.* Tiguri, *Typis* Joh. Jacobi Bodmeri, 1644.

Jenkins, R.G. ‘Colophons of the Syrohexapla and the *Textgeschichte* of the Recensions of Origen’. Pages 261-77 in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*. Edited by Claude Cox. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1991.

_____. ‘The First Column of the Hexapla: The Evidence of the Milan Codex (Rahlfs 1098) and the Cairo Genizah Fragment (Rahlfs 2005)’. Pages 88-102 in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. Edited by Alison Salvesen. Tübingen : J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1998.

Joosten, Jan. ‘The Samareitikon and the Samaritan Tradition’ Pages 346-59 in *Die Septuaginta - Text, Wirkung, Rezeption*. Edited by Kraus von Wolfgang and Siegfried Kreuzer. Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 2014.

Juckel, A. ‘Introduction to the Ḥarklean Text’. Pages xxxi-li in *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels*. 4 Vols. Edited by G.A. Kiraz. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Kahle, P. ‘Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes’. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 88 (1915): 399-439; reprinted: *Opera Minora*. Leiden: Brill, 1956: 3-37.

_____. *The Cairo Geniza*. 1st Edition. London: OUP, 1947.

Kamesar, A. *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Kamin[-Rozik], S. ‘The Theological Significance of the Hebraica Veritas in Jerome’s Thought’. Pages 243-253 in *Sha'arei Talmon*: *Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*. Edited by Michael Fishbane and Emanuel Tov. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992.

Kartveit, Magnar. *The Origin of the Samaritans*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 128. Leiden. Boston: Brill, 2009.

_____. ‘Samaritan Self-consciousness in the First Half of the Second Century B.C.E. in Light of the Inscriptions from Mount Gerizim and Delos’. *Journal for the study of Judaism* 45 (2014): 449-470.

Keener, C.S. *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary*. Vol. 2. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013.

Kennicott, Benjamin. *The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament Considered: Dissertation the Second. Wherein the Samar. Copy of the Pentateuch is vindicated: ...* Oxford: printed at the Theatre, 1759.

Kohn, Samuel. 'Zur neuesten Litteratur über die Samaritaner'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 39 (1885):165-226.

_____. 'Samareitikon und Septuaginta'. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 38 (1894), 1-7, 49-67.

Koster, M. *The Peshitta of Exodus: The Development of Its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries*. Studia Semitica Neerlandica, 19. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 1977.

_____. 'The Numbering of the Ten Commandments in Some Peshitta Manuscripts'. *Vetus Testamentum* 30 (1980): 468-473.

Kraemer, C. 'Pliny and the Early Church Service: Fresh Light from an Old Source'. *Classical Philology* 29/4 (1934): 293-300.

Ladvocat, J.B. 'Notice d'un manuscrit oriental apporté `a Paris en 1764'. *Journal des sçavans* (1765): 542-555.

Law, T. Michael. 'A History of Research on Origen's Hexapla: From Masius to the Hexapla Project', *Bulletin of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 40 (2007): 30-48.

_____. 'Origen's parallel Bible: Textual Criticism, Apologetics, or Exegesis?' *Journal of Theological Studies* 59 (2008): 1-21.

_____. 'La version syro-hexaplaire et la transmission textuelle de la Bible grecque'. Pages 101-20 in *L'Ancien Testament en Syriaque*. Edited by F. B. Chatonnet and M. Debie. Études Syriaques 5. Paris: Geuthner, 2008b.

_____. *Origenes Orientalis: The Preservation of Origen's Hexapla in the Syrohexapla of 3 Kingdoms*. De Septuaginta Investigationes Vol. 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011.

Lawlor, H. J. and J. E. L. Oulton (transl.). *Eusebius. Ecclesiastical History and Martyrs of Palestine*. 2 Vols. Translated with introduction and notes. London: SPCK, 1927-28.

Levine, L.I. *Caesarea under Roman Rule*. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 7. Leiden: Brill, 1975.

Loop, J. *Johann Heinrich Hottinger. Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: OUP, 2013.

Lossen, M. (ed.). *Briefe von Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden, 1538 bis 1573*. Leipzig: Verlag con Alphons Dürr, 1886.

Lowy, Simeon. *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis*. Studia Post-Biblica 28. Leiden: Brill, 1977.

Macuch, Rudolf. *Grammatik des Samaritanischen Aramäisch*. Studia Samaritana 4. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1982.

Marsh, Bradley. 'Jacob of Edessa's Greek manuscripts : the case from his revision of the book of Numbers'. *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 44 (2011): 5-25.

_____. "The Samaritan Pentateuch in the Recension of Jacob of Edessa", *Aramaic Studies*, forthcoming.

Masius, Andreas. *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia*. Antuerpiae : ex Officina Christophori Plantini, 1574.

McClurg, A.H. *A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Numbers 19-36*. PhD. Thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary: 2011.

McGiffert, A. (transl.) *Eusebius: Church History from A.D. 1-324*. Pages 1-403 in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Series 2/1. Edited by P. Schaff and H. Wace. [Reprint] Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995.

McKane, W. 'Benjamin Kennicott: An Eighteenth-Century Researcher'. *Journal of Theological Studies* 28 (1977): 445-64.

_____. *Selected Christian Hebraists*. Cambridge: CUP, 1989.

Meeks, Wayne A. *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 14. Leiden: Brill, 1967.

Metzger, B.M. *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*: *An Introduction to Greek Palaeography*. Oxford: OUP, 1981.

_____. *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*. Second Edition. Stuttgart : Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994.

Mercati, Giovanni. 'Di Varie Antichissime Sottoscrizioni a Codici Esaplari'. Pages 1-48 in *Nuove note di Letteratura Biblica e Cristiana Antica*. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1941.

Montgomery, J. A. *The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect Their History, Theology and Literature*. Philadelphia : John C. Winston Co., 1907.

Murphy, H. 'On the Text of Codices H and 93*,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 78 (1959): 228-237.

Neuschäfer , Bernard. *Origenes als Philologe*. Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 18. 2 vols. Basle: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1987.

Norton, G. 'Cautionary Reflections on a Re-edition of Fragments of Hexaplaric Material'. Pages 129-155 in *Tradition of the Text*: *FS Dominique Barthélemy*. Edited by G. Norton and Stephen Pisano. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 109. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1991.

_____. 'Observations on the First Two Columns of the Hexapla'. Pages 103-24 in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. Edited by Alison Salvesen. Tübingen : J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1998.

Nünlist, R. *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary. Criticism in Greek Scholia*. Cambridge: CUP, 2009.

Nutt, J. *Fragments of a Samaritan Targum, edited from a Bodleian ms.: with an introduction, containing a sketch of Samaritan history, dogma, and literature.* London: Trübner and Co., 1874.

Oppenheimer, A. 'Removing the Decalogue from the "Shema" and Phylacteries: the Historical Implications.' Pages 97-105 in *The Decalogue in Jewish and Christian Tradition*. Edited by Henning Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman. New York: T & T Clark, 2011.

Perkins, Larry. *The Place of the Syro-Hexapla in the Textual Tradition of the Septuagint of Deuteronomy*. PhD. Thesis, University of Toronto: 1980.

Petitmengin, Pierre and Flusin, Bernard. 'Le livre antique et la dictée: Nouvelles recherches'. Pages 247-62 in *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière*. Edited by Lucchesi Enzo. Genève: Patrick Cramer, 1984.

Pummer, Reinhard. 'ΑΡΓΑΡΙΖΙΝ: A Criterion for Samaritan Provenance?' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 18 (1987): 18–25.

_____. 'The Greek Bible and the Samaritans'. *Revue des Études Juives* 157/3-4 (1998): 269-358.

_____. 'Samaritanism in Caesarea Maritima'. Pages 181-202 in *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima*. Edited by T.L. Donaldson. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000.

_____. *Early Christian Authors on Samaritans and Samaritanism: Texts, Translations and Commentary*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 92. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002.

_____. *The Samaritans in Flavius Josephus*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 129. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009.

Purvis, J.D. *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 2. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.

_____. ‘The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans’ *Novum Testamentum* 17 (1975): 161-198.

Richard, E. ‘Acts 7: An Investigation of the Samaritan Evidence’. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 39 (1977): 190-208.

Rogerson, John W. ‘Early Old Testament critics in the Roman Catholic Church: focusing on the Pentateuch.’ Pages 837-850 in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*: The History of Its Interpretation. Vol. II: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment. Ed. by Magne Saebø. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.

Romeny, Bas ter Haar. ‘The Peshitta and its Rivals: On the Assessment of the Peshitta and Other Versions of the Old Testament in Syriac Exegetical Literature.’ *The Harp* 11-12 (1998-99): 21-31.

_____. ‘Biblical Studies in the Church of the East: The Case of Catholicos Timothy I’. *Studia Patristica* 34 (2001): 503-510.

_____. ‘The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version in Išoʿdad’s Commentary on the Psalms’. Pages 457-467 in *Biblical Hebrews, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman*. Edited by Ada Rapoport-Albert and Gillian Greenberg. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 333. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.

_____. ‘Procopius of Gaza and his Library’. Pages 173-90 in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*. Edited by Bas ter Haar Romeny and Hagit Amirav. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.

Rothschild, Jean-Pierre. ‘Samaritan Manuscripts. A Guide to the Collections and Catalogues’. Pages 771-94 in *The Samaritans*. Edited A.D. Crown. Tübingen : J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1989a.

_____. ‘Autour du Pentateuque Samaritain - Voyageurs, Enthousiastes et Savants’. Pages 61-74 in *Le Grand Siècle et la Bible*. Edited by Armogathe Jean-Robert. Paris : Éditions Beauchesne, 1989b.

Salvesen, Alison, ‘Hexaplaric Readings in Išʿodad of Merv’s Commentary on Genesis’. Pages 230-252 in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays*. Edited by Judith Frishman and Lucas van Rompay. Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5. Louvain: Peeters, 1997.

_____. ‘Symmachus Readings in the Pentateuch’. Pages 177-98 in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. Edited by Alison Salvesen. Tübingen : J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1998.

Sanderson, J. *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod and the Samaritan Tradition*. Harvard Semitic Studies 30. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1986.

Schaper, Joachim. ‘The Origin and Purpose of the Fifth Column of the Hexapla’. Pages 3-15 in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. Edited by Alison Salvesen. Tübingen : J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1998.

Schatkin, M. ‘The Influence of Origen upon St. Jerome's Commentary on Galatians’. Vigiliae Christianae 24 (1970): 49-58.

Schattner-Rieser, U. ‘Garizim versus Ebal. Ein Neues Qumranfragment samaritanischer Tradition?’ *Early Christianity* 1 (2010): 277-281.

Schenker, Adrian. ‘Textgeschichtliches zum Samaritanischen Pentateuch und Samareitikon Zur Textgeschichte des Pentateuchs im 2. Jh. v. Chr.’ Pages 105-121 in *Studia Samaritana: Samaritans – Past and Present*. Edited by Menachem Mor and Friedrich V Reiterer. Berlin: Walter de Grutyer, 2010.

Schironi, Francesca. ‘The Ambiguity of Signs: Critical σημεῖα from Zenodotus to Origen’. Pages 85-112 in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*. Edited by M. Niehoff. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Schorch, Stefan. ‘A Critical *editio maior* of the Samaritan Pentateuch: State of Research, Principle, and Problems’. *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 2 (2013): 1–21.

Segal, J.B. *The Diacritical Point and the Accents in Syriac*. London: Oxford University Press, 1953.

Segal, Michael. ‘The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls’. *Materia Giudaica* 12 (2007): 5-20.

Shuger, D. *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Simon, Richard. *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*. Paris: Vve Billaine, 1678. Translated into English by ‘A Person of Quality’: *A Critical History of the Old Testament.* London: *Walter Davis* in *Amen-Corner*, 1682.

_____. *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*. Nouvelle Edition. Amsterdam: Pour la Compagnie des Libraires, 1685.

Sipilä, Seppo. ‘The Tetrapla - Is It All Greek to Us?’ *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 10/2 (1996): 169-182.

Skeat, T.C. ‘The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 42 (1956): 179-208. Reprinted in pages 3-32 of *Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 113. Edited by J.K. Elliot. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

_____. ‘The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine’. *Journal of Theological Studies* 50 (1999): 583-625. Reprinted in pages 193-237 of *Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 113. Edited by J.K. Elliot. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

_____., H.J.M. Milne, and Douglas Cockerell. *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*. London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1938.

Skehan P. 'Exodus in the Samaritan Recension from Qumran'. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 74 (1955): 182-187.

_____. 'Qumran and the Present State of Old Testament Text Studies: the Masoretic Text'. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 78 (1959): 21-25.

Strugnell, J. 'Notes en marge du volume V des "Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan"'. *Revue de Qumrân* 7 (1970): 163-276.

Takahashi, Hidemi. *Barhebraeus: a bio-bibliography*. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2005.

Tal, Abraham. 'Samaritan Literature'. Pages 413-467 in in *The Samaritans*. Edited A.D. Crown. Tübingen : J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1989.

_____. 'Divergent Traditions of the Samaritan Pentateuch as Reflected by Its Aramaic Targum'. *Journal for the Aramaic Bible* 1/2 (1999): 297-314.

_____. 'The First Samaritanologist: Wilhelm Gesenius.' Pages 139-51 in *Hebräische Lexicographie und biblische Exegese: Das Werk von Wilhelm Gesenius*. Edited by. S. Schorch and E.J. Washke. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 427. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013.

Teeter, A. '"You shall not seethe a kid in its mother's milk": the text and the law in light of early witnesses'. *Textus* 24 (2009): 37-63.

Tigay, J. H. 'Conflation as a Redactional Technique'. Pages 53-95 in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*. Edited by J.H. Tigay. Philadelphia: PSU Press, 1985.

_____. *Deuteronomy* דברים*: the Traditional Hebrew text with the New JPS Translation.* Philadelphia (Pa.): The Jewish Publication Society, 1996.

Tischendorf, C. *Notitia editionis codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici....* Lipsiae: F. A. Brockhaus, 1860.

Tov, Emanuel. 'Pap. Giessen 13, 19, 22, 26 : A Revision of the LXX?' *Revue Biblique* 78 (1971): 355-383.

_____. "Une inscription grecque d'origine samaritaine trouvée à Thessalonique," *Revue Biblique* 81 (1974): 43-48. Reprinted in pages 513-18 in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999.

_____. 'Pap. Giessen 13, 19, 22, 26: A Revision of the Septuagint?' Pages 439-475 in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Ulrich, Eugene. ‘Origen’s Old Testament Text: the Transmission History of the Septuagint to the third century, C.E.’ Pages 3-33 in *Origen of Alexandria: His World and His Legacy*. Edited by Charles Kannengiesser and William L. Petersen. Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 1. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988. Reprinted pages 202-23 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*. Grand Rapids, Eerdmans: 1999.

_____. ‘The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Text.’. Pages 79-100 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years.* Vol. 1. Edited by P. Flint and J. VanderKam. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 30. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

_____. ‘The absence of “sectarian variants” in the Jewish scriptural scrolls found in Qumran’. Pages 179-95 in The Bible as Book: the Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries. Edited by Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov. London: British Library, 2002. Reprinted: Pages 169-86 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 169. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

_____. ‘The Old Latin, Mount Gerizim, and 4QJosh^{a}’. Pages 361-75 in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera Florilegium Complutense*. Edited by Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo A. Torijano Morales. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

_____. ‘Rising Recognition of the Samaritan Pentateuch’. Pages 215-27 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 169. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Voss, Isaac. *De Septuaginta Interpretibus eorumque Tralatione & Chronologia Dissertationes* Hagaecomitum: Ex Typographia ADRIANI ULACQ, 1661.

Van Roey Albert. ‘Les études syriaques d’Andreas Masius’ *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 9 (1978): 141-158.

Vollandt, R. *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Sources*. Biblia Arabica 2. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Vööbus, A. *The Hexapla and the Syro-Hexapla. Discoveries of Very Important Manuscript Sources for the Syro-Hexapla: Contributions to the Research on the Septuagint*. Estonian Theological Society in Exile 22: Stockholm, 1971.

Wallace-Hadrill, D.S. *Eusebius of Caesarea*. London: A.R. Mowbray, 1960.

Waltke, B. *Prolegomena to the Samaritan Pentateuch*. PhD. Thesis, Harvard University, 1965.

_____. “The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Text of the Old Testament”. Pages 212-39 in *New Perspectives on the Old Testament*. Edited by J. Barton Payne. Waco, TX: Word, 1970.

Walton, Brian. *The Considerator Considered: Or, a Brief View of Certain Considerations Upon the Biblia Polyglotta, the Prolegomena and Appendix Thereof*. London: *Tho. Roycroft*, 1659.

Weitzman, Michael. 'The Reliability of Retroversions of the Three from the Syrohexapla: A Pilot Study in Hosea' Pages 317-359 in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. Edited by Alison Salvesen. Tübingen : J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1998.

_____. *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction*. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Weinfeld, Moshe. *Deuteronomy 1-11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Yale Bible 5. New York: Doubleday, 1991.

Wevers, J.W. 'A Study in Vatapediou 600 in Numbers'. Pages 706-720 in *Mélanges Dominique Barthelemy: Études Bibliques Offertes à L'Occasion de son 60^{e} Anniversaire*. Edited by Pierre Casetti, Othmar Keel and Adrian Schenker. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 38. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1981.

Whealey, A. '*Quaestiones ad Marinum*: Eusebius or Acacius of Caesarea?' *Revue Bénédictine* 123/2 (2013): 193-213.

Whiston, W. *An Essay towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament, and for vindicating the citations thence made in the New Testament. London*: Senex, 1722.

White, Joseph, *A letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, Suggesting a Plan for a New Edition of the LXX. ...*, Oxford: Clarendon-Press, 1779.

Williams, M.H. *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship*. Chicago (Ill.): The University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Zuntz, Günther. *The Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1945.

Zahn, M. 'The problem of characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch manuscripts: Bible, rewritten Bible, or none of the above?' *Dead Sea Discoveries* 15/3 (2008): 315-339.

_____. *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture : Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 95. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011.

Zephyro, Francisco. *Moyses Enucleatus sev Locorum Obscuriorum; qui Pentateucho…* Coloniae Agrippinae, apud Petrum Haack, 1597.