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## INTRODUCTION

“A man who possesses common sense and the use of reason must not expect to learn from treatises or lectures on textual criticism anything that he could not, with leisure and industry, find out for himself. What the lectures and treatises can do for him is to save him time and trouble by presenting to him immediately considerations which would in any case occur to him sooner or later.” (A.E. Housman, “The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism,” *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 18 [1922] 67–84 [67]).

### General Bibliography

Ap-Thomas, *Primer*; D. Barthélemy, “Text, Hebrew, History of,” *IDBSup*, 878–84 = *Études*, 341–64; id., *Critique textuelle* 1982–2005; Brotzman, *Textual Criticism*; Cappellus, *Critica Sacra* (1650); Deist, *Text*; id., *Witnesses*; Eichhorn, *Einleitung*; Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, 669–719; Fischer, *Text*; Gentry, “Text”; D.C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York/London: Garland Publishing, 1992); Y. Grintz, *mbw’y mqr’* (Tel Aviv: Yavneh, 1972); Hendel, *Genesis 1–11*; Klein, *Textual Criticism*; van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*; McCarter, *Textual Criticism*; Kreuzer, “Text”; id., “Textkritik”; Mulder, *Mikra*; Noth, *Old Testament World*, 301–63; S. Pisano, S.J., *Introduzione alla critica testuale dell’ Antico e del Nuovo Testamento* (5<sup>th</sup> ed.; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2008); Reynolds–Wilson, *Scribes & Scholars*, 207–41; Roberts, *OTTV*; M.Z. Segal, *mbw’ hmqr’*, IV.842–977; Steuernagel, *Einleitung*, 19–85; Talmon, “Old Testament Text”; J.A. Thompson, “Textual Criticism, Old Testament,” *IDBSup*, 886–91; Trebelle, *Biblia*; Wegner, *Textual Criticism*; Weingreen, *Introduction*; Würthwein, *Text*; id., *Text (English)*.

Electronic tools: → ch. 10 and the textual sources described in chapters 2, 4, 8, 9

Textual criticism<sup>1</sup> deals with the nature and origin of all the witnesses of a composition or text, in our case the biblical books. This analysis often involves an attempt to discover the original form of details in a composition, or even of large stretches of text, although what exactly constitutes (an) “original text(s)” is subject to much debate. → ch. 3b. In the course of this inquiry, attempts are made to describe how the texts were written, changed, and transmitted from one generation to the next. Those scholars who express a view on the originality of readings do so while evaluating their comparative value. This comparison—the central area of the textual praxis—refers to the value of the readings<sup>+</sup> (variants<sup>+</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, XXII (1810–1812) uses the term *Wortkritik* (word criticism).

included in the textual witnesses. However, not all differences should be subjected to a textual evaluation. In our view, (groups of) readings that were produced at the literary growth stage of the biblical books (literary or editorial variants) should not be subjected to textual evaluation, since they were not produced during the course of the transmission of texts. → category II on p. 268. At the same time, the difficulty in recognizing readings of this type complicates the textual evaluation to such an extent that some scholars tend to avoid textual evaluation altogether. The attentive reader will note that this definition does not refer specifically to the traditional text of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture, the so-called Masoretic Text (MT =  $\mathfrak{M}$ ), but rather to all forms of Scripture.

In principle, the aims of textual criticism should not have changed with the discovery of important new evidence in the Judean Desert. However, the amount and nature of the new evidence aids us in better defining the cross-fertilization between textual criticism, exegesis, and literary criticism.

One of the practical results of the analysis of textual data is that it creates tools for the exegesis of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture. Exegetical activity is based on a text or texts and can only proceed if the nature of that text has been determined. By the same token, all other disciplines, such as the historical, geographical, and linguistic analysis of Scripture, operate from a text base. In each case, the scholar has to identify the text base for the exegesis, and by necessity this involves the analysis of all textual data. However, too often these disciplines are based mainly on  $\mathfrak{M}$  because the extant text editions and commentaries focus on that version. → pp. 364–5

The aims and procedures of textual criticism of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture are further defined in ch. 5A. The remainder of the present chapter deals with additional introductory issues, among them “text, canon, and sacred status” and “subjectivity of this book” (sections D and E). In section A, we attempt to demonstrate that involvement in textual criticism is imperative, not only in a comparative analysis of the various textual sources of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture (A1, 2) but also when we consult the so-called Masoretic Text (A3, 4) alone.

### **A. The Need for Textual Criticism of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture**

Several factors require the involvement of textual criticism within the discipline of biblical studies. In view of the focus on the Masoretic Text<sup>+</sup> by most scholars → pp. 364–5, such an examination remains relevant.

## 1. Differences among the Many Textual Witnesses

The biblical text has been transmitted in many ancient and medieval sources that are known to us from modern editions in different languages: We possess fragments of leather and papyrus scrolls that are at least two thousand years old in Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic, as well as manuscripts in Hebrew and other languages from the Middle Ages. These sources shed light on and witness to the biblical text, hence their name: “textual witnesses.” All these textual witnesses differ from one another to a greater or lesser extent. Since no textual source contains what could be called *the* biblical text, a serious involvement in biblical studies necessitates the study of all sources, which necessarily involves study of the differences between them. The comparison and analysis of these textual differences thus holds a central place within textual criticism.

It is not only the differences among the various textual witnesses that require involvement in textual criticism. Textual differences of a similar nature are reflected in the various attestations of a single textual tradition of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture, namely  $\aleph$ , often described as the main textual tradition of Scripture. Such differences are visible in all attestations of  $\aleph$ , ancient and medieval, and even in its printed editions and modern translations  $\rightarrow$  § *j*,<sup>2</sup> since they are based on different sources ( $\rightarrow$  pp. 70–74). We shall first turn to these editions (see pp. xx–xxii for bibliographical references), as they are easily accessible.

Possibly, one would not have expected differences between the printed editions of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture, for if a fully unified textual tradition had been possible at any one given period, it would certainly seem to have been after the invention of printing. However, such is not the case since all printed editions of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture, which actually are editions of  $\aleph$ , go back to different medieval manuscripts of that tradition, or combinations thereof ( $\rightarrow$  pp. 70–74), and therefore the editions also necessarily differ from one another. Moreover, these editions reflect not only the various medieval manuscripts, but also the personal views of the different editors. Furthermore, several editions contain a certain number of printing errors. Therefore, there is no single edition in existence that agrees in all its details with another one, except for photographically reproduced editions or editions presenting the same electronic

<sup>2</sup> See the following sample of modern renderings of עַד כִּי יָבֹא שִׁילֹה in Gen 49:10:

1. “Until Shiloh come” (*KJV*) =  $\aleph$  שִׁילֹה.
2. “So long as tribute is brought to him” (*NEB*; similarly *NJPS* and *NRSV*) = שִׁי לוֹ (thus the Midrash collections *Yalkut Shim‘oni* and *Lekah Tov*).
3. “Until he receives what is his due” (*REB*), “until he comes to whom it belongs” (*RSV* and similarly *JB*), all based on a reading שִׁי לֵה as in  $\Theta$   $\Sigma$   $\text{ON}$ . For a detailed discussion, see Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition*, 67–70. Additional examples are analyzed below, pp. 367–76.

(computer-encoded) text. Most editions even differ from one another in their subsequent printings, without informing the readers. Note, for example, the different printing errors in the various printings of the editions of Snaith and *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) mentioned below, and note the editorial decisions in the Adi and Koren editions.<sup>3</sup> The BHS edition originally appeared in fascicles that were corrected in the final printing, which carried the dates 1967–1977. It was corrected again in the 1984 printing, yet even this contains mistakes, on which see below.

It should be remembered that the number of differences between the various editions is very small. Moreover, all of them concern minimal, or even minute, details in the text, and most affect the meaning of the text in only a very limited way.

The following are examples of the differences between the most frequently used editions of מ.

#### a. *Sequence of Books*

The sequence of certain books differs in relation to the others in the various editions. These books are Chronicles, the ח"נ" books (acronymic for Job, Proverbs, and Psalms), and the Five Scrolls.<sup>4</sup> In most editions (e.g. RB1–2+ [*Miqra'ot Gedolot*], Letteris, Ginsburg, Sinai, Cassuto, Snaith, Koren, Adi, BH, BHS), Chronicles appears as the last book of the Hagiographa, while in Breuer's edition (1977–1982) it is the first book of that collection, reflecting its position in codices A<sup>+</sup> and L<sup>+</sup>. The internal sequence of the ח"נ" books differs in Breuer 1977–1982, BH, BHS (Psalms, Job, Proverbs [thus *b. B. Bat.* 14b]) from that of RB1–2+, Letteris, Ginsburg, Sinai, Cassuto, Snaith, Koren, Adi (Psalms, Proverbs, Job). For the Five Scrolls, one finds the following arrangements: Ruth, Canticles, Qoheleth, Lamentations, Esther (Breuer 1977–1982, BH, BHS); Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Qoheleth, Esther (some printings of RB1–2+, Letteris, Ginsburg, Sinai, Cassuto, Snaith, Adi). In other printings of RB1–2+, individual books of the Five Scrolls follow the books of the Torah.

#### b. *Chapter Division*

The chapters were determined at a late stage in the development of the biblical text. → p. 49. Accordingly, the exact content of these chapters differs sometimes among the various editions because, in an editor's view, the last verse of a chapter seems to make more sense as the first

<sup>3</sup> Thus the Hebrew Koren edition differs from its Hebrew-English edition in the numbering of the verses in the transitions between Genesis 31 and 32 and Ezekiel 13 and 14. See below concerning other differences between the various printings of the Adi and Koren editions.

<sup>4</sup> On the differences between the manuscripts and editions in this regard, see especially N.M. Sarna, "Bible," *EncJud* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971) 4.827–30.

verse of the following chapter, or *vice versa*, and the verse numbering reflects this understanding.

For example, the verse starting with the words “At that time, declares the LORD, I will be...” appears in some editions as the last verse of Jeremiah 30, 30:25 (e.g. Letteris, Sinai, Breuer, Koren 1962, Adi 1973–1976), and in other ones as the first verse of ch. 31 (Cassuto, Snaith, *BH*, *BHS*). These two representations of the biblical text are based on different understandings of the verse in its context.

“Certain elders of Israel came to me” forms the first verse of Ezekiel 14 in the editions of Letteris, Sinai, Snaith, Koren 1962, Adi 1973–1976, Breuer 1977–1997, *BH*, and *BHS*, but in the edition of Cassuto it appears as the last verse of ch. 13 (13:24), indicated by a closed section<sup>+</sup> after this verse. Ginsburg’s edition presents it as the last verse of ch. 13, but names it 14:1.

Likewise, the verse beginning with the words “Early in the morning Laban arose...” appears as the last verse of Genesis 31 (31:55) in the Koren 1962 edition, but as the first verse of ch. 32 in the editions of Letteris, Sinai, Snaith, Adi 1973–1976, Breuer 1977–1997, *BH*, and *BHS*.<sup>5</sup>

### c. *Layout of the Text*

Since the layout of the text as either poetry or prose depends on the editor’s views, in this detail, too, the various editions differ from one another.

The majority of the editions present the text of most biblical books as prose with a few passages as poetry. The editions of Letteris (in most of its printings) and Cassuto, however, present the תנכ”ח books (Job, Proverbs, and Psalms) as poetry. → p. 61. Against this tradition, *NJPS* 1999 presents the poetry “with line breaks, in the manner of poetry in more recent centuries” (p. xiv). *BH* tends to present texts as poetry more than the other editions, including *BHS*. See, for example, the song of Lamech (Gen 4:23-24) and the words of God to Rebekah (Gen 25:23). Ginsburg and *BHS*, as opposed to the other editions, present the priestly blessing in Num 6:23-26 as poetry.

The presentation of the text as either prose or poetry reflects exegesis, for example in the analysis of Jeremiah (cf. the prophecies that appear in prose in most editions of ch. 7, as opposed to those in v 29 of that chapter and the surrounding chapters, which are all presented as poetry, in *BH* and *BHS*).

<sup>5</sup> For additional examples of problematic chapter divisions, see P. Finfer, *Massoret Ha-Torah Ve-ha-Nebi'im* (Vilna: Graber, 1906; repr. [Tel Aviv?], 1970) 45–83; J.S. Penkower, “Verse Divisions in the Hebrew Bible,” *VT* 50 (2000) 378–93 (388–93).

d. *Verse Division*

The scope of the verses sometimes differs from one edition to another. For example, in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5, the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth commandments are recorded in some editions as one verse (Exod 20:12 or 13; Deut 5:17), but in other editions as four different verses (Exod 20:13-16; Deut 5:17-20). These discrepancies account for the differences in verse numbering in these chapters among the various editions. The editions of Letteris, Sinai, Snaith, *BH*, and *BHS* record these four commandments in Exodus 20 as separate verses, while the editions of Cassuto, Adi 1973–1976, Koren 1962, and Breuer 1977–1997 present them as one verse. Not every edition treats the Ten Commandments in Deuteronomy 5 in the same way, but the picture is similar. In the editions of Letteris, Sinai, Adi 1976, Koren 1962, and Breuer 1977–1997, the sixth through ninth commandments are treated as one verse, but in the editions of Cassuto, Snaith, *BH*, and *BHS* they are treated as four different verses because of their special (upper) accentuation. In Deuteronomy, the situation is even more complicated, since the second commandment (“You shall have no other gods beside Me.”) sometimes starts a new verse, viz., 5:7 (in the editions of Sinai, Cassuto, Snaith, Koren 1962, Adi 1976, Breuer 1977–1997, *BH*, and *BHS*), while in the Adi 1973 edition it appears as v 6b.<sup>6</sup>

e. *Single Letters and Words*

The number of differences in single letters is relatively small, with most of them concerning small details, such as *matres lectionis*. → pp. 208–18. For example:

Deut 23:2	פְּצוּעַ דֶּקֶא (פְּצוּעַ)	Cassuto, Snaith, Adi 1973–1976, Breuer 1977–1997, <i>BH</i> , <i>BHS</i>
	פְּצוּעַ דֶּקֶה (פְּצוּעַ)	RB2, Koren 1962

A few differences, however, concern complete words, such as:

Prov 8:16	שֹׁפְטֵי אֶרֶץ	judges of <i>the earth</i> Ginsburg, Koren 1977
	שֹׁפְטֵי צְדָק	<i>righteous</i> judges Letteris, Cassuto, Adi 1973–1976, Koren 1962, 1979, Breuer 1977–1997, <i>BH</i> , <i>BHS</i>

<sup>6</sup> On other aspects of the different writing traditions for the Decalogue, see M. Breuer, “The Division of the Decalogue into Verses and Commandments,” *The Ten Commandments as Reflected in Tradition and Literature throughout the Ages* (ed. B.-Z. Segal; Heb.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985) 223–54.

1 Sam 30:30	בְּבוֹר-עֶשֶׂן	Cassuto, Snaith, Adi 1973–1976, Breuer 1977–1997, <i>BHS</i>
	בְּבוֹר-עֶשֶׂן	Letteris, Koren 1962
Gen 14:1	כְּדָרְלַעֲמָר	RB2, Ginsburg 1926, Koren 1962, Adi 1973–1976, Breuer 1977–1997, <i>BH, BHS</i>
	כְּדָר-לַעֲמָר	Ginsburg 1926–, Letteris

A full list of such differences relating to the Koren edition is appended to the edition.

#### f. Vocalization and Accentuation

The relatively numerous differences in vocalization (vowel signs) and accents<sup>+</sup> usually do not affect the meaning of the text. Most of the differences in this group pertain to the *ga‘yah* (secondary stress). → pp. 62–5

The following is an example of one that does alter the meaning.

Jer 11:2	וְדַבַּרְתֶּם	and you (plural) shall say Letteris, Sinai, Snaith, Koren 1962, Breuer 1977–1997, <i>HUB</i>
	וְדַבַּרְתָּם	and you (singular) shall recite them Adi 1973–1976, <i>BH, BHS</i>

#### g. Notes of the Masorah

The modern Scripture editions include from the Masorah<sup>+</sup> mainly the *Qere*<sup>+</sup> and *Sebirin*<sup>+</sup> notes and the notation of sections in the text as either open<sup>+</sup> or closed<sup>+</sup>. The editions differ from one another in all these details. For example, Ginsburg, *Introduction*, 9–24 criticizes the imprecise notations of the sections in the earlier edition of Baer–Delitzsch. → p. 73

#### h. Different Editions Based on the Same Manuscript

Since the manuscripts of ׀ were handwritten, and therefore sometimes difficult to decipher, it is not surprising that they are sometimes read in different ways by the editors of modern Scripture editions. Five different editions (which actually represent only two editions) of the important codex Leningrad B19<sup>A</sup> (L), *BH* and its revised versions, *BHS* and *BHQ*, → ch. 9<sub>B</sub>, as well as the Adi edition (1973) and Dotan 2001, each claim that they faithfully present this codex. However, these editions differ from one another in many details, partly as a result of the difficulties in deciphering details (especially vowels and accents) and partly due to different editorial perspectives (see the introductions to the last two editions mentioned). Furthermore, some of these editions contain printing errors.

## j. Differences Due to Printing Errors

Printing errors are found in both earlier and later editions. The very first editions preceding RB1 and RB2 contain many mistakes involving the omission or duplication of words or entire verses.<sup>7</sup> → p. 71. However, later editions also contain multiple mistakes.<sup>8</sup> For example, in the Snaith edition (London, 1958) one finds:

Exod 10:3	אֵר מֵהַיָּם which should read: עַר מֵהַיָּם
Esth 7:7	עָלֵי instead of: אָלֵי
Esth 7:8	וּבְנֵי instead of: וּפְנֵי
Esth 8:5	כֻּכָּל instead of: בְּכָל

Many of the printing errors found in the early printings of *BH* (e.g. 1949) were corrected in *BHS*—for example, Isa 35:1 בהבצלה (which should read כהבצלה)<sup>9</sup>—but some misprints and inaccuracies remain even in the 1984 printing of *BHS* (1967–1977).<sup>10</sup> For example,

Gen 35:27	הַבְּרוּן which should read: הַבְּרוּן
2 Sam 14:30 Q	יְהִי־תוֹהָה instead of: וְהִצִּיתוּהָ
Dan 11:8	הַצִּפּוֹן instead of: הַצִּפּוֹן

These small but material differences between the modern editions of *ℳ*, as well as the various printing errors and many additional factors, necessitate the involvement of textual criticism. When examining the origin of the differences between the various modern editions of *ℳ*, we soon discover that most of them go back to differences between the medieval manuscripts on which they are based. Indeed, the analysis in ch. 2 shows that medieval manuscripts and scrolls from the Second Temple period differ in numerous details, ranging from single letters and whole words to entire verses. Medieval Masoretic manuscripts differ in

<sup>7</sup> See J.G. Bidermannus, *Programma de mendis librorum et nominatim bibliorum hebraicorum diligentius cavendis* (Freiburg: Matthaeanis, 1752); Kennicott, *Dissertation* (1753), *Part the Second*, 620–21 (lists the mistakes of the Naples 1487 edition); Ginsburg, *Introduction*, 779–976 (extensive review of the mistakes in all early editions).

<sup>8</sup> For example, see Cohen–Freedman, “Snaith.”

<sup>9</sup> See I. Yeivin, “The New Edition of the Biblia Hebraica: Its Text and Massorah,” *Textus* 7 (1969) 114–23. Dotan 2001, X (→ p. xxi) discusses such mistakes in *BH* and *BHS*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Wonneberger, *Understanding BHS*, 74–5. All these errors have been corrected in subsequent printings of *BHS*.



these details as well as in vocalization, accentuation, and details of the Masorah<sup>+</sup> (*Ketib–Qere*<sup>+</sup> readings and section divisions<sup>+</sup>).

The differences between the various textual witnesses, some of which involve details in content, are exemplified in ch. 4c.

## 2. Mistakes, Corrections, and Changes in the Texts, Including מ

Most texts—ancient and modern—that are transmitted from one generation to the next get *corrupted* in one way or another. For modern compositions, the process of textual transmission from the writing of the autographs<sup>+</sup> until their final printing is relatively short, thus limiting the possibilities of them becoming corrupted.<sup>11</sup> In ancient texts, however, such as Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture, these corruptions (the technical term for various forms of “mistakes”) were more frequent as a result of the complexities of the writing on papyrus and leather and the length of the transmission process, conditions that prevailed until the advent of printing. The number of factors that could have created corruptions is large: the transition from the early Hebrew<sup>+</sup> to the square script<sup>+</sup>, unclear handwriting, unevenness in the surface of the leather or papyrus, graphically similar letters which were often confused, the lack of vocalization<sup>+</sup>, unclear boundaries between words in early texts leading to wrong word divisions<sup>+</sup>, scribal corrections not understood by the next generation of scribes, etc.

Corruptions as well as various forms of scribal intervention (changes, corrections, etc.) are evidenced in all textual witnesses of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture, including the group of texts now called the medieval Masoretic Text as well as in its predecessors, the proto-Masoretic<sup>+</sup> (also named proto-rabbinic) texts.<sup>12</sup> Those who are unaware of the details of textual criticism may think that one should not expect corruptions in מ, or any other sacred text, since these texts were meticulously written and transmitted. The scrupulous approach of the *soferim* and Masoretes is indeed manifest in some of their techniques. They even counted all the letters and words of מ. → p. 66. Therefore, one would not expect corruptions to have been inserted into the text through their work, or

<sup>11</sup> However, note the many mistakes that were inserted into all the editions of *Ulysses* by James Joyce as a result of misunderstandings of the author’s corrections in the proof sheets of his book. These mistakes were corrected in a critical edition at a relatively late stage: *James Joyce, Ulysses: Student’s Edition, The Corrected Text* (ed. H.W. Gabler et al.; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986).

<sup>12</sup> Tradition ascribes 8, 11, or 18 such “corrections”<sup>+</sup> in מ to the *soferim* (“Scribes”) → pp. 59–61, but since these transmitted corrections are questionable, it should be remembered that many similar ones are evidenced elsewhere. → pp. 242–56

corrections to have been made. Yet, in spite of their precision, even the manuscripts that were written and vocalized by the Masoretes contain corruptions, changes, and erasures. More importantly, the Masoretes, and before them the *soferim*, made their contribution at a relatively late stage in the development of the biblical text; at that time the text already contained corruptions and had been tampered with before the scribes began to treat it with such reverence and before they put their meticulous principles into practice. Therefore, paradoxically, the *soferim* and Masoretes carefully preserved a text that was already corrupted. The discussion in the following chapters will expand on the subject of these corruptions that occurred in all manuscripts of the Hebrew–Aramaic Bible, including the manuscripts of מ.

It is not easy to provide convincing proof of errors in מ, but we believe that some of the examples in § 4 provide partial proof. As was already recognized in the Middle Ages by R. David Kimḥi (RaDaK), two pairs of similar letters (*daleth/resh* and *waw/yod*) were sometimes interchanged by mistake. → p. 13. As a result, in such situations there is no escape from the view that often one of any two similar readings, occurring in parallel texts, is “correct” or “original”+ and the other a corruption. This assumption pertains, for example, to such pairs of readings as ורודנים/ודדנים and עיבל/עובל. → Table 1

The assumption of corruptions in the biblical text pervades many of the examples in this book. Such corruptions are found in Qumran scrolls when compared with מ and other texts,<sup>13</sup> and likewise in מ when compared with other texts.<sup>14</sup> In all these cases, the comparison of מ and the Qumran texts is based on objective textual data and recognized scribal phenomena.

Other corruptions in מ are evident not through the comparison of different manuscripts, but through the occurrence of problematical details.

1 Sam 13:1 מ בן שנה שאול במלכו ושתי שנים מלך על ישראל (= ו; ≈ ט) literally:  
Saul was *one year* old when he began to reign; and he reigned  
*two years* over Israel.  
NRSV Saul was ... years old when he began to reign; and he  
reigned ... *and two years* over Israel.

The problematical aspects of this unusual text are indicated in the NRSV<sup>15</sup> by dots to which the following footnotes are added for the first and the second

<sup>13</sup> E.g. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> in Isa 13:19 → p. 233; 26:3-4 → p. 222; 30:30 → p. 224; 40:7-8 → pp. 223-4.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. 1 Sam 1:24 → p. 236; 4:21-22 → p. 226; 2 Sam 23:31 → p. 233; 2 Kgs 11:13 → p. 226; Jer 23:33 → p. 276; 29:26 → p. 238; 41:9 → p. 276.

<sup>15</sup> N<sup>JPS</sup> and McCarter, *I Samuel*, 222 use the same technique.



books than any other text. Furthermore, even were we to surmise that  $\aleph$  reflects the “original” form of Scripture, we would still have to decide *which* form of  $\aleph$  reflects this “original text,” since  $\aleph$  itself is represented by many witnesses that differ in small details. → ch. 2IA

#### 4. Differences between Inner-Biblical Parallel Texts in $\aleph$

The textual witnesses of the biblical books often contain parallel versions of the same unit. Some of these reflect different formulations in  $\aleph$  itself of the same psalm (Psalm 18 // 2 Samuel 22; Psalm 14 // Psalm 53), a genealogical list (Ezra 2 // Neh 7:6-72), segments of books (Jeremiah 52 // 2 Kgs 24:18–25:30; Isa 36:1–38:8 // 2 Kgs 18:13–20:11), and even large segments of a complete book, viz., Chronicles, large sections of which run parallel to the books of Samuel and Kings. Some of these parallel sources are based on ancient texts that already differed from one another before they were incorporated into the biblical books, and which additionally underwent changes after they were transmitted separately from one generation to the next. In some instances, textual differences between parallel sources in  $\aleph$  can easily be located, as in the texts presented in Table 1.

**Table 1**

*Gen 10:1-29  $\aleph$  Compared with the Parallel Text 1 Chr 1:4-23  $\aleph$*

ואלה תולדת בני נח שם חם ויפת ויולדו להם בנים אחר המבול<sup>2</sup> בני יפת נמר ומנוג ומדי ויון ותבל ומשך ותירס<sup>3</sup> ובני נמר אשכנז וריפת ותגרמה<sup>4</sup> ובני יון אלישה ותרשיש בתים ודננים<sup>5</sup> מאלה נפרדו איי הגוים בארצתם איש ללשנו למשפחתם בנויהם<sup>6</sup> ובני חם כוש ומצרים ופוט וכנען<sup>7</sup> ובני כוש סבא וחויילה וסבתה ורעמה וסבתכא ובני רעמה שבא ודרן<sup>8</sup> וכוש ילד את נמרד הוא החל להיות נבר בארץ<sup>9</sup> הוא היה נבר ציד לפני יהוה על כן יאמר כנמרד נבור ציד לפני יהוה<sup>10</sup> ותהי ראשית ממלכתו בבל וארץ ואכד וכלנה בארץ שנער<sup>11</sup> מן הארץ ההוא יצא אשור ויבן את נינוה ואת רחבת עיר ואת כלל<sup>12</sup> ואת רסן בין נינוה ובין כלל הוא העיר הגדלה<sup>13</sup> ומצרים ילד את לודים ואת ענמים ואת להבים ואת נפתחים<sup>14</sup> ואת פתרסים ואת כסלחים אשר יצאו משם פלשתים ואת כפתרים<sup>15</sup> וכנען ילד את צידן בכרו ואת חת<sup>16</sup> ואת היבוסים ואת האמרי ואת הגרנשי<sup>17</sup> ואת החוי ואת הערקי ואת הסיני<sup>18</sup> ואת הארודי ואת הצמרי ואת החמתי ואחר נפצו משפחות הכנעני<sup>19</sup> ויהי גבול הכנעני מצידן באכה גררה עד עזה באכה סדמה ועמרה ואדמה וצבים עד לשע<sup>20</sup> אלה בני חם למשפחתם ללשנתם בארצתם בנויהם<sup>21</sup> ולשם ילד גם הוא אבי כל בני עבר אחי יפת הגדול<sup>22</sup> בני שם עילם ואשור וארפכשד ולוד וארם<sup>23</sup> ובני ארם עוץ וחול ונתר ומש<sup>24</sup> וארפכשד ילד את שלח ושלח ילד את עבר<sup>25</sup> ולעבר ילד שני בנים שם האחד פלג כי בימיו נפלגה הארץ ושם אחיו יקטן<sup>26</sup> ויקטן ילד את אלמורד ואת שלף ואת חצרמות ואת ירח<sup>27</sup> ואת הדורם ואת אוזל ואת דקלה<sup>28</sup> ואת עובל ואת אבימאל ואת שבא<sup>29</sup> ואת אופר ואת חויילה ואת יובב כל אלה בני יקטן

Differences between Gen 10:1-29 ׀ and 1 Chr 1:4-23 ׀ in the overlapping sections:

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 3  | וריפת ] וריפת   | 1 Chr 1:6                                     |
|    | והגנרמה ] והגנרמה                                       | 1 Chr 1:6                                     |
| 4  | והרשיש ] והרשיש   | 1 Chr 1:7                                     |
|    | והרדנים ] והרדנים                                       | 1 Chr 1:7                                     |
| 7  | וסבתה ורעמא וסבתכא...רעמא ] וסבתה ורעמה וסבתכא ... רעמה | 1 Chr 1:9                                     |
| 8  | נמרוד ] נמרד  | 1 Chr 1:10                                    |
|    | גבור ] גבר  | 1 Chr 1:10                                    |
| 13 | לודים ] לודים   | Chr <sup>Ketib</sup> 1 Chr 1:11 (Qere: לודים) |
| 15 | צידון ] צידן  | 1 Chr 1:13                                    |
| 23 | ובני ארם ] ולוד וארם                                    | 1 Chr 1:17                                    |
|    | וערין ] ערין  | 1 Chr 1:17                                    |
|    | ומשך ] ומש  | 1 Chr 1:17                                    |
| 28 | עובל ] עובל   | 1 Chr 1:22                                    |
| 29 | אופיר ] אופר  | 1 Chr 1:23                                    |

This table presents the text of Gen 10:1-29 ׀ in which the overlaps with the parallel text in 1 Chr 1:4-23 in ׀ (including some differences in details) are underlined, while the non-overlapping text is not. The high level of agreement between the two texts clearly shows that the lists in Genesis and Chronicles are closely related.<sup>18</sup> In this case, it is not difficult to distinguish between textual and other differences.<sup>19</sup>

The list in 1 Chr 1:4-23 reproduces the genealogical data of Genesis as well as a few narrative segments. The agreement between the two lists in ׀ involves the smallest details, implying that little textual corruption occurred in these units, neither when the Chronicler copied the list from his source, which must have been very close to the present text of ׀ in Genesis, nor during the course of the textual transmission in the ensuing centuries. The only differences between the two texts are in spelling (11 x),<sup>20</sup> a different linguistic form (v 4), an added *waw* (v 23), and a few scribal interchanges, undoubtedly representing errors in one of the two texts (vv 3, 4, 23, 28). Vv 4 and 28 are discussed on p. 16. The nature of one case remains unresolved,<sup>21</sup> but all other differences fall under the heading of scribal transmission such as described in ch. 4.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Chronicles 1 contains summaries of genealogies in Genesis 5, 10–11, 25, 35–36. Also within the sections from Genesis 10, the Chronicler presented a summary of his source, since he left out some segments (Gen 10:5, 9–12, 18 end, 19–21). Furthermore, the reworking of the Chronicler included the removal of headings and conclusions in Genesis.

<sup>19</sup> When the texts differ, we may correct details in one text to those in the parallel text (see the discussion of vv 4 and 28 on p. 16), but the basic dichotomy between the texts should be maintained since they were composed by different authors.

<sup>20</sup> Chronicles always presents a fuller orthography<sup>+</sup>. → p. 213

<sup>21</sup> Gen 10:22 mentions the five sons of Shem, among them Aram, while the next verse lists Aram's four sons. However, in 1 Chr 1:17, the words "the sons of Aram" are missing in ׀+, a *waw* is added before Uz, and as a result Shem is presented as having nine

The relation between the parallel Psalms 14 and 53 (Table 2) is more complicated than between the texts presented in Table 1, but they represent the same Psalm transmitted in two different versions.

**Table 2**

*Psalm 14 וְ compared with the Parallel Text of Psalm 53 וְ*

לִמְנַצַּח לְדוֹד אָמַר נָבַל בְּלִבּוֹ אֵין אֱלֹהִים הַשְׁחִיתוּ הַתְּעִיבוּ עֲלֵיָהּ אֵין עֲשָׂה טוֹב<sup>1</sup>  
יְהוָה מִשְׁמַיִם הַשְׁקִיף עַל בְּנֵי אָדָם לְרֹאוֹת הִישׁ מִשְׁכִּיל דַּרְשׁ אֵת אֱלֹהִים<sup>3</sup> הַכֹּל סָר<sup>2</sup>  
יַחַד וְנֹאֲלָחוּ אֵין עֲשָׂה טוֹב אֵין גַּם אַחַד<sup>4</sup> הֲלֹא יָדְעוּ כָל פְּעֻלֵי אוֹן אַכְלֵי עֲמִי אַכְלוּ לֶחֶם  
יְהוָה לֹא קִרְאוּ<sup>5</sup> שֵׁם פַּחַדוֹ כִּי אֱלֹהִים בְּדוֹר צַדִּיק<sup>6</sup> עֲצַת עֲנִי תִבְיִשׁוּ כִי יְהוָה  
מַחֲסֹהוּ<sup>7</sup> מִי יִתֵּן מִצִּיּוֹן יִשׁוּעַת יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשׁוּב יְהוָה שְׁבוֹת עִמּוֹ יִגַּל יַעֲקֹב יִשְׁמַח יִשְׂרָאֵל

Differences between Psalm 14 וְ and Psalm 53 וְ:

- 1 Ps 53:1 על מחלת משכיל לדוד ] לדוד
- Ps 53:2 והתעיבו ] התעיבו
- Ps 53:2 עול ] עלילה
- 2 Ps 53:3 אלהים ] יהוה
- 3 Ps 53:4 כלו ] הכל
- Ps 53:4 סג ] סר
- 4 Ps 53:4 > ] כל
- Ps 53:5 אלהים ] יהוה
- 5 Ps 53:6 לא היה פחד + ] פחד
- Ps 53:6 פור ] בדור
- 6 Ps 53:6 > ] צדיק
- Ps 53:6 עצמות חנך ] עצת עני
- Ps 53:6 הבישתה ] תבישו
- 6 Ps 53:6 > ] כי
- Ps 53:6 אלהים ] יהוה
- Ps 53:6 מאסם ] מחסו
- 7 Ps 53:7 ישועות ] ישועת
- Ps 53:7 אלהים ] יהוה

This table presents the text of Psalm 14 וְ in which the overlaps between the two texts are underlined, while the differences are not.

While there are several substantial differences between the two psalms in וְ, they share the same ideas and are therefore analyzed in the commentaries as a single psalm. Some scholars attempt to reconstruct the text that was at the base of the two transmitted psalms.<sup>22</sup>

children. The difference between the two texts was probably caused by a textual error. Alternatively, the difference may have been intentional, involving a different view of the source of the Arameans. Japhet, *Chronicles*, 59 is undecided.

<sup>22</sup> C.C. Torrey, "The Archetype of Psalms 14 and 53," *JBL* 46 (1927) 186–92; K. Budde, "Psalm 14 und 53," *JBL* 47 (1928) 160–83. In some details, these scholars consider the

In their common text, the two psalms speak out against the nations who deny God's existence and devour His people, and end with a prayer for salvation emanating from Zion. The differences between the two versions were created during the course of their scribal transmission, with additional differences created by separate exegesis. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between these two levels since several of these differences can be explained in different ways.

Most differences were created during the *scribal* transmission: → pp. 219–62

עלילה 1 Ps 53:2. After the word pair השחיתו ההעיבו, the general עלילה (deed) is appropriate and not עול, which creates a tautology. The two words are tantalizingly close, and therefore a graphical interchange is likely.

סגן 3 Ps 53:4. It is difficult to decide which reading is preferable, but the words clearly developed from one another.

פזר Ps 53:6. An interchange of פזר and בדר(ו)ר is likely, resulting in words carrying opposite meanings. According to Psalm 14, “God is present in the circle of the righteous” (*NJPS*) including a word צדיק not found in Psalm 53, while according to Psalm 53 “God has scattered the bones of your besiegers.”

מאסם Ps 53:6 and מצמות הנך הבישה Ps 53:6. The two psalms display diametrically opposing pictures. The most clearly recognizable difference is that God “rejected” Israel’s enemies in Psalm 53, while in Psalm 14 God serves as the “refuge” of his righteous followers (second group of variants). However, graphically the Hebrew words are very similar. Likewise, the first group of variants (Psalm 14: “You would confound the plans of the poor” [*NRSV*] // Psalm 53: “[God has scattered] the bones of your besiegers. You have put <them> to shame.”) offers two different pictures, while the Hebrew letters are similar as indicated in the printing (in addition, the *aleph* and the *het* are phonetically close). Both formulations have their own internal logic, and because they are graphically similar, one version developed from the other one. → ch. 3B

Other differences between the two versions are *exegetical*.

כלו Ps 53:4.

כל Ps 53:4.

פחד + לא היה פחד Ps 53:6. This additional hemistich<sup>+</sup> runs parallel to the previous one, and may reflect a double, alternative, reading.

Note further an expanded superscription in Ps 53:1 and the replacement of the Tetragrammata<sup>+</sup> of Psalm 14 (יהוה) with אלהים (God) in vv 2, 4, 7 in Psalm 53, as usual in the Elohistic<sup>+</sup> Psalter (Psalms 42–89 [or: 83]). → Tov, “Coincidental Textual Nature,” 164–6

The analysis in Tables 1 and 2 showed that it is often difficult to decide whether a certain variation reflects a scribe’s content exegesis or a textual development. Assuming that such a variation often reflects scribal activity, the parallel texts in מ provide a major source of information about ancient scribal activity,<sup>23</sup> similar to the differences between ancient scrolls of the same text.

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same reading original, usually that of Psalm 14, while in v 5 they go their separate ways.

<sup>23</sup> See the data on pp. 221–39 and Sperber, *Grammar*.

Even though there is no direct, archeological, evidence (that is, ancient scrolls) for the earliest stages of the transmission of most biblical books, indirect evidence does exist for this stage in these parallel texts within  $\aleph$  itself. Such differences attest to readings developed in one of the first stages of the textual transmission, as, for example, between the two parallel versions of the “Table of the nations” in  $\aleph$  (Genesis 10 // 1 Chronicles 1; → Table 1 above):

Gen 10:4	$\aleph$	וּבְנֵי יוֹן אֱלִישָׁה וְתַרְשִׁישׁ כְּתִים וְדַדַּנִּים (= $\sigma^{\text{O}}\text{Ps-J}^{\text{N}}\nu$ and $\nu$ in 1 Chr 1:7) The descendants of Javan: Elishah and Tarshish, the Kittim and <i>Dodanim</i> . <sup>24</sup>
1 Chr 1:7	$\aleph$	וּבְנֵי יוֹן אֱלִישָׁה וְתַרְשִׁישָׁה כְּתִים וְרֹדַנִּים (= $\mu$ and $\sigma$ וְרֹדַנִּים in Gen 10:4) The descendants of Javan: Elishah and Tarshishah, the Kittim and Rodanim.
Gen 10:28	$\aleph$	וְאֵת עֹבַל וְאֵת אַבִּימָאֵל (= $\varsigma$ , also in Gen 36:23) Obal and Abimael
1 Chr 1:22	$\aleph$	וְאֵת עִבְל וְאֵת אַבִּימָאֵל (= Gen 10:28 $\mu$ $\tau$ $\nu$ ; Gen 36:23 $\mu$ $\sigma$ $\tau$ $\nu$ ) Ebal and Abimael

Similar internal differences are found in the two versions of the list of David’s mighty men in  $\aleph$ :

2 Sam 23:28-29	$\aleph$	מַהֲרַי הַנְּטוֹפְתֵי הַלְּבָב בֶּן בַּעֲנָה הַנְּטוֹפְתִי (= $\tau$ $\varsigma$ ) Maharai the Netophathite, <sup>29</sup> Heleb son of Ba‘anah the Netophathite
1 Chr 11:30	$\aleph$	מַהֲרַי הַנְּטוֹפְתֵי הַלְּדָב בֶּן בַּעֲנָה הַנְּטוֹפְתִי (= $\sigma$ $\tau$ $\nu$ ; = $\nu$ in Samuel) Maharai the Netophathite, Heled son of Ba‘anah the Netophathite

The scribal background of differences of this type was already recognized by R. David Kimḥi (RaDaK) in his commentary on “and Rodanim” in 1 Chr 1:7:<sup>25</sup>

This word is written with a *resh* at the beginning. And in the book of Genesis it is written with two *daleths*: “and *Dodanim*.” Since the *daleth* and *resh* are similar in appearance, and among the readers of the genealogies which were written in ancient times, some read a *daleth* and some read a *resh*, some names were preserved for posterity in two

<sup>24</sup> For a similar interchange, see Ezek 27:15  $\aleph$   $\tau$   $\nu$  —  $\sigma$   $\rho\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ . In ancient manuscripts, several modern translations, and some editions (Letteris, Sinai), the differences between these two names have been removed by changing the Chronicles text in accord with that of Genesis. See p. 374 for similar examples.

<sup>25</sup> RaDaK’s explanation continues the view expressed in Gen. Rab. 37.1 (ed. Theodor [Berlin: Ittskovsky, 1903–1929] 344), according to which these forms are two different exegetical variations of the same entity.



forms with either a *daleth* or a *resh*. Thus it <D/Rodanim> is written in the book of Genesis with one of the readings and in this book <1 Chronicles> with the other one. This goes to show that both forms represent one name whether read with a *daleth* or with a *resh*. This applies also to “Riblatah” (2 Kgs 25:6,20; Jer 39:5; 52:9,10,26) written with a *resh* and “Diblatah” (Ezek 6:14) with a *daleth*... Likewise, words with *waw* and *yod* are interchanged as they are similar in appearance.

In ch. 4c, many similar differences between parallel texts are presented.<sup>26</sup> The differences between Psalm 18 and 2 Samuel 22 and Isa 36:1–38:8 // 2 Kgs 18:13–20:11 are listed in *Sof.* 8.1–2.

## B. A Modern Approach to Textual Criticism

Since the discovery in 1947 of Hebrew and Aramaic texts in the Judean Desert dating from approximately 250 BCE until 135 CE, our knowledge about the Scripture text has increased greatly. → ch. 2IA–C. It should be remembered that until the time of those discoveries no early Hebrew and Aramaic Scripture texts were known, except for the Nash papyrus of the Decalogue → p. 111,<sup>27</sup> and as a result the manuscripts of מ from the Middle Ages served as the earliest Scripture sources in the original languages. Therefore, the research before 1947 was based on Hebrew–Aramaic texts that had been copied 1200 years or more after the composition of the biblical books. At the same time, scholars also relied on manuscripts and early papyrus fragments of the ancient translations → ch. 2II, especially of the Septuagint (Ⓞ) and the Vulgate (Ⓟ), which brought them much closer to the time of the composition of the biblical books. All these, however, are translations, and the reconstruction of their Hebrew–Aramaic sources will always remain uncertain. → pp. 122–7. Therefore, the discovery in the Judean Desert of many Hebrew–Aramaic texts dating from two millennia ago has considerably advanced our knowledge of the early witnesses and the procedure of the copying and transmitting of texts.

This new knowledge has necessarily changed our understanding of the Scripture text and, accordingly, our approach to writing an introduction to textual criticism. Such a new approach is *not* reflected in

<sup>26</sup> It is exactly these parallel biblical passages that prompted the development of textual criticism of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture, because they necessitated the comparison of texts. See especially Kennicott, *Dissertation, Part the First compares I CHRON. XI with 2 SAM. V and XXIII* (1753); Owen, *Critica Sacra* (1774). Further studies on this topic are listed by I. Kalimi, *Chronicles, The Books of Chronicles: A Classified Bibliography* (Simor Bible Bibliographies; Jerusalem: Simor, 1990) 52–66.

<sup>27</sup> However, this liturgical papyrus does not represent a witness for the biblical text in the generally accepted sense of the word.

most previously written introductions. The influential introduction of Roberts, *OTTV*, was written in 1951, after the discovery of the first texts in the Judean Desert, but its author was not able to incorporate the new discoveries in his description. In our view, the introductions of Klein, *Textual Criticism* 1974, Deist, *Text* 1978, id., *Witnesses* 1988, McCarter, *Textual Criticism* 1986, and Würthwein, *Text* 1988 (5<sup>th</sup> edition) although written at a time when several Judean Desert texts were known, in many respects still reflect the approach of the period before the discovery of the new data. As a matter of fact, the main Judean Desert texts were published after the publication of these introductions. On the other hand, the more recent introductions by Wegner\* 2006 and Fischer\* 2009 pay much attention to the new discoveries.

In our opinion, the new discoveries have not only added new data that are of major importance, but have also necessitated a new approach to the texts that were known before 1947. → pp. 158–60

The new insights are visible in the different amounts of attention given to the textual sources. Ever since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, introductory analyses have given equal attention to all Scriptural texts. Scholars regarded the ancient translations, especially the Greek and Latin versions, with esteem, because their manuscripts preceded those of  $\aleph$  by many centuries, and also because Greek and Latin sources were highly valued in the Church and in the centers of learning in Europe. Therefore, much attention has been given not only to  $\aleph$  but also to the Greek, Latin, and Aramaic versions, including the Peshitta ( $\mathfrak{P}$ ), and even to the “daughter” (or secondary) versions made from  $\mathfrak{G}$ , such as the Latin, Armenian, Coptic, and Ethiopic translations. → p. 127. After some time, scholars realized that most of these translations were only of limited value for the textual criticism of the Hebrew–Aramaic Bible, and that their importance was confined mainly to biblical exegesis. Nevertheless, these primary and secondary translations were still given extensive treatment in textual descriptions, commentaries, and even in the *BH* series.<sup>28</sup> In our view, this approach is no longer relevant for modern textual criticism. Therefore, the different coverage of the various sources in this introduction reflects our textual outlook. This monograph devotes less attention than in the past to the description of the medieval manuscripts of  $\aleph$  and to most of the ancient versions, whose importance for the textual criticism of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture—as opposed to

<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, the *BH* series contains almost no notes referring solely to the Aramaic or Latin translations, or one of the “daughter” translations<sup>+</sup> of  $\mathfrak{G}$ . Such evidence is mainly mentioned in conjunction with that of additional sources. → Tov, “Aramaic”

exegesis—is limited. On the other hand, much attention is devoted to texts whose relevance has been proven, that is, ׀, the Judean Desert texts, the Samaritan Pentateuch (Ⲛ), and Ⓞ.

The study of the biblical text was initiated as an auxiliary science to biblical exegesis. Therefore, the results of textual investigation have been taken into consideration in exegesis, and that practice continues to be followed today. Textual criticism has a distinctly practical aspect for biblical exegesis, but as a rule this feature has not been reflected sufficiently in the extant handbooks on textual criticism. Unlike those handbooks, chapters 6–8 of this book deal extensively with exegetical aspects. Within this framework, the relevance of textual criticism to literary analysis, a topic that is usually not treated in handbooks such as this, is covered extensively in ch. 7.

### C. Beginnings of Critical Inquiry into the Scripture Text

Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* 1992, \*1–\*63; B. Chiesa, “Appunti di storia della critica del testo dell’Antico Testamento ebraico,” *Henoah* 12 (1990) 3–14; L. Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* (Jena: Mauke, 1869); Eichhorn, *Einleitung*; Goshen-Gottstein, “Biblical Manuscripts”; K.F. Keil, *Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament*, vol. II (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1892); König, *Einleitung*; H.J. Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982); F. Laplanche, *L’Écriture, le sacré et l’histoire: Érudits et politiques protestants devant la Bible en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Amsterdam/Maarssen: APA-Holland University Press, 1986); Rosenmüller, *Handbuch*; Steuernagel, *Einleitung*, § 22.

Interest in the text of Scripture began in the first centuries CE when learned church fathers compared the text of Jewish Scripture with its Greek versions. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, Origen prepared a six-column edition (hence its name: Hexapla [six-column edition]) of Hebrew–Aramaic Scripture, which contained the Hebrew–Aramaic text, its transliteration into Greek characters, and four different Greek versions. → pp. 145–6. Likewise, Jerome<sup>+</sup> included various notes comparing words in the Hebrew text and their renderings in Greek and Latin translations in his commentaries. → ch. 2, Table 8 (p. 46)

The critical investigation of the relation between the various textual witnesses began in the 17<sup>th</sup> century with the appearance of the Polyglot text editions<sup>+</sup>, which invited their comparison because they presented the various witnesses in parallel columns. The first extensive textual treatises are those by Cappellus, Morinus, and Richard Simon, displaying an interest in either ׀ or one or more of the other versions, usually colored

by Catholic–Protestant polemics.<sup>29</sup> The reader of Cappellus, *Critica Sacra* (1650) is amazed at the level of knowledge, acumen, and critical insight displayed by this scholar, foreshadowing all modern analyses.

After the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a great many critical treatises appeared on the Scriptural text, though it should be recognized that philological analysis and theological discussion often went hand in hand in this and the following century. The three aforementioned studies, as well as many by Buxtorf, Glassius, Hottinger, Houbigant, Kennicott, Rosenmüller, and de Rossi, contributed much to the development of the critical approach to the biblical text.<sup>30</sup> The *Einleitung* of Eichhorn\* (1780–1823) stands out as a work of immense learning and sophistication in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which also had a major influence on subsequent generations.<sup>31</sup> Among the many names that may be mentioned from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, see especially de Lagarde, Perles, Cornill, and Wellhausen, who displayed a remarkable insight into textual criticism (→ the general bibliography on pp. xxix–lv). In many areas of textual criticism, it is often best to start with these older works, since an intuitive grasp of the issues underlying divergent texts is just as important in this art as information deriving from recently discovered data (e.g. the Qumran texts). Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis* and the introductions of König\* and Steuernagel\* exhibited this type of intuition in very particular ways. However, the modern description of textual criticism differs significantly from earlier discussions as a result of the contribution of the newly discovered Qumran texts to almost every area of textual criticism. For many other respects of the history of the investigation of the biblical text, see ch. 3A.

#### D. Text, Canon, and Sacred Status

The books of Hebrew Scripture were gradually accepted as binding (authoritative) and at some point were integrated into different collections of sacred writings, among them those of ׀, ׆, and ׀. However, scribal processes started a long time before the books obtained authoritative status, also named canonization<sup>+</sup> when referring to Scripture as a whole. For example, Jeremiah 36 describes how the

<sup>29</sup> Morinus, *Exerc.*; Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*; Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (Paris: Éditions de Paris, 1680/Rotterdam: Leers, 1685; repr. Frankfurt: Minerva, 1973) = *A Critical History of the Old Testament* (London: Davis, 1682).

<sup>30</sup> For bibliographical references, see the general bibliography and ch. 3A1.

<sup>31</sup> The works of these scholars have been described in detail by Rosenmüller\*, Keil\*, Barthélemy\* 1992, 1\*–63\*, and Childs, *Introduction*, 89–92.

prophet dictated the contents of a second scroll to Baruch following the burning of the first one by the king. That scroll thus constituted a second stage of the scribal development and, in a way, of the growing process of the book. → p. 181, n. 66. The contents of the second scroll cannot be reconstructed, let alone the first one, but in other cases we know more about the development stages of the books. Thus, in ch. 7B1 we analyze the relation between the  $\aleph$  and  $\Theta$  versions of Jeremiah, suggesting that  $\Theta$  (together with 4QJer<sup>b,d</sup>) represents an early stage in the *literary* (editorial) development of that book, which preceded the edition of  $\aleph$  that became canonical. Elsewhere in ch. 7B, we describe many similar examples of literary variants<sup>+</sup> preserved in non-Masoretic sources. On the basis of this understanding, we therefore submit that writing processes and textual transmission can and should be discussed beyond those seen in the final literary shape of the biblical books, often included in  $\aleph$ . This approach involves the opening up of new horizons beyond  $\aleph$ .

When opening up new sources that are relevant for textual criticism, we thus should keep an open mind with regard to *different Scripture collections*. → p. 284. When discussing the textual criticism of Hebrew Scripture, in the view of many scholars we should not consider the canonical status of  $\aleph$  binding for the analysis<sup>32</sup> since the concept of sacred Scripture was more encompassing than solely that included in  $\aleph$ . Since textual criticism deals with all forms of Hebrew Scripture, it also covers the content of other sacred collections, namely those included in  $\Theta$ ,  $\omega$ , and some Qumran scrolls. Some books included in these collections preceded the literary crystallization of  $\aleph$ , while others were composed afterwards. In ch. 7B21–23, the reader will therefore find an analysis of such non-Masoretic works as Psalm 151 ( $\Theta$  and 11QPs<sup>a</sup>), the editorial changes inserted in  $\omega$ , and the exegetical edition of the Torah in 4QRP.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, there is not necessarily a connection between the sacred status of the Scripture books and the nature of the scribal transmission. Even the most sacred Scripture book, the Torah, was not transmitted more carefully than the other books, neither in the proto-Masoretic scrolls nor in other text traditions. → p. 188

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<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, some scholars claim that before the canonical process was completed, the biblical books as known to us did not yet exist, and therefore the scribal transmission of the biblical books had not yet taken place.

<sup>33</sup> At the same time, “rewritten Scripture” compositions and abbreviated Qumran scrolls are excluded from textual analysis with regard to their major deviations from  $\aleph$ , even though some of these compositions were considered authoritative in antiquity. As remarked on p. 189, deviations from  $\aleph$  in these compositions in small details are included in the analysis.

**E. Subjectivity of This Book**

Subjectivity pervades all chapters of this book, although we try to be as objective as possible. The objective elements pertain to the description of facts and textual sources, but these descriptions also include many subjective components. For example, the recognition of the Qumran Scribal Practice (→ pp. 100–105), the characterization of the textual character of the Qumran scrolls (→ pp. 105–7), and the description of the text-critical value of the various translations (→ pp. 135–40, 146–53) are all subjective. The recognition of variants<sup>+</sup> in the ancient translations is based on a combination of objective criteria and intuition. In the case of the evaluation of variants<sup>+</sup> (ch. 6), we stress that objectivity is impossible, and that scholars must develop their own subjective reasoning (→ pp. 279–81). On the whole, something considered a solid fact by one scholar is contested by another. Thus, almost every paragraph in this book attests to subjectivity, which needs to be taken into consideration.