

# Traces of a Non-Masoretic Text in the Antiochene Revision \*

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The making of a Greek-Hebrew Index of the Antiochene text has brought to our team something more than a great deal of work: the challenge of putting face to face two texts in different languages, from different times, carrying with them only a partial evidence of their history.

In contrast with the Masoretic Hebrew Text (MT), the Greek Text, i.e. the Antiochene (Ant) and the rest of the Septuagint (LXXrell),<sup>1</sup> brings up the striking phenomenon of the organization of the books of Kingdoms. Although doublets and displacements take place in Greek as well as in Hebrew, most of them are small variations that can be explained on grounds of the principles of textual criticism, and fluctuation or inconsistency must be accepted as inner features of textual transmission. Complexity comes when facing other

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<sup>1</sup> For practical purposes, in the absence of critical editions for the historical books, I will quote LXXrell from the edition of codex Vaticanus (B) in A. E. BROOKE and N. MC LEAN, *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol II: I-III, (Cambridge 1927-1932) (henceforth B&McL).

questions: where, why and how large displacements or unlocalized fragments were generated.

The Greek text of the historical books reproduces a Hebrew text with lexical and literary differences from the received Masoretic text. No doubt that the Greek depends on the Hebrew text, but what text? <sup>2</sup>

My proposal is based on different grounds: on the one hand, we must accept general assumptions as a starting point, and on the other hand we must go over concrete facts that show the peculiarities of the transmission.

In general we may assume that:

- Translators did not invent, they translated.
- Both Greek texts generally offer quite a literal translation in the books and sections coincident with MT.
- Greek texts have supported revisions of different kinds and with different purposes, regularly made as the Hexaplaric and the Antiochene, or sporadically, producing a more undefined text type. Undoubtedly, the Hebrew text has also been affected by revisions, being the Masoretic one the most important.
- The Greek texts represent a textual unity. The LXXrell and the Antiochene of 1Kings go together in the sequence of events against the MT, they follow the same narrative thread, they both are Septuagint, although the numbering of chapters and verses varies.<sup>3</sup>

The MT usually constitute *the* referential text for judging the behaviour of other versions, and this is so because we have no other

<sup>2</sup> About the strange correspondence between both texts, cf A. SCHENKER, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher. Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher* (Fribourg - Göttingen 2004). Cf also G. GARBINI, *Historia e ideología en el Israel antiguo* (Barcelona 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Some isolated verses are lacking in LXXrell. Larger differences are 20:10b-13b, absent in LXXrell, and 22:40-51, absent in Ant.

Hebrew original at our hand. But this text was selected from others and canonized by the Rabbis who locked their text; later on the Masoretes protected it against every tiny discrepancy in its own inside. Versions were not within the scope of the Masoretes and they run separately their problems.

The concrete facts that we are going to analyse will belong mostly to 1 Kings, where the contrast between the Greek and the Hebrew texts is stronger.

When comparing the Greek text of 1 Kings with the Masoretic Hebrew, difficulties of localization grow to be considerable. The texts are differently organized, the point is how to bring out which one was the organizer. The *hebraica veritas* leads us to think that the changes were operated in the translated text, but were there any thorough reason to re-arrange a text properly received? According to what text or criterion was it re-arranged?

The lack of agreement in the distribution of chapters between the Antiochene and MT-LXXrell of Samuel and Kings is only apparent. In the Antiochene the second book of Samuel goes up to the death of David, including the plot of Adonias upon which David took the decision of giving the kingdom to Solomon, with whom the first book of Kings begins. Although this rational break seems to be an Antiochene initiative, one may think that it comes from a pre-Masoretic tradition, when the four books of Kingdoms were divided into two (Samuel and Kings).

In Antiochene chapter 2,<sup>4</sup> two fragments, one at the beginning and one at the end, are not found at that place in the MT.<sup>5</sup> The first fragment is a praise of Solomon regarding his own person (2:1-14),<sup>6</sup> and the second is also a praise regarding mainly his belongings

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<sup>4</sup> Chapters and verses are cited according to the Antiochene text, and the references to LXXrel follow B&McL.

<sup>5</sup> The text is displayed at the end of this article.

<sup>6</sup> LXXrell 35<sup>a-o</sup>.

(2:26-37).<sup>7</sup> A good number of these verses are found elsewhere as doublets,<sup>8</sup> others have no equivalent.

Some of the corresponding verses of the MT have doublets, as 9:23 with 5:30, which is significant for the following: the meaning of 9:23 is somehow independent in the context of chapter 9, and goes along with chapter 5.<sup>9</sup> Although both verses differ in the number of officers appointed to supervise the works of the temple (in 5:30 they are three thousand and three hundred, and in 9:23 five hundred and fifty), the affinity of verses is only easily damaged, considering the fluidity of ciphers within the Hebrew Bible and between related versions.<sup>10</sup> Verse 9:23, although out of context, is placed together with 24 and 25, all three corresponding to Ant 2:6-8.<sup>11</sup>

The Masoretic group of verses 15-25 of chapter 9 is lacking in Greek at its place.<sup>12</sup> Most part of these verses are located in Greek in chapters 2, 5 (LXXrell 4) and 10. Thus, they are not lacking, they are displaced. All except 9:15 and 23, are not doubled.<sup>13</sup>

There is no sound justification for these discordances. Considering that contents are not absolutely out of place either in Greek or in Hebrew, there is not a convincing justification to spread out one Hebrew fragment in a translation, a faithful one as the Greek is.

<sup>7</sup> LXXrell 46<sup>a1</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> In our forthcoming *A Greek-Hebrew Index of the Antiochene Text* we have taken as equivalents the text closer to the Masoretic order. This does not mean a textual position of priority.

<sup>9</sup> Also MT 5:30 has a contact with Ant 5:19 in the word τριῶν as ἐκτός.

<sup>10</sup> Three thousand and seven hundred in Antiochene (5:19 and also in 2:8 with a slight difference, a dot that separates the three thousand for the officers and the seven hundred for the supervisors). The LXXrell gives three thousand and six hundred (5:16). Josephus gives the number of five hundred and fifty with MT 9:23.

<sup>11</sup> Remark that verses 6 and 7 have no Greek doublet.

<sup>12</sup> Greek chapter 9 goes from verse 14 to 26.

<sup>13</sup> Verse 16, quite long in Hebrew has no partner in Greek. It says about the conquer of Gezer by Pharaoh, how he put the Canaanites to death and gave the city to his daughter, Solomon's wife, as a marriage gift.

So, one might think that it should already be in that manner in the Hebrew Vorlage of the translators.

Other doublets deserve our textual attention:

- Verse 2:1<sup>14</sup> brings πλάτος καρδίας with MT 5:9 יָרַח בְּלֵב, against χύμα καρδίας of the doublet 4:26.<sup>15</sup>
- Verse 2:2<sup>16</sup> brings νιῶν ἀρχαίων (trsp. in LXXrell) with MT 5:10 מִצְקָנָה, against ἀρχαίων ἀνθρώπων of the doublet 4:27.<sup>17</sup>
- Verse 2:3<sup>18</sup> gives a Greek doublet with 5:1<sup>19</sup>, with its second half repeated in 2:10. A few Antiochene expansions differentiate 2:3 from LXXrell, but both texts coincide, against MT, in the reading ἐν πρώτοις, and in the sentence ἐν ἐπτὰ ἔτεσιν ἐποίησε καὶ συνετέλεσε, and both are identical in the repetition of 2:10. They also go together against MT in the transposition of τὸν οἶκον Κυρίου and in the omission of בְּבָשָׁךְ in 3:1.<sup>20</sup>
- Verse 2:14<sup>21</sup> brings καὶ νῦν with MT 2:9 הַתָּעַג, against καὶ σύ of the doublet 2Sa 26:9.<sup>22</sup> Although the fluctuation ע/נ for this word is quite common, it becomes significant for the הַתָּאַג near by.

In addition it is worthy to point out that many of these verses are disseminated in parts of the book that show some kind of problems, for example, the two verses 9 and 10 of the Masoretic chapter 5 discordant with their context, as well as verses 24 and 25 of Masoretic chapter 9.

<sup>14</sup> LXXrell 2:35<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> LXXrell 4:25.

<sup>16</sup> LXXrell 2:35<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> LXXrell 4:26. These verses have also similarities with 2:26 (LXXrell 2:46<sup>a</sup>), and both with MT 5:9<sub>a</sub>+4:20.

<sup>18</sup> LXXrell 2:35<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> LXXrell 4:31; MT 3:1.

<sup>20</sup> These variations do not occur in 2:3 and 10, which go with MT.

<sup>21</sup> LXXrell 2:35<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> LXXrell 1Kgs 2:9.

The originality of verse 5 also presents some peculiarities. This verse is a summary of the municipal improvements carried out by Solomon in the city of David: the basin, the foundations, the main baths, the columns and the fountain of the palace, the bronze pool, the citadel and its turrets and the division of the city of David. Some unusual expressions can be detected, for instance, when speaking of the citadel (*ἡ ἄκρα*) the reference is made to the turrets (*ἐπάλξεις*) which is a hapax in the four books, while the most common is the fence (*ὸ φραγμός*); the verb *διακόπτω* comes only this time in 1Kgs, and *κρήνη* comes once more for the fountain of Samaria in 22:38. The Antiochene coincides with LXXrell word for word with the exception of the syntax in one sentence:

LXXrell 2:35<sup>e</sup> καὶ ὁκοδόμησεν τὴν ἄκραν ἐπαλξίν ἐπ' αὐτῆς («the high turret on it»)

Ant 2:5 ὁκοδόμησεν τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις αὐτῆς («the citadel and its turrets»)

The Antiochene reading here lies on a semitic construction. This fact and the unusual vocabulary could be an exponent of an old and unrevised text.

For this first fragment, 2:1-14, we may conclude that it may be a reconstruction, in a pre-Masoretic Hebrew redaction, of the qualities of Solomon, set out after the murders of Adonias and Joab, intending not to give a first portrait of Solomon as a cruel king, which, otherwise, was a sign of wise authority. This piece witnesses to other Hebrew redactions supporting political points of view diverging from the one that triumphed over many others in the 1st century.

In the second fragment, the one at the end of chapter 2, the doublets and the Masoretic equivalences are mainly placed within the margins of one chapter, chapter 4 for the doublets, and chapter 5 for the MT, with very few exceptions.

- Verse 2:28 has no Greek doublet nor Hebrew correspondence.
- Verse 2:29 takes only some data from MT 9:18.

– Verse 2:32<sub>b</sub> has only one sentence in common with 2:26 (*ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες καὶ χαίροντες*).<sup>23</sup>

– Verse 33 is exclusively Antiochene, MT and LXXrell lack this short verse that says the opposite of what is said in 11:14<sub>a</sub>:

2:33 καὶ οὐκ ἦν Σατὰν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας Σολομῶντος,

11:14 καὶ ἥγειρε Κύριος σατὰν τῷ Σολομῶντι τὸν Ἀδὲρ τὸν Ἰδουμαῖον.

– In verse 2:34 Solomon's officers are named. The Greek doublet 4:2-6 should reproduce the list, but actually only names of verses 2, 5 and 6 approach those of 2:34, in different order. The MT agrees with 4:2-6.

– Verse 2:37 is a colophon that closes chapter 2,<sup>24</sup> καὶ Σολομῶν νιὸς Δαυὶδ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰούδαν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. Although these final verses are very common, none is said with these very words.

In this fragment three Masoretic verses 5:1, 5 and 6 are displaced, i.e. they have no other correspondence in Greek. Notwithstanding, in these and in other cases, some data are similarly reproduced in other places, but stronger discrepancies keep them out in the range of equivalences.<sup>25</sup>

We may conclude that if these fragments were made by bringing or repeating verses from their right (?) places, we should expect a more systematic re-construction, a kind of pastiche technique consistently made; but this is not so: in both fragments there are some undoubled verses, and some original pieces with no parallel in Hebrew nor in Greek.

<sup>23</sup> LXXrell 2:46<sup>a</sup> is identical. In 2:32 (LXXrell 2:46<sup>b</sup>) Antiochene has ἔορτάζοντες; the whole sentence is absent in the corresponding MT 5:5, and present in MT 4:20 (last verse of chapter 4), where the reading οἱράψῃ goes with χαίροντες of Ant and LXXrell 2:26 / 2:46<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> In Greek verse 1 of chapter 3 is lacking.

<sup>25</sup> This is the case of 10:29 that cannot be taken as a doublet of 2:35 (MT 10:26).

Through these two fragments we have seen the difficulties of getting to a single theory, but, in the midst of the perplexity they generate, one is bound to simplify following the sense acquired in contact with both Hebrew and Greek texts. Many discrepancies can only be explained by assuming that Greek historical books were translated from a Hebrew text different from Masoretic.

Taking into account the literal character of the translation in most of 1-4 Kings, I am inclined to think that these chapters have been translated from a Vorlage different from MT. However, in the course of the transmission the Greek version has been diversely corrected towards other Hebrew texts in circulation, especially the MT. This fact explains at best, in my opinion, the main two phenomena we have perceived: a) the displacements and b) the numerous doublets coming from the corrections and the adaptation to the new order of the Hebrew text.

#### FIRST FRAGMENT

Doublets in the Antiochene Text	MT		
2:1 Καὶ ἔδωκε Κύριος φρόνησιν τῷ Σολομῶντι καὶ σοφίαν πολλὴν σφόδρα καὶ πλάτος καρδίας ὡς ἡ ἄμμος ἡ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν.	4:26 καὶ ἔδωκε Κύριος φρόνησιν τῷ Σολομῶντι καὶ σοφίαν πολλὴν σφόδρα καὶ χύμα καρδίας ὡς ἡ ἄμμος ἡ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν,	5:9	נִתְן אֶלְהִים מַלְשֵׁל מָה וְתָבוֹנָה כְּבָר אֲדֹנָה וּמְבָרָכָה בְּחַזְקָה עַל־שְׁפָת נִים
2:2 καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν ἡ σοφία Σολομῶντος ὑπὲρ τὴν φρόνησιν πάντων νιών ἀρχαίων καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας φρονίμους Αἰγύπτου.	4:27 καὶ ἐπληθύνθη ἡ σοφία Σολομῶντος ὑπὲρ τὴν φρόνησιν πάντων ἀρχαίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας φρονίμους Αἰγύπτου.	5:10	נִתְרַב בְּמַתָּלֵל מִתְמַמָּת אֶל־גִּיא־קְרָבָה כְּבָר אֲכִילָה מִצְמַת
2:3 καὶ ἔλαβε Σολομῶν τὴν θυγατέρα Φαραὼ γυναῖκα, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν πόλιν Δαυὶδ ἔως τοῦ συντε-	5:1 Καὶ ἔλαβε Σολομῶν τὴν θυγατέρα Φαραὼ ἔαυτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα, καὶ εισήγαγεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν πόλιν Δαυὶδ ἔως	3:1	נִתְמַתְן שְׁלֹמֹה אֶת־עֲרָבָה מִצְמַת נִישָׁח אֶת־בְּת־עֲרָבָה נִיבָּא אֶל־עֲדָה עַד עַל־לְוִתָּן לְבָנוֹת אֶת־בְּנָה

λέσαι αύτὸν οἱ κοδομῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὸν οἶκον Κυρίου ἐν πρώτοις καὶ τὸ τεῖχος Ἱερουσαλήμ κύκλῳ ἐν ἐπτὰ ἔπειται συνετέλεσε καὶ ἐπετέλεσε.

2:4 καὶ ἡσαν τῷ Σολο-  
μῶντι ἐβδομήκοντα χι-  
λιάδες αἱ ρόντων ἄρσιν  
καὶ ὄγδοηκοντα χιλιά-  
δες λατόμων ἐν τῷ ὄρει.

2:5 καὶ ἐποίησε Σολο-  
μῶν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ  
τὰ ὑποστηρίγματα καὶ  
τοὺς λουτήρας τοὺς με-  
γάλους καὶ τοὺς στύ-  
λους καὶ τὴν κρήνην  
τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τὴν θά-  
λασσαν τὴν χαλκῆν, καὶ  
φοιδόμησε τὴν ἄκραν  
καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις αὐτῆς  
καὶ διέκοψε τὴν πόλιν  
Δαυίδ.

2:6 οὐτως θυγάτηρ Φαραὰ ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Δαυὶδ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς ὃν φύκοδόμησεν αὐτῇ. καὶ τότε ὠκοδόμησε τὴν ἄκραν.

2:7 καὶ Σολομῶν ἀνέφερε τρίτον ἐν τῷ ἑνιαυτῷ ὄλοκαυτώσεις καὶ εἰς ῥητικὰς ἐπὶ τῷ θυσιαστήριον ὃ φύκοδόμησε τῷ Κυριῷ, καὶ ἔθυμιά ἐνώπιον Κυρίου καὶ συνετέλεσε τὸν οἶκον.

וְאֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה  
וְאֶת־חַוֹּמֶת יְרוּשָׁלָם סִבְיבָּה:

29 וַיְהִי לְשָׁלֹם הַשְׁבָעִים  
אֱלֹף נִשְׂא סֶל  
וּשְׁמַנְגִים אֱלֹף  
חַצְבָּרָה:

אך בְּתִ-פְרָעָה עַלְתָּה  
מְעִיר קְדוֹם אֶל-  
גִּימָתָה אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה לְהָ  
אוֹ בָּנָה אֶת-הַמְלוֹא

9:25 וְיַעֲלֵה שָׁלֹמָה שֶׁלֶשׁ  
פְּצָמִים בְּשָׁנָה עֲלֹתָה  
וּשְׁלָמִים עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה  
לִיהוָה וּמִקְטֵנָה אֲנוֹ אֲשֶׁר  
לִפְנֵי הָנוּ וְשָׁלָם אֶת-הַבְּנִית

2:8 καὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἄρχοντες οἰκαθεστάμενοι ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ βασιλέως Σολομῶντος, τρεῖς χιλιάδες· καὶ ἐπτακόσιοι ἐπιστάται τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ποιούντων τὰ ἔργα.	5:19 ἐκτὸς τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν καθεσταμένων ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Σολομῶντος· τρισχίλιοι καὶ ἐπτακόσιοι ἐπιστάται τοῦ λαοῦ, τῶν ποιούντων τὰ ἔργα.	9:23 ἀλλὰ ψήρι ἡγεμόνες ἀστράφαντες τὴν σημεῖαν τῆς γῆς μεταβαίνουσι μάζαν τοῖς πολεμοῖς τοῦ πατέρος τους.
2:9 καὶ φοιδόμησε τὴν Ἀσσοῦνδ καὶ τὴν Μαγδὼ καὶ τὴν Γάζερ καὶ τὴν Βαιθωρῶν καὶ τὴν Ἀνω καὶ τὴν Βαλδαθ.	10:23 <sub>c</sub> καὶ τὴν Ἀσσοὺνδ καὶ τὴν Μαγγεδδὼ καὶ τὴν Γάζερ καὶ τὴν Βαιθωρῶν τὴν ἀνωτέραν καὶ τὴν Θοδμορ	9:15 <sub>c</sub> וְאֶת-חַצֵּר אֲנָת-בְּגִדְגֹּז נְאֶת-בְּגָר אֲנָת-בְּגִתְתָּוֹן +17 <sub>b</sub> אֲנָת-בְּגִתְתָּוֹן +18 <sub>a</sub> אֲנָת-בְּגִלְתָּה וְאֶת-בְּגִלְתָּה מְרֻמָּה וְאֶת-חַצֵּר אֲנָת-בְּגִדְגֹּז נְאֶת-בְּגִדְגֹּז
2:10 πλὴν μετὰ τὸ οἴκοδομῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν οἴκον Κυρίου καὶ τὸ τείχος Ἰερουσαλήμ κύκλῳ, μετὰ ταῦτα φοιδόμησε τὰς πόλεις ταύτας.	(2:3 <sub>b</sub> 5:1 <sub>b</sub> ) 10:23 <sub>b</sub> οἴκοδομῆσαι τὸν οἴκον Κυρίου καὶ τὸν οἴκον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸ τείχος Ἰερουσαλήμ ... καὶ πάσας τὰς πόλεις...	9:15 <sub>b</sub> לְכַנּוֹת אֶת-בְּגִתְתָּוֹן ?הַנָּה וְאֶת-בְּגִדְגֹּז נְאֶת-בְּגִדְגֹּז רְוֹשֵׁל סְמִינָה לְכַנּוֹת אֶת-בְּגִתְתָּוֹן ?הַנָּה וְאֶת-בְּגִדְגֹּז נְאֶת-חַצֵּר יְרוּשָׁלָם :
2:11 <sub>a</sub> καὶ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἐπὶ τὸν Δαυὶδ ἐνετείλατο τῷ Σολομῶντι λέγων	2Sa 26:1 <sub>b</sub> καὶ ἐνετείλατο τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Σολομῶντι ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ λέγων	2:1 נִקְרָבִי יְמִינְךָ לְמוֹת וְנִצְוָה אֶת-שְׁלָמָה בְּנוֹ לְאָמָר :
2:11 <sub>b</sub> -13 Ἰδοὺ μετὰ σου Σεμεεὶ νιός Γηρά, νιόν τοῦ Ἰεμενεὶ ἐκ Γαβαθᾶ. 12 καὶ οὗτος κατηράσσατό με κατάραν ὁδυνηρὰν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἥ ἐπορευόμην εἰς παρεμβολάς· 13 καὶ αὐτὸς κατέβαινε μοι εἰς ἀπάντησιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, καὶ ὥμοσα αὐτῷ ἐν Κυρίῳ λέγων Εἰ θανατώσω σε ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ.	2Sa 26:8 καὶ Σεμεεὶ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἰεμενεὶ ὁ ἐκ Βαθουρείμ, καὶ αὐτὸς κατηράσσατό με κατάραν ὁδυνηρὰν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἥ ἐπορευόμην εἰς παρεμβολάς. καὶ αὐτὸς κατέβη εἰς ἀπάντησιν μου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, καὶ ὥμοσα αὐτῷ ἐν Κυρίῳ λέγων Εἰ θανατώσω σε ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ.	2:8 וְחַנָּה עַמְקָשׁ שְׁמָעִי בְּגִדְגֹּז בְּגִמְמִינִי מְבִרְכִּים נְהָוָת קְלָלִי קְלָלָה נְמַצָּת בְּיָום לְכָתִי מְנֻנִים וְחוֹאכְבָּד לְקָרְאָתִי בְּיָהָנוּ נְשָׁבָע לוּ בְּיָהָנוּ לְאָמָר אַסְמָא מִתְּחָדָה :

2:14 καὶ νῦν μὴ ἀθω-  
ώσῃς αὐτὸν ὅτι ἀνήρ  
φρόνιμος σύ, καὶ γνώσῃ  
ἢ ποιήσεις αὐτῷ· καὶ  
κατάξεις τὴν πολιὰν αὐ-  
τοῦ ἐν αἴματι εἰς ἥδου.

2Sa 26:9 καὶ σὺ οὐ μὴ  
ἀθωσθεῖς αὐτόν, ὅτι ἀνήρ  
σοφὸς εἶ σύ, καὶ γνώσῃ  
ἢ ποιήσεις αὐτῷ, καὶ  
κατάξεις τὴν πολιὰν αὐ-  
τοῦ ἐν αἵματι εἰς ἥδου.

וְעַתָּה אֶל-תִּנְחַקֵּה  
כִּי אִישׁ חֲכָם אַתָּה  
וְדַבָּר אֵת אֲשֶׁר תַּعֲשֶׂה לְךָ  
וְהַזְכִּיר אֶת-שִׁיבָתוֹ  
בְּדָם שָׁאֹל:

## SECOND FRAGMENT

## Doublets in the Antiochene Text

2:26 καὶ ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν φρόνιμος σφόδρα καὶ σοφός· καὶ Ἰούδας καὶ Ἰσραὴλ πολλοὶ σφόδρα ὡς ἡ ἄμμος ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς πλῆθος, ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες καὶ γαίροντες.

2:27 καὶ Σολομῶν ἦν  
ἄρχων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς  
βασιλείαις, καὶ ἦσαν  
προσφέροντες αὐτῷ  
δῶρα, καὶ ἐδούλευον τῷ  
Σολομῶντι πάσας τὰς  
ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ.

2:28 καὶ Σολομῶν ἤρ-  
ξατο διανοίγειν τὰ δυ-  
ναστεύοντα τοῦ Λιβά-  
νου.

2:29 καὶ αὐτὸς ὥκοδόμησε τὴν Θοδαμὸρ ἐν τῇ ἑρήμω.

2:30 καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἄριστὸν τῷ Σολομῶντι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ· τριάκοντα κόροι σεμιδάλεως καὶ ἑξήκοντα κόροι ἀλευρουκεκοπανισμένου, δέκα

**MT**  
נויתנו אליהם קכמָה  
לשלמה ותבונָה בר-  
מאד  
יזוֹהַה וישראל  
כבים בחול אשר-ע-  
לרב אכלים ותשעים  
ושמחים:

**ושלמה היה מושל בכל-הממלכות מאגשים מנחה ונבדים את-שלמה באל-המי חיו:**

תְּמַר בֶּםְדָּבֵר בָּאָרֶץ (גִּבְעֹן) ... (אַתְּ)

4:23-24 καὶ ταῦτα τὰ δέοντα Σολομώντος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾶς τριάκοντα κόροι σεμιδάλεως καὶ ἔξεκοντα κόροι ἀλεύρου κεκοπανισμένου. 24 καὶ δέκα

גנוי היילם שלמה  
ליום אחד שלשים כר  
סלת וששים כר קמח:  
3 עשרה בקר בראשי  
ונעשרים בקר רועי ומאה  
צאלו לבד מאיל אבוי

μόσχοι ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ εἴκοσι βόες νομάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν πρόβατα, ἔκτος ἐλάφων καὶ δορκάδων καὶ ὄρνιθων ἐκλεκτῶν καὶ νομάδων.	μόσχοι ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ εἴκοσι βόες νομάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν πρόβατα ἔκτος ἐλάφων καὶ δορεκάδων καὶ ὄρνιθων ἐκλεκτῶν καὶ νομάδων.	נְחִמָּוֹר וַבְּרַבְּרִים אֲבָסִים:
2:31 ὅτι ἦν ἄρχων ἐν παντὶ πέραν τοῦ ποταμού.	4:25 ὅτι ἦν ἄρχων ἐν παντὶ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ εἰρήνη ἐκ πάντων τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ κυκλόθεν.	כִּי־הַוְאָ רְגֵד בְּכָל־עָבָר [Greek <i>homoiot.</i> ] הַשְׁלָוָם הַזֶּה לֹא מֵלְעָבָר מִשְׁבֵּיב:
2:32 <sub>a</sub> καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ εἰρήνη ἐκ πάντων τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ κυκλόθεν,		
2:32 <sub>b</sub> καὶ κατώκει Ἰούδας καὶ Ἰσραὴλ πεποιθότως, ἔκαστος ὑπὸ τὴν ἄμπελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν συκῆν αὐτοῦ, ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες καὶ ἔορτάζοντες, ἀπὸ Δὰν καὶ ἔως Βηρσάβεε πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας Σολομῶντος.	2:26 <sub>b</sub> ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες καὶ χαίροντες.	עִשְׁבַּת חֻזָּה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְכַטְּחָ אִישׁ תְּחִת גַּפְנוּן גַּתְּסָת תְּאַגְּתָן מְקָרְבָּן וְעַד־ כָּאָר שְׁבָע כָּל יְמֵי שְׁלָמָה: +4:20 <sub>b</sub> אַלְכִּים וְשָׁגִים וְשְׁמַחְיִים:
2:33 καὶ οὐκ ἦν Σατὰν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας Σολομῶντος.	~11:14 <sub>a</sub> καὶ ἥγειρε Κύριος σατὰν τῷ Σολομῶντι τὸν Ἀδὲρ τὸν Ἰδουμαῖον	נִזְקָם יְהוָה שֶׁל לְשָׁלָמָה אֶת קָרְבָּן אֲדֹם +11:14 <sub>a</sub> וְנִזְקָם יְהוָה שֶׁל אֲלָה הַשְׁרִים אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ אֲגַרְיוֹן קָרְבָּן הַכְּתָן: אֲלָה הַגְּדוּלָה בְּנֵי סְרִירָה סְפִישָׁי הַחֲוֹזֶק אֲחִילְוִיד סְפִינְגִּי: 4 וְבָנָיו קָרְבָּן עַל־הַחֲבָא נִזְדָּק אֲלָה קָרְבָּנוּ עַל־ נִזְרִיוֹן קָרְבָּנוּ עַל־ הַנְּצָבִים וְבָבּוֹד קָרְבָּנוּ כְּהֵן רַעַת הַמְּלָכָה נְאַלְיִשְׁר עַל־הַנִּגְנִית
2:34 καὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ Σολομῶντος· Ἄξαρίας υἱὸς Σαδδούκ τοῦ ἕρεως καὶ Ὁρνεία υἱὸς Ναθὰν ἄρχων τῶν ἐφεστηκότων καὶ Ἐδρὰν ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, καὶ Σουσὰ γραμματεὺς καὶ Βαράκ υἱὸς Ἰωὰβ ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ Ἀχεικὰμ υἱὸς Θαράκ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρσεις, καὶ Βαναίας υἱὸς Ἰωὰδ ἐπὶ τῶν καθεσταμένων, καὶ	4:2-6 καὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἥσαν αὐτῷ· Ἄξαρίας υἱὸς Σαδδούκ, 3 καὶ Ἐλιὰβ καὶ Ἀχιὰ υἱὸς Σαφάτ γραμματεῖς, καὶ Ἰωσαφάτ υἱὸς Ἀχειθαλάμ ύπομιμνήσκων. 4 καὶ Βαναίας υἱὸς Ἰωὰδ ἐπὶ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ Σαδδούκ καὶ Ἀβιαθὰρ ἕρεις. 5 καὶ Ὁρνεία υἱὸς Ναθὰν ἐπὶ τῶν καθεσταμένων, καὶ	אֲלָה הַשְׁרִים אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ אֲגַרְיוֹן קָרְבָּן הַכְּתָן: אֲלָה הַגְּדוּלָה בְּנֵי סְרִירָה סְפִישָׁי הַחֲוֹזֶק אֲחִילְוִיד סְפִינְגִּי: 4 וְבָנָיו קָרְבָּן עַל־הַחֲבָא נִזְדָּק אֲלָה קָרְבָּנוּ עַל־ נִזְרִיוֹן קָרְבָּנוּ עַל־ הַנְּצָבִים וְבָבּוֹד קָרְבָּנוּ כְּהֵן רַעַת הַמְּלָכָה נְאַלְיִשְׁר עַל־הַנִּגְנִית

τῆς αὐλαρχίας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλινθίου, καὶ Ζακχοὺρ νίδος Ναθὰν τοῖς συμβούλοις.

Ζακχοὺρ νίδος Ναθὰν ἐταῖρος τοῦ βασιλέως, 6 καὶ Ἀχιὴλ οἰκονόμος καὶ Ἐλιὰβ νίδος Ἰωὰβ ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ Ἀδωνειρὰμ νίδος Ἐδρὰμ ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων.

2:35 καὶ ἦσαν τῷ Σολομῶντι τεσσαράκοντα χιλιάδες εἰς ἄρματα καὶ δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἵπεων.

2:36 καὶ ἦν ἄρχων ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἔως γῆς ἀλλοφύλων καὶ ἔως ὁρίων Αἰγύπτου.

2:37 καὶ Σολομῶν ωὶδες Δαυὶδ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰούδαιον ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ.

נְאַדְגִּירָם בְּנוֹעֲבָקָא  
עַל־הַמֶּסֶן:

וַיַּחֲנֹן לְשָׁלֹמָה אֶרְקָעִים  
אַגְּרֹת סְוִסִּים לְמַרְכָּבָה  
וְשְׂגִים־עַשְׂרֶן גַּלְפָּרְשִׁים

וְשָׁלֹמָה נִיחָה מַוְשָׁלָח  
בְּכָל־הַמְּלָכָות מִן־הַבָּרָר  
אֲגַעַף שְׁלֹתִים וְעַד גְּבוּל  
מַצְרַיִם

5:6      וַיַּחֲנֹן לְשָׁלֹמָה אֶרְקָעִים

אַגְּרֹת סְוִסִּים לְמַרְכָּבָה  
וְשְׂגִים־עַשְׂרֶן גַּלְפָּרְשִׁים

## RESUMEN

Los problemas que presenta el texto griego bíblico de los libros históricos en relación con el texto hebreo masorético han de considerarse dentro de un pluralismo textual hebreo capaz de explicar los grandes desplazamientos y muchos de los dobletes griegos. La autora presenta y analiza dos fragmentos del texto antioqueno del libro primero de los Reyes como ejemplo de la falta de correspondencia entre ambos textos. La fuerte literalidad que se percibe en las secciones coincidentes con el texto masorético pone de manifiesto que la traducción griega de estos libros tendía a ajustarse al texto base, por lo que discrepancias de cierta magnitud como las presentadas aquí indican que el texto hebreo subyacente contenía importantes diferencias con el masorético.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Biblia griega, Texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega, Biblia hebrea.

## SUMMARY

The problems concerning the correspondence between Greek and Masoretic texts must be considered within the scope of a Hebrew textual pluralism, that could be able to explain large displacements and many of Greek doublets. The author presents and analyses two fragments of the Antiochene text of the first book of Kings as a sample of the lacking in correspondence with Masoretic text. As in coincident sections Greek is strongly literal, it seems that the Greek translation of these books tended to be faithful to the original, therefore the discrepancies of quite a great extent, as those presented here, show that the underlying Hebrew text held considerable differences from Masoretic.

**KEYWORDS:** Septuagint, Antiochene text of the Greek Bible, Hebrew Bible.