

Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy

EMANUEL TOV

Hebrew University, Jerusalem

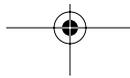
The textual development of the Torah did not differ from the development of the other books of Scripture. It would have been understandable had early scribes been more reverential toward the text of the Torah, but to the best of our knowledge this was not the case. Thus, the same variety of orthographic styles that were in vogue for the books of the Prophets and Hagiographa are evidenced in the Torah. As a result, the exceedingly plene and very inconsistent spelling practice possibly produced by the “Qumran scribal school”¹ was also employed in several Torah scrolls.² Likewise, the range of variation between the textual sources in the Torah does not seem to be any narrower than in the other books of Scripture; thus in Exodus 35–40 the amount of variation between the MT and LXX is much larger than in most other books, on a par with the variation between the MT and LXX in 1 Kings, Esther, and Daniel (including the so-called apocryphal Additions). By the same token, the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) reflects an editorial stage in the composition of the Torah that differs much from the composition of the MT and was created at a later stage. Against this background, we will take a closer look at one group of relatively small *textual* differences between the various sources, namely, the harmonizing additions in the manuscripts of the Torah, especially in Deuteronomy.

A harmonization consists of the change, addition, or omission of a detail in a manuscript, in accordance with another verse in the same source or with another manuscript of the same composition.³ This scribal technique was used more for additions than for omissions or changes, and it may even be questioned

1. See my monograph *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 261–73.

2. 2QExod^{a(?)}, b^(?), b, 11QLev^b, 4QDeut^j, k¹, k², m.

3. For an analysis, see my “Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical MSS,” *JSOT* 31 (1985) 3–29.





whether scribes deleted details because they did not occur in the parallel text.⁴ The idea behind harmonizing alterations (additions and changes) is the sometimes unconscious inclination of scribes to create greater internal consistency in the text. These harmonizations usually reflect a formal approach to Scripture, according to which there should be complete consistency between items in the text. Harmonizing pertains to words, phrases, or complete sentences or paragraphs. For example, the formulaic expression “the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow” gives occasion to several harmonizing additions: while this expression almost always occurs as a cluster of three nouns (e.g., Deut 14:29), some occurrences of two members of this triad were almost always expanded (thus in Deut 10:18 LXX, for which, see below, §2). By the same token, any combination of two or three from among the words *משמרת*, *חק*, *משפט*, *מצוה*, which are often juxtaposed, may attract a third or fourth word in the manuscript tradition (see Deut 11:1, 28:15 in §1, and 30:10 in §2). These scribal features pertaining to small changes are distinct from the content adaptation at a larger scale in the SP, described in n. 7 (pp. 17–18).

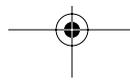
The textual patterns of development of all biblical books were different, even within the Torah. Harmonizing alterations, including additions, are found in all the books of Scripture but especially in texts that lend themselves readily to developments of this sort, that is, parallel texts (especially Samuel–Kings // Chronicles) or texts with a high degree of recurring formulae, such as the formulaic descriptions of the first creation story, the laws of Leviticus, and the Deuteronomistic terminology in books such as Joshua–Kings and Jeremiah.

The manuscripts of the Torah contain many harmonizing additions and changes in small details, possibly more than the other books, but there are no comparative statistics regarding the level of harmonization in the various biblical books. It is possible that, due to the tradents’ reverence for the Torah, more details in this text were harmonized, rather paradoxically, than in other texts. The present study focuses on these sorts of harmonizations in the book of Deuteronomy,⁵ which leads us immediately to the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP).

Please check editing at beginning of n. 5. “Not in the least” = “Not at all”

4. In the case of the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), discussed below, harmonizations almost always consist of additions, whereas a number of small changes in details is also evidenced. The existence of harmonizing omissions in the SP is questionable, even though such a category has been included in the thorough study of Kyung-Rae Kim, *Studies in the Relationship between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint* (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1994).

5. This is largely because of the merits of the honoree, as reflected in his insightful commentary on that book: J. H. Tigay, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Deuteronomy* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996). In fact, some of the principles of an analysis





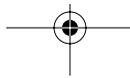
This ancient text, with its precursors found at Qumran, has been characterized as being especially prone to harmonization,⁶ more so than any other known text. However, this essay suggests that the LXX is actually *much more prone to harmonization than SP* if the larger content adaptations, such as those described in n. 7, are excluded from this analysis. For details, see the conclusions below (pp. 26–28).

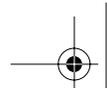
In the analysis of harmonizations, we disregard a major characteristic feature of the SP group (that is, the SP and the pre-Samaritan Qumran manuscripts together) also commonly described as harmonization, namely, additions of complete sentences and sections on the basis of parallel verses. Strictly speaking, these are not harmonizations at the textual level; rather, they exhibit one of the characteristic forms of content editing of the SP group.⁷

of this sort were laid out in one of the excursuses to that commentary (“The Harmonistic and Critical Approaches,” pp. 427–29). See also idem, “Conflation as a Redactional Technique,” *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985) 53–95.

6. Even before the Qumran discoveries, the medieval manuscripts of SP were conceived of as representing an ancient text, whose nature could not be determined easily. Since the discovery at Qumran of texts that are very close to the SP, its antiquity has now been established. These texts probably preceded the creation of the SP, and they are called pre-Samaritan on the assumption that one of them was adapted to suit the sectarian needs of the Samaritans. The use of the term *pre-Samaritan* (alternatively known as *harmonistic* or *Palestinian*) is thus based on the assumption that the connections between SP and the pre-Samaritan texts are exclusive, even though they reflect different realities. Thus, the so-called pre-Samaritan texts are *not* Samaritan documents because they lack the specifically Samaritan readings. For example, the 10th commandment of SP is absent from 4QpaleoExod^m (see P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J. E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4. IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* [DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992] 101–2), 4QRP^a, and 4QDeut^a.

7. The SP group was attentive to presumed imperfections within and between units. The editors of this group were especially perturbed by incongruence between details within specific stories, as well as between stories. In this regard, special attention was paid to the presentation of the spoken word, especially by God, which was sometimes presented in a very formalistic way. According to this approach, the reader should be the first to hear about events, and he should not learn about them from conversations between biblical figures. Thus in Gen 31:11–13, Jacob tells his wives of his dream, but this dream was new to the reader. This deficiency at the formal level led the authors of 4QRP^b (4Q364) and SP to add the content of that dream at an earlier stage in the story, after 30:36. In cases of this sort, the editor repeated details from the context by slightly rewording them and adapting them to the new context. By the same token, this formalistic approach required the exact recording of the execution of each command. Thus, in the story of the 10 plagues, the SP group “perfected” the description of the commands





The purpose of the analysis is to record the harmonizing pluses in the *prose chapters* of Deuteronomy in the main textual sources (MT, LXX, SP) along with the assumed sources of these harmonizations. The harmonizations are subdivided into four groups in each of which the harmonizing addition is presented in opposition to the short text in other manuscripts:

1. Harmonizing additions to the short text of the LXX in the combined text of MT SP (44)
2. Harmonizing additions to the combined short text of MT SP in the LXX (99)
3. Harmonizing additions to the short text of the LXX and/or MT in SP (49)
4. Harmonizing additions to the short text of the SP and LXX in the MT (10)

The single largest group of harmonizing pluses is found in the exclusive harmonizations of the LXX. When the total numbers of harmonizations are combined for each textual source, the SP contains a substantial number as well, but most of them are shared with the other sources. The data for the Qumran scrolls are included in the analysis, but because of their fragmentary status, no statistics are presented for them.

The following list of harmonizing pluses⁸ in MT LXX SP in Deuteronomy, which is meant to be exhaustive (but not objective!), is based on the following premises:

(a) By definition, a harmonizing addition is influenced by a certain context, close or remote, mentioned here as “=” or “cf.” The mentioning of a context—always subjective—makes it likely that a detail has indeed been added in source

of God to Moses and Aaron to warn Pharaoh before each plague by adding a detailed account of the execution of these commands. The technique of these additions involved the repetition of each detail mentioned in the command as something that actually took place. For example, in Exod 9:5, the SP added “. . . and Moses and Aaron went to Pharaoh and said to him, ‘Thus says the Lord . . .’” (cf. v. 1 MT, “The Lord said to Moses, ‘Go to Pharaoh and say to him, “Thus says the Lord . . .””). Likewise, Moses’ first speech in Deuteronomy 1–3 was the single most central issue on which the editor of the SP group focused. Each item in that speech was scrutinized, and if it did not occur explicitly in Exodus or Numbers, it was *repeated* verbatim in the appropriate place in the earlier books. For a detailed analysis of these techniques, see my study “Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch,” *DSD* 5 (1998) 334–54.

8. Additions that are not considered to be harmonizing are not included in the lists presented below.





A on the basis of a detail in another context, while it is less likely that a detail has been omitted in source B, which lacks that detail.

(b) The list excludes some instances of apparent harmonizing additions in the LXX or MT that cannot be evaluated properly/adequately because of our limitations in evaluating the translation technique of the LXX. Thus, when analyzing the harmonizing addition of תוך in MT Deut 23:12, אל תוך (SP אל, cf. v. 11 אל תוך), the evidence of the LXX (εἰς) cannot be brought to bear on this issue, because this preposition renders both אל (passim) and אל תוך (Num 17:12, Deut 13:17; contrast 21:12, 22:2).

(c) The list excludes possible harmonizing additions in either the MT or the LXX⁹ as compared with the other texts that probably resulted from textual mistakes, for example, translational doublets.¹⁰

(d) The list excludes a few frequently occurring formulaic additions in small details for which no exact source text can be indicated: אלהיך, אלהים, and so on. added to יהוה (18 times in the constellation LXX ≠ MT SP;¹¹ 6 times in LXX SP ≠ MT;¹² 3 times in MT ≠ LXX SP;¹³ and 3 times in MT SP ≠ LXX;¹⁴ altogether, MT 6, LXX 24, SP 9), כה, גם, כן, גא, כל, pronominal prepositions such as לך, בכך, the word בני in the phrase בני ישראל, and others. These instances are not harmonizing additions in the strict sense of the word and should rather be considered adaptations to certain formulaic expressions.

(e) The list excludes possible cases of harmonization for which no source text could be found.¹⁵

Section 1: Harmonizing Additions to the Short Text of the LXX in the Combined Text of MT SP (44x)

This category lists (1) the harmonizing plus of MT SP¹⁶ and (2) a parallel in the immediate or remote context that probably served as the base for the harmonizing addition. In all these instances, the plus is lacking in the LXX.

9. E.g., 9:10 ἐγγεγραπτο; 13:7 ἐκ πατρός σου ἢ = בן אביך או (homoioteleuton in MT?); 17:8 καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀντιλογία ἀντολογίας = ובין ריב לריב (homoioteleuton in MT?).

10. 22:1 καὶ ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ; 23:18 οὐκ ἔσται τελέσφορος, etc.

11. 4:3, 35, 39; 9:18, 22; 12:14, 25; 14:2; 15:2, 4; 21:9; 24:4; 28:7, 9, 11, 13; 29:3; 30:9.

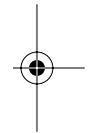
12. 6:18; 10:13; 16:2, 15; 18:12; 30:8.

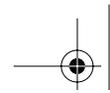
13. 9:5, 10:9, 15:20.

14. 30:1, 3, 6.

15. E.g., 13:16 MT SP ואת בהמתה לפי חרב.

16. Spelling differences between MT and SP are disregarded in the recording.

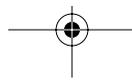


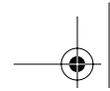


Thus, in the first instance, the harmonizing plus of MT and SP is probably based on the context in Deut 5:23. The list often refers to what I term a “reverse example,” that is, a case (e.g., 4:21) in which the same element is listed in §2 as a harmonizing plus in the LXX against the short text of MT SP. These elements are cross-referenced, for example, as “see also 11:1 in §1.”

- 1:15 ראשי שבטיכם = Deut 5:23
 1:25 וישיבו אתנו דבר = Num 13:26
 1:30 לעיניכם (עשה . . .) = Deut 29:1
 1:35 הדור העשה הרע, cf. Num 32:13 הדור הרע הזה
 1:39 אשר אמרתם לבו יהיה ובניכם = Num 14:31
 2:3 לכם (פנו) = Deut 1:40
 3:8 הר (חרמון); cf. Deut 4:48
 4:21 הטובה (הארץ) = Deut 3:25, 4:22; see also Deut 9:4 in §2
 4:26 מהר (אבד תאבדון) מהר = Deut 4:26, 7:4, 28:20; for a similar addition, see Deut 9:16
 4:49 ועד ים הערבה = Deut 3:17
 8:2 זה ארבעים שנה = Deut 2:7
 8:3 ידעת ולא (ידעון אבתיך) = Deut 28:36
 9:10 מתוך האש = Deut 4:12, 15, 33, 36; 5:4, 22, 24, 26
 9:15 (לחות) הברית = v. 9
 9:16 עגל (מסכה) = v. 12 SP, Exod 32:4, 8
 9:16 מהר (סרתם) = v. 12; cf. Deut 4:26 above
 10:4 ביום הקהל = Deut 9:10, 18:16; see also 4:10 in §2
 10:10 כראשנה (משמרתו וחקתיו ומשפטיו) ומצותיו (SP similar to MT) = Deut 5:31, 6:1, etc.; cf. 28:15 below and see also 30:10 in §2
 12:6 ואת מעשרותיכם = v. 11
 12:28 (לך ולבניך) אחריך = Deut 4:40; see also 11:9 in §2
 14:15 למינהו = vv. 13, 14, 18; see also 14:17 in §2
 14:27 (והלוי אשר בשעריך) לא תעזבנו; cf. Deut. 12:19
 15:15 היום (אנכי מצוך . . .) cf. Deut. 8:1, 11; 10:13; see also Deut 4:2 in §3a
 17:11 אשר יורוך = v. 10
 18:5 כל הימים = Deut 5:29, 14:23, 19:9 with regard to the obedience to the law; see also 11:31 in §2
 19:2 (ארצך אשר . . . נתן לך) לרשתה = Deut 5:31, 15:4; see also 17:14 in §2
 23:3 גם דור עשירי לא יבא לו בקהל יהוה = v. 4¹⁷

17. It seems simplistic to ascribe such a major legal statement to harmonization at the scribal level; harmonization at the compositional level would be possible, too.





- 23:17 **אשר** יבחר באחד שעריך (SP: **באחת**); cf. Deut 17:2, 18:6
 28:4 **ופרי בהמתך** = v. 11 and Deut 30:9¹⁸
 28:15 **וחקיו** (מצותיו) = Deut 27:10, 28:15; 4:40, 26:17 (reversed sequence)
 28:51 **עד השמדך** = v. 20
 28:52b **בכל ארצך** = v. 52a
 28:63 **להאביד אתכם** = v. 51?
 29:4 **בלו שמלתיכם** (מלתיכם) = Deut 8:4
 30:2 **אתה ובניך**; cf. Deut 5:14, 6:2, etc.
 30:18 **לבא** (שמה לרשתה) = Deut 7:1, 11:29, 23:21
 31:15 **באהל**; cf. v. 14
 31:21 **והיה כי תמצאן אתו רעות רבות וצרות**; cf. v. 17
 31:23 **בן נון** (יהושע) = Deut 1:38, etc.
 31:25 **משה** (ויצו) = v. 22; for a reverse example, see 31:23 in §2
 32:45 **את כל** הדברים האלה¹⁹ (לדבר) = Deut 31:1 (the original text of this verse, as reflected in 1QDeut^b 13 ii 4 and the LXX was corrupted in the MT to **וילך משה וידבר את הדברים האלה**).

Section 2: Harmonizing Additions to the Combined Short Text of MT SP in the LXX (99×)

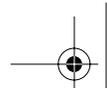
This category lists (1) the harmonizing plus of the LXX, (2) the reconstructed Hebrew *Vorlage* of this plus, and (3) the textual base for this plus in the immediate or remote context. Thus, in the first instance, the short phrase of MT SP in 1:35 and 3:25 (**הארץ הטובה**) is paralleled by a slightly longer phrase in the LXX, (τὴν ἀγαθὴν) ταύτην (γῆν), in which the added word ταύτην (reconstructed as **הזאת**) is probably based on the similar phrase in Deut 4:22.

- 1:35, 3:25 (τὴν ἀγαθὴν) ταύτην (γῆν) : **הזאת** (**הארץ הטובה**) = Deut 4:22
 2:5, 19 πολέμων : **מלחמה** (**אל תתגררו בם**) = vv. 9, 24
 2:5 (τοῖς) υἱοῦς (Ἡσων) : **בני** (**ל**) = vv. 4, 8, 12
 2:7 καὶ τὴν φοβερὰν : **והנורא** (**את המדבר הגדל**) = Deut 1:19, 8:15
 2:14 ἀποθνησκοντες : **למות** (**אנשי המלחמה**) = v. 16; cf. Josh 5:4
 2:21 ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης : **עד היום הזה** = v. 22
 2:24 νῦν οὖν : **ועתה** (**קמו סעו**) = v. 13
 2:32 βασιλεὺς Ἑσέβων : **מלך חשבון** = v. 24; see also v. 31 in §3a
 2:36 ὄρους : **הר** (**הגלעד**) = Deut 3:12; see also 3:8 in §1

18. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 395: "This phrase is redundant with the remainder of the verse . . . [it] could be an addition to harmonize . . . though the MT of the Torah usually avoids such readings."

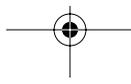
19. This word is lacking in the SP.





- 3:24 καὶ τὴν δύνάμιν σου . . . τὸν βραχίονα τὸν ὑψηλόν : **ואת כחך (ואת ירך)** : ואת זרועך הנטויה (החזקה) = Deut 4:34, 5:15, 9:29; also see 9:26 below²⁰
- 4:10 τῆ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας : **ביום הקהה** = Deut 9:10, 18:16; see also 10:4 in §1
- 4:11 φωνὴ μεγάλη : **קול גדול** = Deut 5:22
- 4:18 ἐρπετοῦ τοῦ : **רמש (רמש)** = Gen 1:26 and passim
- 4:22 τοῦτον : **הזה (הירדן)** = Deut 3:27
- 4:45 ἐν τῆ ἐρήμῳ : **במדבר** = Deut 1:1
- 4:49 ἡλίου : **שמש (מזרח)** = v. 41
- 5:15 καὶ ἀγιάζειν αὐτήν : **לקדשו (השבת)** = v. 12; Exod 20:8
- 6:3 δοῦναι : **(לך ארץ) לתת** = Deut 11:9, 26:9, etc.; see also 1:35 in §4
- 6:6 καὶ ἐν τῆ ψυχῆ σου : **ועל לבבך (על לבבך)** = Deut 4:29
- 6:13 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολληθήσῃ : **ובו תדבק** = Deut 10:20, 13:5
- 6:21, 7:8 καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ : **ובזרוע נטויה** = Deut 4:34, 5:15, 7:19, 26:8
- 6:23 ταύτην : **הזאת (הארץ)** = Deut 4:22, 9:4
- 7:16 σκῦλα : **שלל (העמים) (ואכלת את כל)** = Deut 20:14
- 7:19 (καὶ τὰ τέρατα) τὰ μεγάλα ἐκεῖνα : **הגדולים (והמופתיים) חהם** = Deut 29:2
- 8:15 ἐκείνης : **ההוא (במדבר הגדל והנורא)** = Deut 1:19
- 8:19 τὸν τε οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν : **את השמים ואת הארץ (העדתי בכם היום)** = Deut 4:26
- 9:2 καὶ πολύν : **(עם גדל) רוב (ורם)** = Deut 2:10, 21; see also 1:28 in §1
- 9:4; 31:20, 21 τὴν ἀγαθὴν : **הטובה (הארץ)** = Deut 11:17; see also 4:21 in §1
- 9:14 μέγα : **גדל (לגוי) (עצום רוב)** = Deut 26:5
- 9:26 ἐν τῆ ἰσχύι σου τῆ μεγάλη . . . καὶ ἐν τῷ βραχίονι σου ὑψηλῷ : **בכחך ובזרוע נטויה . . . הגדול** = v. 29; see 3:24 above
- 9:27 οἷς ὄμοσας κατὰ σεαυτοῦ : **אשר נשבעת כך** = Exod 32:13
- 9:29 ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτου : **מארץ מצרים** = Deut 5:6; SP **ממצרים** resembles LXX
- 10:18 προσηλύτῳ : **גר (יתום ואלמנה)** = Deut 14:29 and passim
- 11:8 ζητε καὶ πολυπλασιασῆτε : **(למען) תחיון ורביתם** = Deut 8:1
- 11:9 μετ' αὐτούς : **להם ולזרעם) אחריהם** = Deut 1:8, 10:15; see also 12:28 in §1
- 11:24 τοῦ μεγάλου = Deut 1:7
- 11:28a ὅσας ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν σήμερον : **אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם היום** = vv. 27, 28b
- 11:31 ἐν κλήρῳ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας : **לרשתה כל הימים** = Deut 12:1; for a similar example, see 17:14 below
- 12:14 ὁ θεός σου αὐτόν : **אלהיך בו** = v. 11 **(בו יהוה אלהיכם)**

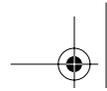
20. The short text of the MT is also reflected in 4QDeut^d.





- 12:14 σήμερον : היום : (מצוה אתכם/אשר אנכי מצוך) = Deut 4:40; 8:1, 11; 10:13; 11:13, 27; 27:4; 28:14; see also 4:2 in §3a
- 12:15 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό : יחדיו (הטהור) = v. 22
- 12:25, 21:9 τὸ καλὸν καὶ : (הישר בעיני יהוה אלהיך) = Deut 12:28
- 12:26, 17:8 ὁ θεός σου ἐπικληθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ : אלהיך לשכן שמו שם = vv. 5, 11, 21
- 12:27 τὴν βάσιν : (המזבח / מזבח העולה) = Lev 4:7, 18, 25, 30, 34, etc.
- 14:17 (καὶ ἱεράκα) καὶ τὰ ὅμοια αὐτῶ : למינה = vv. 13, 15, 18; see also v. 15 in §1
- 14:23 οἴσετε : (שם) תביאו = Deut 12:11
- 15:10 καὶ δάνειον δανιεῖς αὐτῶ ὅσον ἐπιδέεται : והעבט תעביטנו די מחסרו = v. 8
- 15:11 ποιεῖν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο : לעשות את הדבר הזה = Deut 24:18
- 15:15 ἐκεῖθεν : משם = Deut 24:18
- 15:22 ἔδεται : (כצבי) = Deut 12:15
- 16:8 πλην ὅσα ποιηθήσεται ψυχῆ : אך אשר יאכל לנפש = Exod 12:16
- 17:10 ὁ θεός σου ἐπικληθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ : אלהיך לשכן/לשום שמו שם = Deut 12:5, 11, 21
- 17:12 ὅς ἄν ᾗ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις : אשר יהיה בימים ההם = v. 9
- 17:14; 25:15 ἐν κλήρω : (אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך) לרשתה = Deut 3:18, 5:31, 12:1, 19:14 (alternatively, the LXX reflects נחלה; cf. 4:21, 21:23, 24:4, 25:19, 26:1); for a similar example, see 11:31 above; see also 19:2 in §1
- 18:19 ὁ προφήτης : (אשר ידבר) הנביא = vv. 18, 22 and 4Q175 7; MT = 4QDeut^f
- 18:22 ἐκεῖνος : (הנביא) ההוא = v. 20
- 19:7 τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο : (מצוך) הדבר הזה = Deut 15:15
- 20:16 τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν : את ארצם (נתן לך נחלה) = Deut 4:38; cf. 9:5
- 21:8 ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτου : מארץ מצרים (אשר פדית יהוה); cf. Deut 9:26; MT = 4QDeut^f
- 21:23b ἐπὶ ξύλου : על עץ (תלוי) = v. 23a
- 24:17 καὶ χήρας : (גר יתום) ואלמנה = Deut 14:29, 16:11, etc.; cf. v. 19 below
- 24:19 τῶ πτωχῶ : (לגר ליתום ואלמנה) = v. 14; cf. v. 17
- 24:20 ἐποναστρέψεις : (תפאר) תשוב = v. 19 (this is a secondary element, because the idea of תשוב is already expressed by תפאר)
- 24:20 καὶ μνησθήσῃ ὅτι οἰκῆτης ἦσθα ἐν γῆ αἰγύπτῳ διὰ τοῦτο ἐγώ σοι ἐντέλλομαι ποιεῖν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο : על כן אנכי מצוך לעשות את הדבר הזה : זוכרת כי עבד היית בארץ מצרים = v. 22
- 26:8 αὐτὸς ἐν ἰσχύι μεγάλη : הוא בכח גדל = Deut 9:29
- 26:10 γῆν βέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι : ארץ זבת חלב ודבש = Deut 6:3, 11:9, 26:15
- 26:15 δοῦναι ἡμῖν : (כאשר נשבעת לאבותינו) לתת לנו = Deut 1:8, 35; 11:9, 21; 31:7; similarly, 6:3 and 31:20 above and below; see also 1:35 in §4a



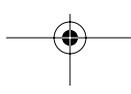


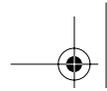
- 27:3 τὸν ἰορδάνην : את הירדן (בעברך) = Deut 2:29, 3:27, 4:21, etc.
- 27:7 καὶ ἐμπλησθήσῃ : ושבעת (ואכלת) = Deut 6:11, 8:10, 11:15
- 28:1 καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἄν διαβήτε τὸν ἰορδάνην εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν δίδωσιν ὑμῖν : תעברו את הירדן אל הארץ אשר יהוה אלהיכם נתן לכם והיה : כאשר = Deut 27:1 with small differences
- 28:12 καὶ ἄρξεις σὺ ἔθνων πολλῶν σοῦ δὲ οὐκ ἄρξουσιν : ומשלת בגוים רבים ובך : לא ימשלו = Deut 15:6
- 28:24, 45 ἕως ἄν ἀπολέσῃ σε : ועד אבדך = v. 20
- 28:56 σφόδρα : מאד (והעננה) = v. 54
- 28:60 τὴν πονηράν : הרע (מדוה מצרים) = Deut 7:15
- 29:19 τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης : הברית הזאת = v. 20
- 29:26 τοῦ νόμου : (בספר) התורה (הזה) = Deut 29:20, 30:10, etc.
- 30:10 ποιεῖν : לעשות (לשמור) = Deut 5:1, 32; 6:3, 25; 7:12, etc.; see also 12:28 in §3a and 28:15 in §4b
- 30:10 καὶ τὰς κρίσεις αὐτοῦ : ומשפטיו (מצותיו וחקתיו) = Deut 26:17; cf. 11:1, 26:17, and 28:15 in §1. Note a similar addition in 4QDeut^{i, k1} in Deut 11:8
- 30:16 ἐὰν δὲ εἰσακούσῃς τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου : אם תשמע אל מצות : יהוה אלהיך = Deut 11:13
- 30:18 ἧς κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσίν σοι : (האדמה) אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך = Deut 5:16, 17:14, 18:9, etc.
- 31:4 τοῖς δυοῖ : (מלכי האמרי) שני = Deut 3:8, 4:47
- 31:4 οἱ ἦσαν πέραν τοῦ ἰορδάνου : אשר בעבר הירדן = Deut 3:8, 4:47
- 31:6 μηδὲ δειλία : ואל תחת (אל תיראן) = Deut 1:21, 31:8
- 31:9 τὰ ῥήματα : את דברי (התורה הזאת) = Deut 31:24
- 31:9 εἰς βιβλίον : על ספר = Deut 31:24
- 31:10 ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ : (ויצו משה אתם) ביום ההוא = Deut 27:11
- 31:14b εἰς τὴν σκηנὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου : (ויהושע) אל אהל המועד = v. 14a
- 31:14b παρὰ τὰς θύρας : (אהל מועד) על פתח = v. 15
- 31:23 μουσίης : משה (ויצו) = v. 22; see also v. 25 in §1
- 34:8 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰορδάνου κατὰ ἱερίῳ : (בערבות מואב) על ירדן ירחו = Num 26:3, 63; 31:12, etc.

Section 3: Harmonizing Additions to the Short Text of MT in SP (LXX) (49×)

a. Pattern SP LXX ≠ MT (27×)

- 1:41 נוטאנו ליהוה (חטאנו ליהוה); cf. Exod 10:16, Deut 9:16
- 2:13 סעו (קמו) = v. 25
- 2:31 מלך חשבון האמרי = Num 21:24; see also 2:32 in §2



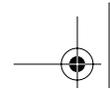


- 3:12 שפת (נחל ארנן) = Deut 2:36, 4:48
 4:2 היום (אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם) = Deut 11:13, 27, 28 etc.; same constellation in 6:2, 11:22, 13:1; see also 12:28 in §3b, 12:14 in §2, and 15:15 in §1
 4:33 חיים (קול אלהים) = Deut 5:26
 5:14 בו (לא תפשה) = Exod 31:14, 35:2
 5:22 (הענן והערפל) = Deut 4:11; cf. also next verse
 6:20 (כי ישאלך) = Exod 13:14
 8:7 ורחבה (ארץ טובה) cf. Exod 3:8 (4QDeut^{f,j,n} agree with SP LXX)
 9:29 ממצרים; cf. LXX (ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου); cf. vv. 12, 26
 10:11 הזה (העם) = Deut 9:13, 27
 12:11 ונדבתיכם = Deut 12:6
 12:28 ועשית (שמר ושמעת) = Deut 16:12, 26:16; similarly, 30:10 in §2
 13:12 עוד (יוספו); cf. Gen 28:68
 13:19 והטוב (לעשות הישר) = Deut 6:18, 12:25
 14:8 ושסע שסע פרסה = Lev 11:7
 16:2 אלהיך = Deut 12:18
 16:12 בארץ (מצרים) = Deut 5:15, 15:15
 16:16 בו (אשר בחר) cf. Num 16:5, 17:20
 17:6 על פי (שלשה עדים) = Deut 19:15; cf. v. 6a
 18:5 לעמד לפני יהוה לשרתו (לעמוד) לפני יהוה אלהיך (ולשרתו) cf. 10:8
 20:17 והגרגשי (והיבוסים) (LXX different sequence) = Deut 7:1
 24:8 התורה (ולעשות ככל) = Deut 17:11
 31:18 מהם (אסתירה פני) = Deut 32:20
 31:20 לתת להם (ארץ) (אבותיו) = Deut 1:8, 10:11, 11:9, etc.; see also 26:15 in §2
 31:21 (נשבעתי) לאבותיו = Deut 1:8, 35; 6:10, etc.; see also 8:18 and 34:4 in §3b

b. Pattern SP ≠ MT LXX (22x)

- 1:43 ואתם (אתם) = Deut 9:23
 2:5 ירשה (מארצם) = vv. 9, 19
 2:8 ואשלחה מלאכים . . . פן בחרב אצא לקראתך = Num 20:14, 17
 2:12b ויירשום (וישבו) = v. 12a
 4:49 ים הערבה (ים המלח) = Deut 3:17
 8:18 (אשר נשבע לאבתך) לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב = Deut 1:8, 6:10; cf. 34:4 below
 9:12 עגל (מסכה) = v. 16
 10:7 משם נסעו . . . תחיתו = Num 33:31–38
 11:6 ואת כל האדם אשר לקרח = Num 16:32
 11:30 מול שכם (אלון מורא); cf. Gen 12:6
 12:28 היום (אשר אנכי מצוך) = Deut 11:13, 27, 28, etc.; see also 4:2 in §3a
 14:16 ואת השלך = Lev 11:17
 16:8 כל (מלאכת) עבודה cf. Exod 12:16





- 17:20 כסא (ממלכתו) = v. 18
 22:1, 4 או את כל בהמתו not in MT LXX; cf. Exod 22:9; Deut 5:14, 14:4
 22:2 מעמך; cf. context and Deut 18:19, 23:22
 24:1 רבא אליה (ובעלה); cf. Deut 21:13, 22:13
 25:6 הבן (הבכור) (LXX τὸ πρῶτόγον); cf. Deut 21:15–16
 27:9 קדש (לעם) = Deut 26:19
 28:18 ופרי בהמתך = Deut 28:4, 11, 51; 30:9
 34:4 (ושבעתי) לאבותיך (אברהם ליצחק וליעקב); see also 31:21 in §3a

Section 4: Harmonizing Additions to the Short Text of the SP in the MT (LXX) (10x)

a. Pattern MT ≠ SP LXX (2x)

- 1:35 לתת (אשר נשבעתי) = Deut 1:8, 35; 11:9, 21; see also 6:3 in §2
 23:12 תוך (אל) = v. 11 (evidence of LXX unclear)

b. Pattern MT LXX ≠ SP (8x)

- 2:9 במ מלחמה (ואל תתגר) = vv. 5, 19; Num 21:12
 2:11 רפאים יחשבו אף הם כענקים = Deut 2:20; 3:11, 13
 3:21 כל (את) אשר עשה יהוה (אלהיכם) = Num 27:23
 9:11 לוחת האבנים (לוחת הברית) = Deut 5:22, 9:15, 10:3
 11:3 מלך מצרים (לפרעה) = Deut 7:8
 24:22 לעשות (לעשות) = v. 18
 28:15 (לשמר) לעשות את כל (מצותיו) = Deut 5:1, 32; see also 30:10 in §2 and 12:28 in §3a
 30:5 והיטבך (וירשתה); cf. Deut 6:18

Some Conclusions

Statistics. The comparative frequency of harmonizing additions in the ancient sources of Deuteronomy is calculated on the basis of the data provided above. The statistics exclude a few frequently occurring formulaic additions as well as uncertain cases or possible cases of harmonizing additions for which no source could be found. Because of the exclusion of these details (mentioned on p. 000 above), the total number of harmonizing additions could be slightly higher.

The figures for the various types of textual relations are provided in the headings to each section. From these data, it is clear that the largest group of harmonizing additions by far is found in the LXX (99 instances recorded in §2). A similar conclusion was reached by Hendel relating to Genesis 1–11, where

Please provide cross-reference at end of para.





the largest number of harmonizations was found in the LXX, followed by the SP (with half of these instances), with the MT reflecting only a few of these features.²¹ Previous characterizations referring to the SP as the text most prone to harmonizing must be abandoned, and instead the LXX should be dubbed the most harmonizing text. We should remember that this statistical evaluation of the *scribal* feature of harmonizing is related to our exclusion from the analysis (see n. 7 above) of the content rewriting of the SP group on the basis of parallel passages (strictly speaking, no harmonization). Had these instances been included in the analysis, the results would still be very similar in Deuteronomy, whereas in Exodus and Numbers the situation would be somewhat different because of the large number of added verses that rewrite the text.

The inclination toward harmonization in the Hebrew text behind the LXX is clearer if the total figures for each source are taken into consideration beyond the complicated web of internal relations described in the subheads of the categories. The LXX of Deuteronomy contains a total of 134 instances of harmonization as opposed to 93 for the SP and 54 for MT. However, within these figures, the LXX reflects 99 exclusive instances of harmonization (§2), the SP a mere 22 instances (§3b), and the MT only 2 exclusive harmonizations (§4a).

Harmonizing in the Hebrew parent text of the LXX or by the Greek translator? In the study cited in n. 3, I discussed the possible distinction between harmonizations by either the translator or his Hebrew parent text. I suggested that each instance and each translation should be evaluated separately, but usually the harmonization should be attributed to the Hebrew parent text unless the opposite can be established. This seems to be the case also in the Greek text of Deuteronomy.²²

21. R. H. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1–11, Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 81–92.

22. For example, at face value it seems as though the addition of the LXX in 11:31 ἐν κλήρῳ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας is influenced by the Greek translation of the nearby verse 12:1, where the same phrase renders לרשתה כל הימים. The seemingly unusual equivalent לרשתה = ἐκ κλήρῳ seems to indicate influence at the translational level. However, upon further investigation, one notices that ἐν κλήρῳ renders לרשתה also in 3:18, and this equivalent is also used for ירושה without a preposition (2:5, 9, 19). Since the same translator rendered all these chapters, these and other idiosyncratic renderings are bound to occur throughout the Greek translation, and therefore this case does not prove harmonization by the translator. This seems to be the case for most instances, although inner-Greek harmonization should not be ruled out. Thus the addition in 16:8 πλὴν ὅσα ποιηθήσεται ψυχῆ possibly reflects the LXX of Exod 12:16, where the Greek translation differs from the Hebrew (אך אשר יאכל לנפש).





Background of the harmonizations. The person(s) who added the harmonizing additions in the various sources was (were) very well acquainted with the context, as well as with parallel descriptions in other chapters, for example, 29:4 **מעליכם (בלו שמלתיכם)**, where the addition is based on Deut 8:4. He was (they were) also well aware of the parallels between Deuteronomy and the preceding books, as shown, for example, by the following additions:

1:25 **וישיבו אתנו דבר** (MT SP) = Num 13:26

1:39 **אשר אמרתם לבו יהיה ובניכם** (MT SP) = Num 14:31

9:27 **οἱς ὁμοσας κατὰ σεαυτοῦ** (LXX) : **אשר נשבעת כך** = Exod 32:13

Universal character of harmonization. Although harmonizing additions occur in Deuteronomy, especially in the LXX, they occur in all sources with different frequencies. The same word or phrase may be added as a harmonizing plus in the Hebrew parent text of the LXX or SP or MT, or in the text common to two or three of these texts. This phenomenon shows that there is no overall guiding principle behind these harmonizing additions and that they could be inserted at any given moment, guided by the changing instincts of scribes. Thus, **ביום הקהל** was added to the base text in the tradition behind MT SP in Deut 10:4 and in the tradition behind the LXX in 4:10. Both traditions have this phrase in common in Deut 9:10, 18:16.

Inconsistency. Harmonizing additions reflect an aspect of scribal activity that, as with all other activities of this sort, is inconsistent. Items that were harmonized once were not necessarily harmonized on another occasion.

