

**A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION INTO THE SAMARITAN
PENTATEUCH AS AN INTRALINGUAL TRANSLATION**

by

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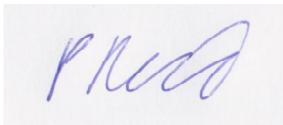
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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) as an intralingual translation. It gives an overview of the Samaritans and their version of the Pentateuch before presenting a model of intralingual translation. This model is then used to compare the SP to the Jewish Masoretic Text of the Pentateuch.

The intralingual translational model is based on Peircean semiotics, which can be used to compare any two translations which share a common source. Translations are viewed as the product of a complex system – a trajectory of translational actions. Like many complex systems, translations generally follow a gradual, relatively stable path, but occasionally there are major changes in trajectory. When comparing two translations, often their translational trajectories will be similar, and they will be recognisably the same. However, where trajectories do differ significantly, on many occasions only one of them will have undergone a significant change in trajectory, while the other remains closer to the common source.

This model is then used as an alternative to classical textual criticism, to compare the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) and the Masoretic Text (MT) as a whole, and then the Song of Moses in particular (Deuteronomy 32:1-43). We see that on many occasions the SP has undergone a more significant change on its translational trajectory than the MT. These intralingual translational changes include: dialectical change, grammatical normalisation, and exegetical problem solving. There are also creative expansions, where scribes supplemented the text of the Pentateuch with text found elsewhere, with the aim of creating a more harmonised whole. Elsewhere there are translational changes linked to Samaritan theology and culture, many of which relate to the focus of their religious life: Mount Gerizim.

Descriptive Translation Studies helps us to determine the *skopos*, that is, the aim or purpose behind these different kinds of translational changes. For example, some of the expansions of the SP are also found in a set of Jewish Qumran manuscripts known as the pre-Samaritan texts, and therefore cannot be attributed to Samaritan theology. Thus, the *skopos* behind these translational changes is different to the more overtly Samaritan additions.

Unlike traditional textual criticism, this model also covers the translation of non-verbal sign systems, such as the formatting of poetry on the page, which differs from the Masoretic tradition for the Song of Moses. Another non-verbal sign system is the Samaritan Hebrew script, related to the paleo-Hebrew script, which is used for the SP. Here, recent evidence

suggests that the Samaritans held onto the older script, while the Jews adopted the newer one, itself a major translational change. Overall, the translational paradigm presented in this dissertation gives a holistic view of all the distinctives of the Samaritan Pentateuch. This model could be fruitful both in the study of other ancient manuscripts and in the analysis of modern Bible translation processes.

Keywords

Samaritan Pentateuch, Intralingual Translation, Intersemiotic Translation, Complexity Theory; Hebrew

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
BHQ	<i>Biblia Hebraica Quinta</i>
LXX	Septuagint Greek translation of the Pentateuch (also used for the Old Greek translation of the Prophets and Writings)
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
SH	Samaritan Hebrew
TH	Tiberian Hebrew

Samaritan Pentateuch Manuscripts

D ¹	Ms Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 751
D ²	Ms Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 752
C ¹	Ms Cambridge, Add 1846
C ³	Ms Cambridge, Add 713
L ¹	Ms London, British Library Or 6461
L ²	Ms London, British Library Cotton Claudius B. VIII
P ²	Ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Sam. 2

Masoretic Text Manuscripts

AC	Aleppo Codex
LC	Leningrad Codex
DP	Damascus Pentateuch

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The Samaritan Pentateuch (henceforth SP) is a parallel textual tradition of the Torah (the first five books of the Hebrew Bible) as preserved and transmitted by the Samaritan community (Waltke 1965, 1992; Anderson and Giles 2012). It constitutes the entirety of their canonical scriptures, as they reject the remainder of the Hebrew Bible, the scriptures of the Jewish community. When one compares the SP with the Torah of the Masoretic Text (henceforth MT), the received text of the Jewish Hebrew Bible, the differences between these two textual traditions can be significant. At times, an obvious sectarian agenda is at play, such as in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5 where the SP has an additional commandment, not found in the MT, which commands worship only on Mount Gerizim (Tov 2012, 87-88; Tov 2020). However, the fact that the MT and SP can be placed side by side in editions such as Sadaqa and Sadaqa (1961-1965) or Tsedaka and Sullivan's English translation (2013) suggests a striking overall unity, especially when one considers the divergent history of these two communities.

Since the SP came to the attention of the West in the seventeenth century CE, most scholarly work has focussed on how the SP bears witness to the long-lost original *Urtext* of the Pentateuch (Anderson and Giles 2012, 150-168). As we shall see, this is an emotive subject with long-held preconceptions, and early SP scholars either praised or dismissed the SP depending on how well it conformed to their ideas. With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the mid-twentieth century, scholars had to reassess their views on the SP, a process which is still underway (Kartveit 2019a, Tov 2019). Variants previously thought of as unique to the SP were found in a number of Pentateuchal manuscripts in the caves of Qumran, and this has revived interest in the other distinctive SP readings. However, much of the focus has remained on using the SP merely as a window onto other texts, rather than studying it for its own merit. In this way, the study of the SP has mirrored that of Septuagint, which is often valued only as a witness to an assumed Hebrew manuscript from which it was translated (Naudé and Miller-Naudé 2018b, 2).

1.2 Objectives

Gesenius (1815) pioneered the analytical study of the SP, and was the first to categorise all of the variants between the SP and the MT. Since Gesenius, many other scholars have refined his analysis (e.g. Waltke 1965, Anderson and Giles 2012, Tov 2012). These variants have been

categorised in various ways, including large-scale harmonisation, exegetical differences, sectarian edits, scribal error and changes in orthography, morphology and vocalisation. Often archaic forms and constructions are replaced by those of later Hebrew, or there is a smoothing of grammatical or exegetical difficulties (Florentin 2013c, 456; Waltke 1965, 273). Aside from the obvious changes related to Mount Gerizim, there are other specific theological emphases, such as changes which enhance the status of Moses (Waltke 1965, 325).

What is lacking is an overall framework to understand these variants, a paradigm which not only explains each type of variation but will also give further insights into the choices made by the editors of the SP, the context they worked in, and the reason they embarked on the project. This study presents such a paradigm for understanding the Samaritan Pentateuch: as an intralingual translation.

The term *intralingual translation* was first coined in Jakobson's work on the linguistics of translation. He defined it as 'an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs in the same language' (1959, 233). Translation scholars after Jakobson defined translation in more restrictive terms, largely focusing on *interlingual* translation, that is, translation between different languages. However, in recent years scholars such as Tymoczko (2007), Zethsen (2009) and Marais (2019a) have argued for a broader definition of translation.

This study will draw upon these and other translation scholars to create a descriptive model of intralingual translation. I will then use this model to examine the distinctive features of the SP. I will demonstrate that intralingual translation proves to be a useful paradigm to describe the SP thus opening the door to further insights from translation theory.

1.3 Methodology

This study will draw on a range of literature on the Samaritan Pentateuch to present an up-to-date view on its origins and distinctives.¹ This will include its relation to a group of Dead Sea Scrolls which are classified as pre-Samaritan, as they share some features with the SP.

Following this I will turn to translation theory, giving an overview of the subject, including recent developments. I will then review literature and research on intralingual translation, placing this category of translation in the wider context of translation theory, and presenting a

¹ This research was approved by the UFS General/Human Research Ethics Committee with the Ethical Clearance number: UFS-HSD2019/1829.

descriptive model of intralingual translation which can be used to analyse same-language translational activity.

The SP has a number of well-known variants which differ substantially from the Masoretic Text, along with a large number of smaller variations. In order to see how well the model of intralingual translation describes the SP, we have to account for the full range of textual variants. Therefore, I will first examine the distinctive features of the SP as a whole, and explain these in terms of intralingual translation. Some of these distinctives are unique to the Samaritan canon, such as the significant additions to the Decalogue in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5. However, some of the additions are also found in other ancient witnesses, such as the harmonisation of the Exodus narrative with other parts of the Pentateuch, which is also found in the so-called pre-Samaritan Dead Sea Scrolls (Tov 2012, 90-93). My broad definition of intralingual translation also covers the presentation of the text, including the use of the Samaritan script, which is closely related to the paleo-Hebrew script, and scribal practices, such as the formatting of poetic lines.

I will, therefore, examine one passage in detail, looking at every variation between the SP and the MT, and describing these with reference to the intralingual translation model. I have chosen the Song of Moses of Deuteronomy 32:1-43 for this analysis. This passage presents a number of challenges to the exegete, with numerous *hapax legomena* in the MT, a dense poetic structure, and some verses where corruption or scribal modification may have occurred in the MT tradition. These difficulties bring other witnesses such as the SP and the Septuagint (LXX) into focus as text-critics and exegetes draw on other resources to shed light on the obscure parts of the MT. For the text and presentation of the SP, although I will refer to a number of different manuscripts (MSS), I have chosen to focus on one manuscript of the Samaritan Pentateuch, Ms. Dublin Chester Beatty 751 (D¹). D¹ is the base text of a new, diplomatic, critical edition of the SP edited by Stefan Schorch (see Schorch 2013). For the Masoretic Text, I will normally follow the Leningrad Codex (LC) for its consonantal text, vocalisation and Masoretic apparatus, in line with the Biblia Hebraica Quinta, where complete (henceforth BHQ) and previous critical editions. However, for the formatting of the poetic lines of the Song of Moses, I have drawn on the Aleppo Codex (AC) and other Masoretic MSS and traditions.

1.4 Organisation of the Dissertation

In this study I will first introduce the history and characteristics of the SP ([Chapter 2](#)~~Chapter 2~~). I will then turn to developments in translation studies, particularly in the area of intralingual

and intersemiotic translation ([Chapter 3](#)~~Chapter 3~~). In the following chapters, I will apply the paradigm of intralingual translation to the Samaritan Pentateuch as a whole ([Chapter 4](#)~~Chapter 4~~), and then in detail to a particular passage of the SP, the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32:1-43, in [Chapter 5](#)~~Chapter 5~~. Finally, in chapter 6 I will give conclusions and areas of future research.

CHAPTER 2

WHAT IS THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH?

2.1 Introduction

The Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) is the version of the five books of the Torah as used by the Samaritan community, which forms their entire canon of scripture. The SP is preserved in codices copied by Samaritan scribes, which have followed a scribal tradition distinct from that of the Jewish versions of the Pentateuch exemplified by the Masoretic Text (MT).

There are several different theories about the origins of the Samaritan community and their Torah. The community's own story regarding their beginnings differs from the historical writings of the Judean scriptures, unrecognised by the Samaritans themselves. Josephus, a Jewish historian writing in the first century CE, expands on the Judean narrative. More recently, modern scholars such as Cross (1966), Purvis (1968), Kartveit (2009) and Knoppers (2013) have re-examined the origins of the Samaritans in the light of archaeological discoveries.

In this chapter, I will first examine alternative stories about the origins of the Samaritans and their Pentateuch, before turning to the nature of the SP and the history of its scholarship.

2.2 The Samaritan Story

Samaritans trace their origins back to the Israelites who conquered Canaan after the time of Moses. They hold that from the conquest through to the present day, there has only been one authorised place of worship: Mount Gerizim. They reject both the Jewish cult focussed on Jerusalem, and the previous focus of the cult mentioned in the Jewish scriptures — Shiloh.

According to the Samaritan Chronicles of Abu'l Fath (14th century CE, see Anderson & Giles 2002, 10-13), Eli son of Yafni, a priest of the line of Ithamar, wanted to usurp the high priesthood from the descendants of Phineas. After a dispute with the then High Priest, Eli took his followers to build a rival temple in Shiloh, where his wicked sons feasted on sacrifices and practiced debauchery. Eli's protégé, Samuel, continued these deviations from the true religion, followed by David and Solomon who moved the centre of the cult from Shiloh to Jerusalem. Thus, along with Eli, they reject Samuel and the entire Davidic dynasty.

The name of the Samaritans (שמרונים *Shomronim* in Samaritan Hebrew²) originally derived from the city of Samaria, founded by King Omri of Israel. According to both the Samaritan Chronicle and the Hebrew Bible (1 Kings 16:24), the city was named after Shemer, the previous owner of the hill on which it was built. From this comes the name Shomronim (שמרונים) for the inhabitants of the city (Anderson and Giles 2012, 9).

However, the Samaritans know themselves as the Shomrim (שמרים 'Keepers') who alone preserved the true Torah. They are the true Israelites, descended from the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. They have their own Levitical priesthood, an uninterrupted line of priests who to this day practice the cult at Mount Gerizim. Their Torah is preserved in the true ancient Hebrew language and script, in contrast to the work of the Jewish scribe Ezra, whom they call the 'Accursed' (Anderson & Giles 2002, 13). To the Samaritans, Ezra corrupted the Torah by changing it from the paleo-Hebrew to the Aramaic square script, and insisted that the temple should be in Jerusalem. He also falsely claimed that the Samaritans descended from Gentiles.

2.3 The Judean Story

In 2 Kings 17:24-41 we have a Judean account of the origins of the Samaritans.³ According to this account, the northern kingdom of Israel fell to the Assyrians and its population went into exile.⁴ In their place the Assyrians repopulated the land with people from five other parts of their empire. At first, this new population suffered in the land, and was attacked by lions. The Assyrians recognise that they are being punished for not worshipping YHWH, whom they understand to be the local deity. The Assyrian king then sends a priest from among the exiles to teach them how to worship YHWH, whom they then worshipped along with their own national gods. On one occasion, 2 Kings 17:29, the writer names these inhabitants as *Shomronim* (שמרונים). Rabbinic sources later refer to the Samaritans as 'lion proselytes' in reference to this origin story (Knoppers 2013, 4).

² Samaritan Hebrew does not distinguish between *sin /s/* and *shin /ʃ/* (ש and שׁ in Tiberian Hebrew). In Samaritan Hebrew, ש is always pronounced /s/. As there is no doubt that /s/ and /ʃ/ originally were different morphemes, Ben Hayyim (2000, 37) sees this fact as evidence for an early shift from /s/ to /ʃ/ in the Samaritan dialect.

³ In the neo-Babylonian, Persian and Hellenistic periods, I will follow Knoppers (2013, 16) in using the terms 'Samaritan' for inhabitants of the province of Samaria and 'Judean' for those of the province of Judah. The terms 'Samaritan' and 'Jew' are reserved for the later Hasmonean and Roman periods.

⁴ Younger (1999) dates the initial fall of the city to 722 BCE, although resistance continued until Samaria was recaptured two years later.

The book of Ezra-Nehemiah gives more insight into Judean-Samaritan relations in the Persian period. In Ezra 4:1-5 an unnamed group of ‘enemies of Judah and Benjamin’ expressed a desire to be involved in the temple rebuilding project of Zerubbabel. Ezra does not identify these enemies as Shomronim,⁵ but here we see another community with an interest, feigned or otherwise, to be part of YHWH worship. This is especially notable given that a rival temple was eventually constructed at Gerizim. This group was thoroughly rejected by the returning Judean exiles, and henceforth became their bitter enemies.

Later, Nehemiah’s nemesis throughout his wall-rebuilding project is Sanballat the Horonite, who with Tobiah the Ammonite and Geshem the Arab sought to frustrate his efforts to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. Nehemiah places Sanballat with the army of Samaria (Neh. 4:2). The same name, rendered ‘Sin’uballit’, is found on a seal inscription in the Wadi Daliyeh manuscripts (Bulla WD22, see Dusek 2007, 49) referring to the father of another Samaritan governor. This is most likely the same person (Dusek 2020, 4). Later on, Nehemiah expels one of the high priest’s sons for marrying Sanballat’s daughter, and cleansed the priesthood from all foreign influence (Neh. 13:28-30). As current archaeology dates the Gerizim temple to Nehemiah’s century (Kartveit 2009, 95), it is possible that this rival temple was constructed in response to this expulsion of a group of priests from Jerusalem.

Another episode, from the time of the persecution by the Seleucid king Antiochus IV, is recounted in 2 Macc 6:2. The king sends an official to compel the Jews to desert their religion. This official then desecrates the Jerusalem temple and dedicates it to ‘Zeus Olympian’. In contrast, the same official appears to be welcomed at Gerizim, as he dedicates the Gerizim temple to ‘Zeus-the-Friend-of-Strangers’.

In the mid-second century the Hasmoneans successfully rebelled against the Seleucid empire, and established a Jewish state (Goldstein 1989). At the height of Jewish power in 111-110 BCE, the Hasmonean king John Hyrcanus destroyed the Samaritan city of Shechem and the temple at Gerizim (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.255-256, Goldstein 1989, 326). However, the Samaritan community held onto their identity and continued to live in the area around Shechem (Isser 1999, 571). This community features in the late first century CE writings of the Jewish historian Josephus.

⁵ However, Josephus, writing in a later epoch, does name them as *Shomronim* (*Ant.* 11.84).

2.4 Josephus' Portrayal

Josephus portrays the Samaritans 'as a group that forms a negative counterpart to the loyal Jews, an example of people who try to exploit the ruling powers and who are justly punished for that' (Kartveit 2011, 109-110). He characterises them as opportunists, ready to be identified as allies of the Jews when they prosper, but disowning them when they hit hard times (*Ant.* 9.271, 12.257). He draws on the 2 Kings 17 account, explicitly linking the resettled peoples with the Samaritans of his day. He also gives them the name Cutheans (*Χουθαῖοι*) after Cuthah in Persia, one of the five places of origin listed in that account. Presumably, this was a negative appellation chosen to highlight their Gentile roots.

Elsewhere, Josephus tells of a rift in the priesthood in the twilight days of the Persian Empire (*Ant.* 11.302-312). Sanballat, the governor of Samaria appointed by Darius, married his daughter to Manasseh, brother of the high priest. The elders in Jerusalem were outraged by this match of a priest with a 'foreigner' and demanded that Manasseh divorce Sanballat's daughter lest he be ejected from the priesthood. In response, Sanballat built a temple for Manasseh on Mount Gerizim. Manasseh was not the only one in Jerusalem to be 'entangled in such matches' (*Ant.* 11.312); many other priests and Levites deserted Jerusalem for Gerizim, having been promised money and land by Sanballat.

Despite the similarities to the Neh. 13:28 story, the Sanballat of Josephus' account cannot be the same character as Nehemiah's rival Samaritan governor, as they are separated by more than a century. Kartveit suggests that Josephus built his story on Nehemiah, but deliberately moved the date of the construction of the Gerizim temple to the time of Alexander for polemic reasons (2009, 94-96).

2.5 Cross-Purvis Hypothesis

Cross (1966) and Purvis (1968) placed the origins of the Samaritan settlement at Shechem in the aftermath of the Greek invasion in the late fourth century BCE:

The Samaritan Yahwists of mixed ethnic descent, who had exercised political authority and cultural leadership in Samaria, were now disenfranchised. They could no longer maintain the status or exercise the authority they had enjoyed while they were in control of that city. Nor could they turn to Jerusalem, for relations between the two communities were far from cordial. The solution to their dilemma was undoubtedly found in the development of a new Samaritan community at Shechem. (Purvis 1968, 108-109)

In this narrative, the Macedonians deprived the Samarian nobility of power, so they moved to Shechem, an abandoned city, and rebuilt it. They built a temple to YHWH on Mount Gerizim next to Shechem, in an attempt to link to the oldest Israelite traditions. Contrary to Josephus, their temple was not formed from a schism with Jerusalem. Their temple construction was an independent activity, although it was consciously creating an alternative centre of worship. They also manipulated the text of the Pentateuch in order to elevate the Gerizim temple as the only legitimate centre of the cult. 'It was this contention, not simply the existence of a Samaritan temple, which drove the permanent wedge between the Samaritans and the Jews' (Purvis 1986, 89). Finally, when the Hasmonean John Hyrcanus destroyed this temple and razed Shechem in 111-110 BCE, the relations between Samaritans and Jews were irrevocably broken (*Ant.*.13:255-256).

2.6 Knoppers' Reassessment of Judean-Samaritan Relations

Gary Knoppers' 2013 monograph *Jews and Samaritans* re-examined the various origin stories of the Samaritans together with archaeological evidence. He concluded that the Assyrian exile of the northern kingdom was not total, but rather that there was a 'reduced but continuing northern Israelite presence in the land from the period of Assyrian domination onward' (2013, 44). There is some evidence for this continuity even in the 2 Kings narrative. For instance, in 2 Kings 17:24, although the Assyrian king resettles Samaria with exiles from Mesopotamia, later in the same chapter (vv. 35-40) the inhabitants of the land are attacked for breaking the covenant YHWH made with them when he brought them out of Egypt (*ibid.*, 60). Also, when lions attack the inhabitants of the land, the Assyrian king attributes this to neglect of the worship of YHWH, and sends a Samarian priest back to the land to teach the people how to worship YHWH (2 Kings 17:25-28). This priest takes up residence at Bethel, the site of one of the golden calves set up by Jeroboam I at the foundation of the northern kingdom (see 1 Kings 12:28-33). To Knoppers, this choice of location shows that the former religious practices of the northern Israelite kingdom were revived in the period of Assyrian domination (2013, 52). A century later, when the southern king Josiah takes his religious reforms to the former northern kingdom, he finds that the religious rites instituted by Jeroboam I are still being practiced at Bethel and elsewhere. He destroys the shrine there and kills the priests, burning their bones in a manner that befits apostate Israelites rather than pagans (2 Kings 23:15-20, see Deuteronomy 13:12-18). Knoppers argues that the point of Josiah's reforms was to remove unauthorised worship sites such as Bethel, forcing Yahwists in the north, perhaps including non-ethnic Israelites, to worship YHWH at the only authorised place, Jerusalem (Knoppers 2013, 64).

Knoppers points out other occurrences of north-south relations elsewhere in the Hebrew scriptures, such as Hezekiah's great celebration of the Passover in 2 Chronicles 30. This feast was attended by many from the north, even though it occurred in the aftermath of the Assyrian conquest (ibid., 85-90).⁶ Much later in Nehemiah's memoir, Nehemiah's Samaritan opponents Sanballat and Tobiah are presented in a very negative light. Tobiah (טֹבִיָּה, 'YHWH is good'), despite his Yahwist name is called הַעֲבָדֵי הָעַמּוֹנִי 'the Ammonite slave' or 'slave of the Ammonite', which could have been a derogatory play on his job title (ibid., 146). Sanballat is called a הַרְנִי 'Haronite', showing that he originated from Beth Haron in Ephraim. Both were most likely of Israelite descent, with marriage ties to the Judean returnees from exiles, and with many allies in Jerusalem. Despite the fierce rivalry, Knoppers argues that even Nehemiah's dispute with his Samaritan opponents shows that there was a great deal of contact between Judeans and Samaritans in the Persian period (ibid., 140).

Knoppers continues tracing relations between the Samaritan and Judean communities through the Hellenistic and Maccabean times. He argues, that although one might be tempted to plot a continual deterioration of relations from the time of Nehemiah to the destruction of the Gerizim temple in 111-110 BCE, this is too simplistic a model and ignores contrary evidence (ibid 174). For instance, Josephus talks of Judeans in this period fleeing to Shechem if found guilty of breaking Sabbath or food laws (*Ant.* 11.346-347). Knoppers argues that the similar treatment of the two temples in 2 Macc 6:2, discussed above, implies some kind of equivalence and legitimacy (2013, 176). Overall, Knoppers concluded that the two communities had much direct contact and a great deal in common, and that the schism portrayed by Cross and Purvis was not absolute. This, he argues, has important implications for the emergence of the SP.

2.7 The Emergence of the Samaritan Pentateuch

The Torah, as revered by the Samaritan community, is in many ways similar to that found in the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Septuagint. Scholars naturally focus on the distinctives between these textual traditions, yet the fact that the texts can be compared in such detail shows a remarkable degree of commonality. The most striking difference between the SP and the MT is found in the Ten Commandments in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5,

⁶ The chronology of Hezekiah's reign seems to include a period of co-regency with his father Ahaz. Given the way Ahaz is portrayed in 2 Chronicles 28:22-27 and 2 Kings 16 it is unlikely Hezekiah could have started his reforms until his father Ahaz died in c716 BCE (see D. W. Baker 1996). Thus, Hezekiah's Passover occurred after 716 BCE, and therefore after the fall of the northern kingdom in 722 BCE (Younger 1999, 482). It is notable that the Chronicler mentions neither the exile of the northern kingdom nor the repopulation of the land with migrants, and makes it clear that many Israelites were present in the land at that time.

where the SP adds a new tenth commandment to the list. This commandment tells the Israelites to set up stones inscribed with the words of the law, to construct a stone altar and to sacrifice and feast. The location for this one-off event is very specific: Mount Gerizim, which is specified with geographical details. This insertion, known as the Gerizim commandment, occurs after Exodus 20:17 and Deuteronomy 5:18. It is a compilation of texts found elsewhere in the Samaritan Pentateuch.⁷ It is generally thought of as being a deliberate addition made for ideological reasons (Tov 2012, 87), and is not found in any of the Qumran manuscripts.⁸

Another notable difference in Deuteronomy is the use of the perfective form of the verb בָּחַר ('he has chosen') in the SP rather than the MT's imperfective יִבְחַר ('he will choose'). This difference is found whenever the text refers to God's choice of one authorised place of worship, such as in Deuteronomy 12:5. Schorch (2011) points to evidence in some Greek Septuagint, Latin and Coptic manuscripts which suggests the SP variant is original. However, this is a minority view. Tov (2012, 88) places this variant in the same ideological category as the Gerizim commandment, and Anderson and Giles contend that 'none of the pre-Samaritan texts can be confirmed to agree with the SP in any of the twenty-one instances of this shift' (2012, 91). There are many other differences between the SP and the MT which have less obvious ideological implications. Many of these are also found in the 'pre-Samaritan' group of Qumran texts (see section [2.9 below](#)).

Knoppers' view is that the Pentateuch was still under a process of development in the final centuries BCE, and that the similarity between the SP and MT could have only been maintained by cooperation between the communities. The same also applies to the LXX, which adapted to the changes as the Pentateuch evolved (ibid., 192). To Knoppers, the differences between the SP and the MT are exaggerated, and the common readings between the SP and LXX are similarly overstated (ibid., 179).⁹ As we have seen, Knoppers argues that relations between Samaritans and Judeans in this period were much closer than is often portrayed. He points to the close similarities between the pre-Samaritan texts at Qumran and the SP as evidence for

⁷ Tov (2012, 88) lists, in sequence, the following source verses from Deuteronomy: 11:29a, 27:2b-3a, 27:4a, 27:5-7 and 11:30. See also Schorch (2019, 80).

⁸ Kartveit dates the Samaritan 10th commandment to the first century CE (2009, 294), on the basis of a repair patch on the pre-Samaritan 4Q22 (4QpaleoExod^m) dated around the turn of the era, showing this text was still in use at Qumran. He argues that non-Samaritans would have rejected the pre-Samaritan texts after they were adopted and adapted for Samaritan purposes. He also argues that Josephus (*Ant.* 5.68-70) deliberately placed the altar on Ebal as a polemic against the Samaritan 10th commandment (Kartveit 2009, 308). Here he assumes that the SP's Gerizim was the original reading in Deut 27:4 (see section [4.3.24-3.2](#)).

⁹ Knoppers cites Kim's analysis in support of this viewpoint (Kim 1994, see section [2.112-14](#) below).

such contact. Knoppers' chronology of the composition of the Pentateuch runs into the late Persian and Hellenic period where there were two rival cults in Gerizim and Jerusalem. The Pentateuch was still under construction, and yet the final forms of the Torah accepted by Samaritans and Jews were very similar indeed:

The proposition that precisely the same changes arose spontaneously and independently in both communities so that both Pentateuchs remained virtually identical over a considerable period of time strains historical credulity. It makes much more sense to view the Pentateuch, at least for a time, as a common literary enterprise. (Knoppers 2013, 192-3).

While Knoppers is correct to cast doubt on a total schism between Jews and Samaritans, the two communities did have very different views, particularly on the correct location of the cult. To argue that the Torah was a cooperative 'compromise document' (ibid., 212) seems highly unlikely. The Torah was, and is, central to the religious lives of both rival communities. It is hard to imagine such close cooperation between Jewish and Samaritan scribes in the aftermath of the destruction of the Gerizim temple. In such a climate, any attempt to modify the text by either community would be seized upon by the other group as falsification.

However, if we place aside Knoppers' assumptions about the late development of the Pentateuch, we can account for the shared scriptural heritage of the two independent communities. If the form of the Pentateuch was settled well before 110 BCE, when the Jewish-Samaritan relations reached their nadir, then the Samaritans could be in possession of the same Pentateuchal manuscripts as circulated among the Jews, which they then adapted to their purposes. Like Knoppers, Gentry emphasises the similarity of the SP and MT, but comes to very different conclusions. He sees the pre-Samaritan texts as modernisations of the proto-MT, and the fact that such modernisation was required is 'a strong witness to the antiquity and purity of the tradition in the MT, since the proto-MT had to be modernized and popularized in the second century BC so it could be understood' (Gentry 2009, 24).

Given the importance of the sectarian variants, particularly the Gerizim commandment, it is surprising that we see no reaction against them in Jewish sources. Waltke (1965, 4) could find only one Talmudic condemnation of the Samaritan scribes for falsifying the text of Torah, adding a geographic detail to Deut 11:30.¹⁰ Christian Patristic sources such as Origen and

¹⁰ After 'the terebinths of Moreh' the SP adds מול שכם 'opposite Shechem'. This comes in a passage which specifies the location of Mounts Gerizim and Ebal and hence it is important to Samaritans. Tsedaka and Sullivan (2013, 435) list this as one of the seven geographical signs to indicate the location of *Aargaareezem*. The Talmud agrees that Shechem is intended, but condemns the addition (*b. Soṭah 33b*).

Jerome are more positive about the SP, and sometimes they accept the its variant readings over the Jewish Hebrew text. For example, when commenting on the Gal. 3:10 citation of Deut 27:26a, Jerome accepted the SP variant over the proto-MT. The MT here reads:

(1) Deuteronomy 27:26a (MT)

אָרוּר אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִקְיָם אֶת־דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת לַעֲשׂוֹת אוֹתָם

Cursed is the one who does not uphold the words of this law to do them

In contrast, the SP reads:

(2) Deuteronomy 27:26a (SP)

אָרוּר אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִקְיָם אֶת כָּל דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת לַעֲשׂוֹתָם

Cursed is the one who does not uphold *all* the words of this law to do them

Here the SP is closer to the citation of this verse in Galatians:

(3) Galatians 3:10

ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει **πᾶσιν** τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά.

Cursed is everyone who does not keep *all* which is written in the book of the law to do them.

Jerome here accepts the Samaritan reading and criticises the Jews for deliberately removing ‘all’ in order to limit the scope of their obligation to the law (Waltke 1965, 5).

Despite this kind of citation, early Jewish and Patristic sources did not explore the history and character of the SP. To Waltke, their ‘use and abuse’ of the SP in this period has little to contribute to SP studies (ibid.).

2.8 The Samaritan Pentateuch in the West

For a long period, the SP remained obscure in the West. Some scholars, seeing only a few veiled Patristic references, even doubted its existence. However, this all changed in 1616, when Pietro della Valle obtained a codex of the Pentateuch from the Samaritan community. It arrived in Paris in 1623, where it was studied by Jean Morin (in Latin: Johannes Morinus). In Morin’s *Exercitationes Ecclesiastae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuch* (Ecclesiastical Discussion of the Samaritan Pentateuch) he declared it ‘infinitely superior to the MT’ (Morin, 1631; see Waltke 1965, 7). Morin’s assessment has to be seen in context, as described by Anderson and Giles (2012, 154-159). He was born in 1591 to French Protestant parents but converted to Catholicism. While the Roman Catholic Church had endorsed the LXX and the Vulgate translations, the young Protestant movement preferred the MT as the basis for their Old Testament. Coloured by this ideology, with perhaps a hint of anti-Semitism (ibid., 157),

Morin saw his opportunity to demonstrate the superiority of the Greek text over the MT. To him, the fact that the SP was written in an older script than the MT was evidence for an older date of composition, and therefore the SP was closer to the Hebrew *Urtext* on which the LXX is based. He found support for LXX readings which differed from the MT, such as in Gen. 4:8. Here the MT omits, but the SP includes, *נלכה השדה* 'Let us go out into the field', supported not only by the LXX but also the Vulgate, Syriac and other witnesses. He agreed with Jerome's assessment that the SP of Deut 27:26a was superior to the MT, and had deliberately been changed (Anderson and Giles 2012, 155). He also argued that the Hebrew text was more subject to corruption than the Greek, due to the late addition of the vowel points to the consonantal text (Twining 2020, 345).

Although Morin's defence of the LXX was motivated by a defence of Catholic teaching, Simon De Muis, a Catholic Hebrew scholar in Paris, saw the danger of undermining the Hebrew text. Whatever the shortcomings of the Masoretic Text, Hebrew texts were the foundation of both the LXX and the Vulgate translation. As well as publishing rebuttals to Morin's work, De Muis wrote to Protestant scholars, warning them of the dangers of Morin's thesis and seeking their support (ibid., 346). Protestants such as Johannes Buxtorf and Johannes Hottengerus went to great lengths to defend the MT against Morin's attacks (Anderson and Giles 2012, 161). Buxtorf even suggested that the Masoretic vowel points were agreed at a council called by the prophet Ezra (1620, 8). However, one Protestant scholar, Louis Cappel, accepted some of Morin's evidence, though avoided criticising the MT directly. His *Critica Sacra*, published in 1650 with Morin's assistance, arrived at a more balanced view of textual criticism which valued other ancient versions where they could shed light on the pre-Masoretic text (Twining 2020, 346-348).

The next major advance in Samaritan Pentateuch studies came in 1815, when German scholar Gesenius published his work on the SP (Gesenius, 1815). In the first part he examined the origins of the Samaritans, based on Josephus' account, and in the second he carefully analysed the differences between the SP and the MT. He found approximately 6,000 variants between the SP and the MT, and classified them into eight categories, giving numerous examples of each type. This classification, with refinements, has provided the basis for much further study of the SP. Waltke lists Gesenius' categories (1965, 14-15):

- 1) Readings in which emendations of a grammatical nature have been attempted.
- 2) Glosses or interpretations received into the text.
- 3) Conjectural emendations of real or imaginary difficulties in the MT.

- 4) Readings corrected or supplemented with the help of parallel texts.
- 5) Large additions interpolated from parallel passages.
- 6) Emendations of passages and words of the MT which were objectionable to the Samaritans because of historical difficulties or seeming lack of dignity in terms applied to the Creator.
- 7) Morphological alterations in favour of the Samaritan dialect.
- 8) Alterations made in favour of Samaritan theology, hermeneutics and cult.

Having explained thousands of variants as secondary in one of these eight categories, Gesenius was famously left with only four readings of the SP ‘which are recommended by internal arguments and which are therefore not to be rashly confounded’ (ibid., 15).¹¹ These exceptions aside, he considered the SP to be of no critical value, and thus affirmed the superiority of the MT. Few argued with Gesenius in the century that followed, and some such as Frankel (1831, 242) and Abbot (1888, 2803-17) rejected the four original readings Gesenius had identified.¹²

A challenge to Gesenius’ negative view of the SP came from Paul Kahle. He argued that before the schism between the Samaritans and the Jews, an adaptation of the Pentateuch was made to facilitate popular understanding of the text. Such an adaptation, which Kahle called a ‘vulgar text’ (Kahle 1956, 9), could only happen early in the text’s history. Later on, when the text was considered ‘sacrosanct’, no-one would dare to modify it (Kahle 1956, 7-8). When the Samaritans split away from the Jews they took this ‘vulgar text’ with them, and made a series of sectarian changes to it to form the SP we have today. Kahle added that some of the SP variants suggest that Hebrew was still a living language at the time, which he took as evidence for an early date (Waltke 1965, 25).¹³ As for the *textus receptus* (i.e. the proto-MT), Kahle dated its composition to around 100 CE. This was the result of critical editing of the vulgar text, with reference to some older MSS closer to the assumed *Urtext*. The LXX was then revised to conform to this standardised text, and only the SP was left unaltered, as the Samaritans had no reason to change their older manuscript. Although Kahle’s theory did much to revive interest

¹¹ The four are all found in Genesis: Gen. 4:8 (where, rarely, he agrees with Morin – see above), 14:14, 22:13, 49:14.

¹² To Frankel the SP is merely a ‘Hebraised’ version of the LXX done ‘with the greatest ignorance’ (Frankel 1831, 238; see Waltke 1965, 17).

¹³ The assumption here is that Hebrew was completely replaced by Aramaic as a spoken language well before the turn of the eras. With the discovery of the Qumran documents, it became clear that some in Palestine were still speaking a form of Hebrew until at least the first century CE. Some recent scholars have argued for a tri-lingual framework, with widespread oral use of Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic in this period (see Joosten 2004, Safrai 2005, Fassberg 2012, Buth and Pierce 2014).

in the SP, it was not based on detailed textual analysis but was rather a ‘hypothesized history of the text... [reasoning that] since the text is ancient, therefore it must be genuine’ (ibid., 27).

2.9 The Qumran Texts and the Samaritan Pentateuch

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran in the 1940s, along with those found at other locations in the Judean desert, revolutionised the field of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.

To Albright (1955) and Cross (1964), the Qumran texts as a whole could be divided into three broad categories based on recensional activity associated with three different locations: the *Babylonian* recension for the proto-MT texts; the *Egyptian* recension for texts aligned to the LXX; and the *Palestinian* recension which included the pre-Samaritan texts. According to this *Local Texts* theory, texts in these three recensions developed independently, and the text preserved in Babylonia, favoured by the Rabbis, was eventually chosen as their *textus receptus*. While the proto-MT text had been, perhaps reluctantly, transformed from paleo-Hebrew to the square script (Cross 1964, 289), it had ‘stood aloof’ from the ‘centuries of reworking, revision and expansion which characterized the development of the Proto-Samaritan tradition’ (ibid., 290).

The main problem with this tripartite division of the texts was that some of the Qumran texts fit none of the three categories. Cross acknowledged a few ‘mixed texts’, the result of contact between the recensions (1964, 299), but Emanuel Tov’s analysis labelled a significant number of texts as ‘non-aligned’ to any of these traditions.¹⁴ This analysis has led to an oft-cited view that there was a large degree of variation and textual fluidity of scripture in the Second Temple period. Ulrich, for example, believes that the process of ‘pluriformity and organic growth’ of the text of the Hebrew Bible continued until the second century CE when it was ‘halted by extraneous circumstances’ (2013, 99). However, Ferguson (2018) looks again at these ‘non-aligned’ texts, and argues that much of the textual variance from the MT can be explained by considering why they were made. By examining the physical nature of each scroll or fragment, it is clear that some of these texts were made for liturgical use or as small scrolls for *tēfillin* (phylacteries) or *mēzuzot*. These texts are *excerpted* texts, a genre where ‘exegesis is manifest in omissions from, additions and changes to the biblical texts’ (Tov 1995, 583). Hence one has to tread carefully when using them for textual criticism (ibid., 582), especially as scribes were

¹⁴ Among the Qumran corpus, Tov identified 46 Torah texts and 75 texts from the rest of the Hebrew scriptures which were sufficiently extensive for textual analysis. He labelled 18 of the 46 Torah texts (37%) and 37 of the 75 non-Torah scriptural texts (49%) as non-aligned (Tov 2012, 108).

permitted to transmit them by memory (Ferguson 2018, 15). The texts discovered in other locations like Masada were found to conform more closely to the MT; thus, the textual plurality at Qumran might be due to the particular nature of the community there (Tov 2012, 179).¹⁵

Most pertinent to this study are the ‘pre-Samaritan’ group of manuscripts, which share many of the SP’s distinctive features when compared to the MT, such as harmonisation and interpolation (Tov 2012, 90-93). The name ‘pre-Samaritan’ can be misleading, as these texts were not exclusive to the Samaritan religion. However, these texts, rather than the other versions in circulation at the time, were chosen by the Samaritan community as the basis for their version of the Pentateuch. The most significant of the pre-Samaritan texts is 4QpaleoExod^m (4Q22; Skehan, Ulrich and Sanderson 1992, 53-130). This manuscript is written in a paleo-Hebrew script and shares, ‘all major, typological features with [the SP], including all the major expansions of that tradition where it is extant (twelve), with the single exception of the new tenth commandment ... regarding the altar on Mount Gerizim’ (ibid., 66). The other extant pre-Samaritan MSS were written in the Aramaic square script. These include 4QNum^b (4Q27), 4QDeutⁿ (4Q41), and two reworked Pentateuch texts, 4QRP^a (4Q158), 4QRP^b (4Q364).¹⁶ Tov gives an overview of these manuscripts (2012, 97-100), and Zahn (2011) examines the reworked Pentateuch texts in detail.

Tov contrasts the *free approach* which scribes took when creating the pre-Samaritan texts to the *careful approach* of the proto-MT. In the *free approach*, scribes were free to correct perceived errors, update orthography or make small additions or omissions. The *careful approach* by contrast, discouraged changes of any kind (Tov 2012, 184). I will return to this characterisation in section [2.112-14](#), after providing a brief overview of the versions of the SP available today.

2.10 SP Manuscripts and Editions

As we have seen, the first manuscript of the SP to reach the West was obtained by Pietro della Valle in 1616. This version of the SP, later dubbed *Codex B* by Von Gall, was edited by Morin

¹⁵ To Ulrich, the extent of the Masada texts is too small to draw conclusions about their similarity to the MT. He demands an impossible burden of proof: ‘For the Masada-MT equation to be significant it would be necessary to demonstrate that no non-MT scrolls were ever at Masada’ (2013, 93).

¹⁶ The *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* series gives the definitive publication of these MSS: 4QNum^b (4Q27; Jastram 1994), 4QDeutⁿ (4Q41; Crawford 1995), 4QRP^a (4Q158; Allegro 1968, 1-6), 4QRP^b (4Q364; Tov and White 1994).

to form part of the famous Paris Polyglot Bible published in 1645 (Anderson and Giles 2012, 150).

Like many Samaritan manuscripts, Codex B includes an acrostic in the text of Deuteronomy which sets apart particular letters from the biblical text so that they read as a separate metatext about the manuscript itself. Here the scribe names himself, and gives the date as 746 'by the rule of the Ishmaelites' i.e. 746 AH in the Muslim calendar, which corresponds to 1345 or 1346 CE. Codex A, another manuscript by the same scribe, tells us that he lived in Damascus (ibid., 152).

Many other important manuscripts of the SP have been discovered since Codex B. The oldest and best of these is MS Dublin Chester Beatty Library 751 (D¹), which is almost entirely preserved and dates from 1225 CE (Schorch 2013, 13). One text particularly revered by the Samaritans is the Abisha scroll, which claims in its acrostic to have been copied by Aaron's great-grandson merely thirteen years after the conquest of Canaan. However, scholars view it as a 14th century CE creation (Anderson and Giles 2012, 143-146).

Ancient translations of the SP also bear witness to the text. Targums (vernacular interpretations in Aramaic) of the SP were created to explain the meaning of the Torah to those who no longer understood Hebrew (see Anderson and Giles 2012, 169-174). There is evidence for a Greek translation of the SP, the *Samareitikon* which Origen cites in the *Hexapla*, but this has never been found. However, we do have many MSS of Arabic translations of the SP, some of which date back to the early 13th century CE. As Arabic became the dominant language in the Middle East after the Muslim conquest, the SP often appeared either as an Arabic/Samaritan Hebrew biglot or simply as an Arabic translation (ibid., 184).

The first and only complete critical edition of the SP is Von Gall (1914-1918). Von Gall worked on the assumption that there was one single *Urtext* from which all manuscripts of the SP were derived. While he based his work on Codex B, he did not choose to produce a diplomatic text of that manuscript with variants in the apparatus. Instead, he reconstructed an eclectic text, explaining his text-critical choices in the apparatus. His text was printed in the square script rather than Samaritan script. Unfortunately, Von Gall adapted spelling and grammar to Masoretic norms, and even used comparisons with the LXX and MT in the reconstruction of his eclectic texts (Schorch 2013, 8n21). Thus 'most of the characteristic features of the SP are absent' (ibid., 9). In addition, most of the oldest and best SP manuscripts we have today were not available to Von Gall. Thus, Von Gall's edition, while pioneering for its time, is

‘completely outdated in terms of OT textual criticism, editorial philology, and Samaritan studies,’ (Schorch 2013, 8). Baillet (1982) looked again at Von Gall’s sources and other available texts, and published a list of corrections which often showed where MT readings had been adopted. His work showed that while the SP text of the Paris Polyglot (i.e. *Codex B*) was of good quality, Von Gall had ‘massacred’ it in his edition (Baillet 1982, 35). However, in spite of all of these deficiencies, his edition remains an important tool to SP studies.

Other editions of the SP, without critical apparatus, have been published since Von Gall. Sadaqa and Sadaqa (1961-1965) published a comparative edition of the SP and the MT. Their text was based largely on an unnamed 11th century CE scroll. Tal and Florentin (2010) produced a similar comparative edition which typographically marks the differences. Their SP text was based on a manuscript from the Nablus synagogue (Nablus 6, dating from 1204 CE). However, this manuscript is impossible to read in places (Schorch 2013, 10). Tsedaka (2013, xxxii) agrees, and asks how Tal and Florentin reconstructed these illegible sections. He adds that Nablus 6 is a non-typical SP manuscript, unusually close to the MT.

One problem with many editions of the SP, is that they often only represent the consonantal text. While some of the manuscripts were vocalised, Samaritan scribes did not develop a highly ordered system of vocalisation like the Masorah. The Samaritan pronunciation of the consonantal text differs greatly from the Masoretic vocalisation. Occasionally this is visible from the different *matres lectionis* which the SP uses more commonly than the MT. However, the distinctively Samaritan Hebrew pronunciation was largely passed down through the oral tradition. When the SP is rendered in the square script, readers familiar with Biblical Hebrew can read it without difficulty, however what they are reading is a hybrid of the Samaritan consonants and the Masoretic vocalisation they bring to the text. Ben Ḥayyim points out that, *matres lectionis* notwithstanding, it is not possible to properly analyse the grammar of any Hebrew or Semitic text without knowing the vocalisation (2000, 5). Any attempt to do so with the SP will inevitably bring in rules derived from the Masoretic data. Instead, we need to read and analyse the SP with the Samaritan vocalisation as preserved in the Samaritan oral tradition. To this end, Ben-Ḥayyim recorded Samaritan recitations of their entire Torah and transcribed much of them, including the whole of Deuteronomy, in a phonetic Roman script (Ben-Ḥayyim, 1977). He then used these data to create a grammar of Samaritan Hebrew (Ben-Ḥayyim, 2000), which I will use when analysing the language of the SP.

A century on from Von Gall, a project began to create a new *editio maior* of the SP, led by Stefan Schorch. The project has chosen to present a diplomatic presentation of MS Dublin Chester Beatty Library 751. Although the project uses the square script rather than the Samaritan, it does use Samaritan vocalisation and punctuation symbols. Vocalisation differences across different MSS and ancient translations are given in the apparatus, and where the reading recorded in Ben-Hayyim (1977) differs in meaning from the MT, this is recorded in the margin. Leviticus was the first fascicule to be published (Schorch, 2018), followed by Genesis (Schorch, 2021). Work continues on Deuteronomy (Schorch, forthcoming), Exodus and Numbers.

Tsedaka and Sullivan (2013) published the first full English translation of the SP, with a comparison to the translated MT (the 1917 JPS version). Differences between the Hebrew and the Samaritan texts are highlighted, names and other key terms are rendered according to the Samaritan pronunciation and oral tradition, and marginal notes highlight the Samaritan perspective on the text. It was strange, as Florentin points out (2015), that the 1917 JPS English translation was chosen as a comparison in this publication rather than a more recent translation. Florentin also criticises the quality of Tsedaka's translation. Unfortunately, when the two are compared, the SP translation shows some apparent variants from MT which are not there, and conceals other important differences which are present (*ibid.*, 8). However, an English translation of the passages unique to the SP is a useful addition, and the presentation helps the reader to see these passages in their context. In addition, the marginal notes give insight into the text from a modern Samaritan perspective.

2.11 Rewriting and Harmonisation Practices

Among the manuscripts discovered at Qumran, many were derived from Scripture to varying degrees. The process by which these texts were produced during the Second Temple period has been of much interest to recent scholars.¹⁷ Alexander restricted the term 'rewritten Bible' to sequential, selective narratives which are 'free-standing compositions... not intended to replace, or to supersede the Bible' (1988, 116).¹⁸ This definition would exclude the SP, which was clearly intended to be received as biblical. However, Crawford (2008, chap. 1) points out that rewritten scriptural texts may indeed claim authority as Scripture. She presents a spectrum of rewriting, which includes the pre-Samaritan group. These are harmonised using only

¹⁷ See, for example, Crawford (2008), Tov (2018) and Zahn (2011, 2020).

¹⁸ This relatively narrow definition was broad enough to cover Qumran texts such as *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* (Alexander 1988, 100-107) and even Josephus' *Antiquities*, (*ibid.*, 111-116).

material from elsewhere in the Pentateuch, and came to be accepted as authoritative by the Samaritan community. Next along the spectrum are MSS such as the ‘Reworked Pentateuch’ texts, where scribes have gone beyond harmonisation to incorporate external material, but still claim divine authority.¹⁹ Further along still are texts which rework a base text more significantly. The base text remains recognisable, yet the texts do not claim the authority of the base text, nor does any community regard them as authoritative. The Genesis Apocryphon, an Aramaic elaboration on part of Genesis, falls into this final category.

Another way of looking at this spectrum is to distinguish between the scribal practices of *repetition*, the process of copying the texts exactly, and *resignification*, the practice of updating texts to make them relevant to the current context (Gentry 2009, 33). These correspond to Tov’s *careful* and *free* approaches in scribal practice (Tov 2012, 184).²⁰ At the start of this spectrum come the proto-MT texts, which have a high degree of repetition.²¹ After these come the pre-Samaritan texts, which have a small degree of resignification. Next along the spectrum are the Reworked Pentateuch texts, which are moderately resignified, and finally come highly resignified texts such as the Genesis Apocryphon. Gentry gives examples of a large range of revisions or updates which fall into the broad category of resignification. At one level, resignification could be a change from paleo-Hebrew script to the square script, or defective to *plene* spelling. The next level could involve updates to geography, grammar or lexicon. Going further, resignification may involve ‘reinterpreting the text for a contemporary sub-community within Second Temple Judaism’ (Gentry 2009, 33n52).

The use of a term such as *resignification* to describe a large range of scribal activity is significant to this study, as it indicates a change of the system of *signs* used to communicate meaning. This is the language of *semiotics*, a domain I will explore in the following chapter on intralingual translation.

If the distinctives of the SP when compared to the MT could be explained in terms of resignification, it seems logical to look at ancient translations such as the LXX in the same way. The SP and the LXX have a common tendency to *harmonisation*, i.e. changing a detail to remove an apparent inconsistency within a passage or across parallel passages. For example,

¹⁹ These include 4QRP^{b-d} (4Q364, 4Q365, 4Q366 and 4Q367). See Crawford (2008, chap. 3), Zahn (2011).

²⁰ See §2.92.9 above.

²¹ Even within the proto-MT tradition there was a degree of resignification, such as the decision to change to the Aramaic square script (Gentry 2009, 34n55).

in narrative when an episode is recounted multiple times, minor differences in wording are ironed out due to a formal approach to Scripture that demands perfect harmony. Sometimes legal texts are harmonised so that the exact elements of a ritual occur every time (Tov 2018, 32). There is some debate whether such harmonisation is normal in ancient literature. To Tov, ‘textual harmonization is not a natural or expected phenomenon’ (ibid., 31). However, Van der Meer (2019) casts doubt on this assertion, pointing to evidence of similar harmonisations in non-Pentateuchal manuscripts. He also finds many examples of the same phenomenon in the Homeric tradition, and suggests that such Hellenistic harmonisation might have influenced Hebrew scribes educated in Greek.

Sometimes the added elements (harmonising pluses) are long, such as those found in Exodus 7-11 in the SP and 4QpaleoExod^m. Here, whenever YHWH tells Moses to say something to Pharaoh, and the MT does not report Moses actually *saying* the words to the Egyptian King, the SP includes a speech-act of Moses, repeating the words in full. Tov points to many such harmonising pluses in the LXX of the Torah, and puts them down to harmonisation in its Hebrew *Vorlage* rather than the work of a Greek translator, although he admits this cannot be proven conclusively (2018, 37). Part of his supporting evidence for this view is the ‘frequent agreement of the SP with the LXX’ (ibid.). He thus argues that the *Vorlage* of the LXX and the pre-Samaritan texts were part of a common text block (Tov 2019, 21) which was noted for its innovation and change in contrast to the conservatism of the proto-MT (ibid., 34). However, research by Kim on the relationship between the SP and the LXX suggests that these data can be interpreted differently. Kim concludes that harmonisations are far more common in the LXX than in the SP, and that where the two agree against the MT, the majority of these cases could have occurred independently reflecting ‘common exegesis’ (1994, 9), and that ‘most harmonizing changes in [the SP] and LXX are predictable from their context’ (ibid., 297). Kim admits his conclusions go against the scholarly consensus, and as my own study will look at the SP rather than the translation strategies of the LXX, I will not be able to confirm them. However, if he is correct that the commonalities between the SP and the LXX are due to a common *method* rather than a common base text, it would be relevant to study this method to see what exactly it has in common. This would place a transformation within the same language (proto-MT to SP) alongside a transformation between two different languages (proto-MT to LXX) in order to analyse what is shared between the two processes of *resignification*. In other words, one would be comparing an *intralingual* and an *interlingual* translation.

2.12 Editorial Theory: Studying the SP as a Cultural Artefact

Much scholarship on the SP has focussed on how much or little it helps in recovering the original *Urtext*. This explains both the overwhelmingly positive views of Morin when he saw that the SP confirmed his high view of the LXX (see Waltke 1965, 7), and the negative views of Gesenius (1815), Waltke (1965) and others who saw that it did not confirm their view of the MT. It is true that the SP serves as an ancient witness to the original text of the Torah, but it is much more than this. Some textual critics view ancient texts as a means to uncover a presumed *Urtext*, and construct stemmas, similar to family trees, which show how texts relate to their predecessors (Chiesa 2020). However, Driscoll doubts the possibility of constructing stemmas of real ancient texts, as this method assumes ‘that no two scribes will ever independently make the same mistake, which they frequently do, that they will always work from a single exemplar, which they frequently do not, and that most scribes will tend to reproduce their exemplars exactly, which they almost never do, at least in the case of vernacular literature’ (2010, 89). Instead, Driscoll advocates studying literary works as real physical objects, with a story of how they were created and a continuing history of how they were disseminated and consumed (*ibid.*, 90-91).

This approach, known as Editorial Theory (sometimes referred to as New Philology) recognises that manuscripts evolve and change as they are copied and thus views each manuscript as a snapshot of that evolution (Lied 2015). Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2018b) applied this theory to the LXX translations of the term עֵדֶן (cedar of Lebanon) in the Hebrew Bible (see also Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2018).²² Free to study the Greek translation in its own terms, they show how the translation of this Hebrew word varies across the translations of the Hebrew Bible. While the default translation is *κέδρος* (cedar), we can learn much from where the Hebrew term is translated differently. For example, in Ezekiel 31:3 עֵדֶן is translated as *κυπάρισσος* (cypress), where it is used metaphorically to describe the enemy (but long extinct) nation Assyria. Here the association of ‘majesty, stateliness and outward power’ with the cedar seems to make it an inappropriate metaphor to describe Assyria and the cypress, associated with beauty, is substituted (Naudé and Miller-Naudé 2018b, 4). A different translation strategy is followed in 1 Kings 5:20 (English 5:6) when Solomon requests cedars from Hiram, king of Tyre, to build the temple. Here עֵדֶן is translated with the generic term for wood, *ξύλον*. In this

²² They also draw from Complexity Theory, which views translation as a complex emergent phenomenon (Maris 2014); see §3.33.3.

instance Naudé and Miller-Naudé suggest (*ibid.*, 5) that this change comes from a desire to harmonise Solomon's request with Hiram's response to it two verses later, which implies both cedar and cypress wood was requested. Other translation strategies, such as omission, are also employed in the LXX. The choice of translation strategy for this word can be ideologically motivated, or emerge from a 'complex interplay of ideological, textual and contextual concerns' (*ibid.*, 10).²³

Turning to the SP, much of the work in comparing the SP with the MT and LXX is quantitative (such as Waltke 1965, Kim 1994, Tov 2016, Ziemer 2019). This follows Gesenius in counting and categorising differences, even though these differences are grouped and interpreted in a variety of ways. The advent of computer software such as Accordance and BibleWorks makes this kind of analysis much easier. While this analysis gives important insights into the relations between texts, it often disregards the value of the SP other than as a witness to the transmission of the *Urtext*. Another problem with these quantitative analyses, is that they tend to group changes together which may have occurred independently at different stages of the transmission process (Zahn 2015, 293). So, for a deeper insight this study will use a similar approach to Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2018b, 2020a; Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2020) to analyse the scribal interventions in the SP and pre-Samaritan texts and see what we can learn from them. Such studies will give us not only insight into its textual development, but also into the environment in which the various scribes worked, and their ideology (Zahn 2015, 286).

2.13 Conclusion

In summary, we have seen various stories and theories about the origins of the Samaritans. An initial reading of Judean sources such as 2 Kings 17 and Josephus suggests a complete deportation of the inhabitants of the northern kingdom by the Assyrians, to be replaced by other peoples. However, there is contrary evidence, such as the accounts of Hezekiah in 2 Chronicles 30 and Josiah in 2 Kings 23, which point to a much greater degree of continuity of population and religious practice in the region of Samaria after the Assyrian conquest.

Much later, after the fall of Jerusalem, the Judean exile, and the eventual return of some of the Judean exiles, the new community centred on Jerusalem had much contact with the Samaritans. Although there were times of great conflict, there were also marriage alliances and movement

²³ Miller-Naudé and Naudé use a similar methodology in their study of the etymology and identification of precious stones in the Bible, using Editorial Theory to compare and contrast the lists in Exodus 28:17-20, Exodus 39:10-14 and Ezekiel 28:13 in both the MT and the LXX (Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2020, Naudé and Miller-Naudé 2020a).

of people between the two communities. By the Hellenic period, there were rival temples to YHWH in both Gerizim and Jerusalem. When the Hasmoneans achieved independence for Judea in the second century, they advanced north and destroyed the Gerizim temple, cementing the rift between the two communities. Despite this setback, the Samaritans continued to live and worship in the vicinity of Gerizim. They continued to use a version of the Torah which was already in circulation at the time of this rift, and they later made selective theological modifications to this text to give it a distinct Samaritan identity, in particular to reflect their views on the exclusiveness of the cult at Gerizim.

When Western scholars first analysed the Samaritan Pentateuch in the seventeenth century CE, some such as Morin (1631) used it to bolster support for the Greek LXX over the Masoretic Text, a point of conflict between Catholics and Protestants at the time. Gesenius (1815) analysed the SP textual variants and found almost all of them inferior to the MT. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) in the mid-twentieth century has revived scholarly interest in the SP, as a number of scrolls were found to share many of the SP's textual variants, though lacking the sectarian modifications regarding worship at Gerizim. The twenty-first century has seen the publication of an English translation of the SP, highlighting differences to the MT (Tsedaka and Sullivan, 2013) and a new critical edition of the SP is in progress (Schorch 2019, 2021, forthcoming). The DSS, along with other data, enable us to see the SP's distinctive readings with more clarity. Of particular interest recently is the SP's tendency to harmonise parts of the Pentateuch with each other (e.g. Tov 2018, Van der Meer 2019). Another area of research relevant to SP studies is the rewriting or adaptation of scripture in the Second Temple period (e.g. Crawford 2008; Zahn 2011, 2020).

An additional recent development is Editorial Theory, which views each text and its creation as a subject of study in its own right. This approach can be a helpful tool in studying ancient biblical texts and translations, as it analyses texts as physical artefacts in their own right, rather than as a means to access some *Urtext* on which they may have been based. Applying Editorial Theory to ancient biblical texts and translations can provide important cultural and historical insights (Naudé and Miller-Naudé 2018b, Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2018).

Although translation is popularly defined as changing a text from one language to another, the next chapter will show that translation studies are limited neither to *interlingual* processes nor simply to texts. Harmonisation, adaptation and rewriting are all *intralingual* processes, as both the starting point and the result of the scribal intervention are in the same language. In the next

chapter, I will review recent developments in translation studies pertinent to such *intralingual* processes. I will then present a paradigm of *intralingual* translation which can be used to analyse the SP.

CHAPTER 3

INTRALINGUAL TRANSLATION

3.1 Defining Translation

Since the mid-twentieth century, as the academic study of translation developed, translation scholars have attempted to define the practice of translation. Jakobson's classic definition covers three different categories of translation:

- 1) Intralingual translation or *rewording* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs in the same language.
- 2) Interlingual translation or *translation proper* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language.
- 3) Intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems. (1959, 233, italics original)

Although many (such as Marais 2019a, 7) consider Jakobson's categories to provide the 'founding definition' of translation, much of translation theory has focused only on the second of these categories, interlingual translation. Jakobson's use of the descriptive label *translation proper* for translation between languages suggests that intralingual and intersemiotic translation are viewed as peripheral to the field. Marais points out a limitation of Jakobson's definition, namely, the fact that all three categories only cover the interpretation of *verbal signs*. By this definition, intersemiotic translation would not cover a translation between two different non-verbal sign systems. Marais challenges this 'linguistic bias in translation studies' (ibid., 17), arguing for a definition broad enough to cover 'translations between music and film, between experiences of nature and painting, or between political ideas and architecture' (ibid., 16).

Gideon Toury (2012) pioneered a descriptive model of translation studies, which looks to describe actual translations from the framework of the target culture, rather than to define what is or is not translation. For example, he cautions against drawing a line between 'translation' and 'adaptation' but rather takes 'assumed translations' as his starting point. He defines these as: 'utterances in a [target] culture which are presented or regarded as translations, on any grounds whatever, as well as all phenomena within them and the processes that gave rise to them' (2012, 27). He proposed three postulates that tend to be associated with the notion of assumed translation (ibid., 28):

- 1) The Source-Text Postulate;
- 2) The Transfer Postulate;
- 3) The Relationship Postulate.

The Source-Text Postulate is the assumption that a source text must have existed, whether or not it is possible to locate it. He adds, ‘an assumed translation may later be found to have had more than one source, being a case of compilative translation, or a single source text which, however, differs from the one it was initially assumed to have, as in the case of indirect translation’ (ibid., 29). As I will show in section [3.3 below](#)~~3.3 below~~, Complexity Theory describes how a translation emerges from a complex interaction of texts and other factors.

The Transfer Postulate is the assumption that certain features were transferred from the source text to the assumed translation, and thus that both texts share these features. Finally, by the Relationship Postulate the fact that the text is an assumed translation ties it to its assumed original by the features which have transferred across the linguistic, cultural and semiotic barrier (ibid., 30).

By limiting his field of study to texts which are popularly assumed to be translations, Toury excludes Jakobson’s intralingual and intersemiotic translation categories. This is overly restrictive. As Marais points out, historians do not limit themselves to what is popularly called ‘history’, nor mathematicians only to what is called ‘mathematics’.

Mathematicians do not study only numbers. Rather they study the numerical in all of reality ... I cannot see a mathematician or a historian allowing herself to be dictated to by popular reception in the relation to the nature of mathematics or history’ (Marais 2019a, 20).

However, Toury’s postulates and his descriptive view of the process of translation do have application beyond interlingual translation. I will examine another aspect of his theory in section [3.5 below](#)~~3.5 below~~.

3.2 An Intersemiotic Theory for All Translation

As we have seen, in all three kinds of translation as defined by Jakobson, verbal signs are interpreted into another system of signs. For his understanding of semiotics, the study of signs, Jakobson acknowledges his debt to Charles Sanders Peirce, ‘the deepest inquirer into the essence of signs’ (1959, 233).

Peirce’s semiotics is not limited to linguistic signs only, but includes all kinds of sign systems (Marais 2019a, 26). This stands in contrast to the *semiology* of Ferdinand de Saussure which, in purely linguistic terms, understands signs in a dyadic way: a signal (or sound pattern) and a

signification (or concept) (De Saussure 1986, 67). To Peirce, ‘a sign or *representamen*, is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity’ (Peirce 1955, 99). Hence the *representamen* is the sign,²⁴ the *object* is the thing it which it stands for, and the *interpretant* is the resulting sign created by the process of interpretation.²⁵ To Peirce, all three are necessary to understand sign processes, which cannot be reduced to dyadic relations (ibid., 100).

Peirce’s paradigm also results in a more dynamic view of signs and communication. For example, De Saussure’s paradigm tends towards a more static view: the significance of the sign is defined negatively by its difference from other signs (1986, 118). Peirce’s view, by contrast, sees the sign as a *process* leading to an *interpretant*, which itself can lead to another sign process. *Meaning* is therefore something dynamic: a stream of sign processes as signs are interpreted and reinterpreted. The interpretant is a fundamental part of the sign, and therefore a sign must be interpreted in order to mean something.²⁶

Peirce further refines his model of signs using another trichotomy, his three categories of *phenomenology*. *Firstness* applies to phenomena which are pure qualities of feeling, such as ‘the colour of magenta, ... the sound of a railway whistle, the taste of quinine’ (Peirce 1955, 80). These phenomena can be ‘imagined without any occurrence’ (ibid., 81), and thus are not tied to any particular experience, analysis or comparison. *Secondness* applies to the hard reality of facts, experience and ‘otherness’ – things which ‘may exist independently of one’s awareness of it’ (Marais 2019a, 108). *Thirdness* applies to the relationship between *Firstness* and *Secondness* – the domain of analysis, arguments, and reasoning. There is a hierarchy

²⁴ There is a distinction between the *sign* and the *representamen* (or sign-vehicle), despite the way Peirce uses the terms interchangeably. The *representamen* may carry the *sign*, but the latter is strictly the ‘process of relating the three elements (representamen, object and interpretant) of the sign process together’ (Marais 2019a, 113). However, for ease of comprehension I will use the terms *sign* for *representamen* and *sign process* for the triadic relationship.

²⁵ This interpretant can then itself become the *representamen* of another sign process, a process which can continue ad infinitum. Thus, a ‘particular sign is merely one state of affairs in a much larger, never-ending process’ (Marais 2019a, 111).

²⁶ Short points to a weakness in Peirce’s paradigm here: if a sign needs to be interpreted to have significance, the result of interpretation is simply another sign (the interpretant). Therefore, even if this process continues ad infinitum, there is no way to distinguish *sense* from *nonsense*. Instead, ‘the problem of accounting for significance is merely handed on, from one sign to the next’ (Short 2004, 217). From Peirce’s correspondence, we can see how he continued to refine his ideas throughout his life (Deledalle 1990, Short 2007). In his later work, he identified a Final Interpretant, the end point of interpretation where everything to be learned from the sign process has been learned, to the point where every mind would respond to the sign in the same way (Peirce 1998, 499). However, even this is a pragmatic consideration, as the sign can always ‘re-enter the semiotic process’ and be interpreted again (Marais 2019a, 118).

between these categories: there can be no *Thirdness* without *Secondness*, and no *Secondness* without *Firstness* (Deledalle 2000, 16).

Peirce applies this triad of phenomenological categories to signs in three different ways (see [Table 1](#)). Firstly, the sign itself: if a sign is a *quality* which is independent of how it is embodied (the *Firstness* category), he calls it a *qualisign*. If a sign consists itself of a single existent object or event, (the *Secondness* category), he calls this a *sinsign*. Where the sign is a law or convention (the *Thirdness* category), he calls it a *legisign*.

The second trichotomy is perhaps the best known of Peirce's work on signs, and pertains to the relationship between the sign and its object. An *icon* is a sign which is related to its object by a quality (or *Firstness*) alone, which it shares with the object. An *index* is a sign which is directly affected or caused by the object (a relationship of *Secondness*). Physical tracks or smoke rising from a fire would be examples of indices. A *symbol* is a sign which relates to the object by some law or convention (hence *Thirdness*).

The final trichotomy applies the categories of *Firstness*, *Secondness* and *Thirdness* to the relationship between the sign and its interpretant. A *rheme* is a sign of qualitative possibility: an object which may or may not exist. A *dicent* sign or *dicisign* is a sign of actual existence, and an *argument* is a sign of a law.

		<i>Firstness</i> (1)	<i>Secondness</i> (2)	<i>Thirdness</i> (3)
1	A sign is:	A mere quality, <i>qualisign</i>	An actual existent, <i>sinsign</i>	A type or general law <i>legisign</i>
2	A sign relates to its (dynamical ²⁷) object having:	Some character in itself, <i>icon</i>	Some existential relation to its object, <i>index</i>	Some relation to the interpretant <i>symbol</i>
3	A sign's interpretant represents the sign as a sign of:	possibility, <i>rheme</i>	actuality, <i>dicent</i>	reason. <i>argument</i>

Table 1: Peirce's Three Trichotomies of Signs.²⁸

²⁷ Peirce further distinguishes between *immediate objects* and *dynamical objects*. An *immediate* object is where the object is revealed through the sign itself, and therefore the object and sign cannot exist independently of each other. *Dynamical* objects are the more general case, where the sign points to an object outside of itself (De Waal 2013, 85-86).

²⁸ Table derived from De Waal (2013, 90).

Merrell (see Marais 2019a, 112) denoted these three triads numerically, thus in the first column a *qualisign* (1) that is *iconic* (1) and *rhematic* (1) is denoted as 111. The hierarchy between *Firstness*, *Secondness* and *Thirdness* means that as we move ‘down’ [Table 1](#), specifying the three different aspects of a sign, we cannot move to a column on the right. So, a *qualisign* like the ‘feeling of red’ (Peirce 1955, 115), being in the first column can *only* be *iconic* and a *rheme* (denoted 111). This is because a mere quality cannot point to something specific and can only act in the realm of ‘immediate consciousness’ (ibid., 83) or first impressions. A *sinsign*, that is a sign that actually exists, starts in the second column. This could be *iconic* which relates to its object by a shared quality²⁹, or *indexical* with a causal link to an actual object. If the former, it moves it to the first column and thus it must also be a *rheme* of possibility (thus 211 in Merrell’s scheme). If the latter, it is an *indexical sinsign* which can either be a *rheme* (221 – Peirce’s example is a spontaneous cry) or a *dicent* (222 – such as a weathercock). It is worth noting that none of the sign categories I have examined so far are linguistic signs.

Signs which start in the third column are *legisigns* – types or general laws. These can be *icons*, *indexes* or *symbols*, permitting several more categories (311, 321, 322, 331, 332, 333 in Merrell’s scheme). Linguistic signs occur only at the level of legisigns (3xx), as language is a system of signs that relates to objects by agreed conventions and laws. However, the first category of *legisigns*, that of an *icon* and a *rheme* (311), is not a linguistic sign. Peirce’s example of this category is a diagram, which gives some generic information about the qualities of a class of items. The first category which permits a linguistic sign is an *index* and a *rheme* (321), such as the demonstrative pronoun ‘this’; the greeting ‘Hi’ is an *index* and a *dicent* (322); a common noun is an example of a *symbol* and a *rheme* (331); a proposition is an example of a *symbol* and a *dicent* (332); and a full essay would be an example of a *symbol* and an *argument* (333).

It is important to note Peirce gives ten categories of signs, of which only five are linguistic. The exclusive focus on linguistic signs in translation studies has excluded many categories of signs, not doing justice to the complexity of Peirce’s model. Even Jakobson’s definition betrays this linguistic bias, as all three types of translation in his definition start with linguistic signs.³⁰ This has led to a linguistic bias in the study of translation (Marais 2019a, 125). In contrast,

²⁹ For an exploration of *iconicity* and its relation to translation studies, see Naude (2010).

³⁰ Though to be fair, his paper is entitled ‘On Linguistic Aspects of Translation’ (Jakobson, 1959).

Marais proposes an intersemiotic model of translation which supersedes all three of Jakobson's categories (ibid., 173).

To Marais, translation is the semiotic process of taking an *interpretant*, the resulting sign of the process outlined above, as a *representamen* of another sign process. This can be repeated ad infinitum, creating a never-ending stream of semiosis (Marais 2019a, 148). Translation is thus not the means of transferring a fixed meaning from one language to another, but rather the entire process of meaning-making and meaning-taking, as signs are interpreted and re-interpreted. He applies the Second Law of Thermodynamics to this continual process – this law is a tendency for all reality to move towards entropy or disorder as time progresses, so no process can ever be entirely reversible.³¹ A glass cannot be unbroken, nor can a back translation of a translated text ever be identical to the original. However, just as organisms work to decrease entropy at a local level in order to survive, a process called *negentropy*, so translation is a *negentropic* semiotic process where work is done to constrain the natural tendency to disorder. Thus, Marais defines translation as *negentropic* work that changes any part of the sign system (*representamen*, *object* or *interpretant*), the relationships between the three, or the time or space of their occurrence (2019a, 154). The work is *negentropic* due to the application of constraints on the translation process (ibid., 146).

So, we now have a very broad definition of translation, rooted in Peirce's semiotics. This approach to translation goes far beyond the realm of linguistics, and can be applied to all forms of communication.³² However, is this definition too broad to be useful? The key to applying it lies in the *constraints* which are placed upon the semiotic process. To explore these constraints, I will now look at Complexity Theory and the idea of emergence.

3.3 Complexity Theory and Emergence

Complexity Theory arose in the physical sciences, and is a systems-based meta-theory allowing for different models of reality to coexist and interact, even when in apparent contradiction. Reductionism is the tendency to explain phenomena with a single theory and a chain of linear causality. Complexity Theory does not seek to replace reductionism, but rather to 'supplement or subsume it within a philosophy of complexity' (Marais 2014, 15). Rather than seeing

³¹ See Marais (2020) for a further exploration of how the Second Law of Thermodynamics effects the translation process.

³² Marais' theory of translation is *Biosemiotic*. Thus, it applies beyond human communication to all intra- and inter- species communication found in nature.

contradictions as error, Complexity Theory 'regards contradictions as paradoxes... as indices of a deeper reality' (Larsen-Freeman 2013, 370).

At the core of Complexity Theory is the idea of the complex adaptive system. This can be defined as: 'a system in which large networks of components with no central control and simple rules of operation give rise to complex collective behaviour, sophisticated information processing, and adaptation via learning or evolution' (Mitchel 2009, 13). Such systems have the tendency to self-organise despite having no internal or external system of control. They are neither chaotic (lacking all order), nor in equilibrium (lacking any drive to change), but are on the edge of chaos. They are seen in nature in the collective behaviour of flocks of birds or colonies of ants. They are seen in economics when millions of people acting in their own interests form a system that finds efficient prices for products and services (Mitchel 2009, 10).

The mechanism by which complex adaptive systems self-organise is called *emergence*. When we commonly say, 'the whole is more than the sum of its parts', we mean that the properties of the whole cannot be explained simply by analysing each part separately. Thus 'knowing all the words in the English language, one would not be able to predict the theme of the next Nobel Prize-winning novel' (Marais 2019b, 46). The *more* of the whole, when compared to its parts, is precisely what we mean by an *emergent* phenomenon. Emergence is a 'bottom-up' phenomenon, that is to say, it 'arises' from a lower level of a hierarchy. For example, sub-atomic particles give rise to atoms, atoms to molecules, molecules to organisms; or phonemes to words, words to propositions, propositions to discourses. A phenomenon is emergent 'if it exists at the level of the whole, if it could not have been predicted from knowledge of the parts and if it entails something that did not exist at the level of the parts' (ibid., 47).

Complex systems are also *non-linear*. While linear systems respond to inputs in a predictable fashion, in non-linear systems a small input may result in disproportionate results. Non-linearity is a feature of systems far from equilibrium. Juarrero (1999, 119-120) describes a shallow pan of water, heated from below. At first the heat is conducted through the water, as the random vibrations of one water molecule cause the neighbouring molecules to vibrate. In this linear process each water molecule acts independently. As temperature gradient of the water increases, the system gets further and further from equilibrium. Eventually the temperature gradient hits a particular limit and suddenly a pattern of rolling convection currents appears, known as Bénard cells. This is an example of non-linear process, far from equilibrium,

which leads to the emergence of a self-organised structure.³³ Once this self-organisation has taken place, the water molecules no longer act independently; their movement is now constrained by the emergent structure of the Bénard cells. Causation therefore occurs in both directions, from the heating water molecules emerge the Bénard cells, which in turn cause movement in the water molecules.

Without constraints and limitations, there is no energy asymmetry and systems tend towards equilibrium, which is the state of highest entropy. Thus, there is also a top-down aspect of emergence, which stems from the constraints which are placed on the system by negentropic work (Marais 2019a, 191). The same is true for translation which does negentropic work on semiotic systems by imposing constraints (ibid., 195).

Complexity Theory is a *metatheory*, which does not replace existing theories of translation but subsumes them and holds them together in tension. For example, we do not dismiss dynamic equivalence, domestication or foreignisation, relevance theory, post-colonialism or any other perspective on translation. Rather than seeing these as distinct ‘turns’ of translation studies (Snell-Hornby 2006), they all simultaneously form part of a complex system (Marais 2019b). All have a contribution to make, and it is fruitful to examine the dialogue between them when they differ.³⁴ However, translators being human, they are not able to process so many different perspectives at once. Nor can they produce a translation which perfectly represents the original. There must be some constraints placed on this complex system for productive semiotic work to be done. *Skopos* theory gives a descriptive framework for how these constraints can be made.

3.4 The *Skopos* of a Translation

Vermeer (2004, 229) highlights ‘the aim or purpose of a translation’, for which he uses the term *skopos*. This may derive from an explicit ‘translation brief’ (Nord 2018, 29) given to the translator by the client who commissions the translation, such as a precise legal translation or an advertisement to sell a product in the target language. When not explicitly stated, the *skopos* is found in the implicit principles to which a translator works, for example: to imitate the original as closely as possible, to render the translation as fluently as possible in the receptor language, or some other translation strategy. The *skopos* might be to promote a desired

³³ This is an example of a *dissipative structure*, which enables the heat to be dissipated more efficiently. In thermodynamic terms, the structures are a local decrease in entropy which facilitate an overall increase, thus the second law of thermodynamics is not violated (Juarrero 1999, 120).

³⁴ Complexity Theory can also be applied to second language acquisition. Like all complex systems, language competence emerges in a non-linear fashion, and this insight helps shape the teaching of Biblical Hebrew at the University of the Free State (Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2014).

behaviour – such as to buy a particular product or to prevent the spread of a disease. In such cases the translator may significantly deviate from the original text, while fulfilling the *skopos* of the translation.

Skopos theory is part of Descriptive Translation Studies, which views each act of communication as an ‘offer of information’, and translational action as an ‘offer of information about another offer of information’ (Reiss and Vermeer 2014, 69). There are many contradictory expectations of a translation. Reiss and Vermeer cite twelve such as, ‘a translation should read like an original work... a translation should read like a translation... a translation should read as a contemporary of the original... a translation should read as a contemporary of the translator’ (ibid., 38). Therefore, given the impossibility of meeting all these demands, translators have to be selective about how much information they offer about the original. And the basis by which they make this selection is the *skopos* towards which they are working. Thus ‘there is no such thing as “the” translation of a text; the results of the translation process will vary according to their *skopoi*’ (ibid., 90).

The source text was produced with its own aim or purpose (or *skopos*) but the translated text may have a different *skopos* to the original. Even when the translator seeks to align their *skopos* to that of the original, the receptor culture for whom they translate is not the same as the original intended audience, and a perfect alignment of aims is not possible. The translator must be aware of ‘what the effect of a text ... will be in the target culture and how much the effect will differ from that of the source text in the source culture’ (Vermeer 2004, 229). This is especially true where there has been a long passage of time between composition and translation, or where large cultural differences are at play.

Reiss and Vermeer do value ‘fidelity’ to the source text. Their ‘fidelity rule’ requires that ‘a translational action aims for the coherent transfer of a source text’ (Reiss and Vermeer 2014, 102). That is, firstly, the translated text must itself be coherent and therefore understandable, and secondly, that the original message as encoded, its interpretation by the translator, and the message as reproduced by the translator, are all coherent with each other. This entire process is governed by the *skopos*, as the mapping of source text to target text must be done ‘in such a way that serves its intended function’ (ibid., 103).

Reiss and Vermeer’s concept of fidelity is subordinate to the *skopos* of the translation, and their functionalist approach can be portrayed as ‘the translation purpose justifies the translation procedures’ or ‘the end justifies the means’ (Nord 2018, 114). Nord, thinking about the

practicalities of real-life translation, prefers the term ‘loyalty’ rather than ‘fidelity’. “‘Loyalty’ is a moral principle indispensable in the relationships between human beings, who are partners in a communication process, whereas “fidelity” is a rather technical relationship between texts’ (Nord 1991, 29). To Nord, loyalty dictates that ‘the target-text purpose should be compatible with the original author’s intentions’ (2018, 115). Where a target culture expects translation always to be a literal reproduction of the original, loyalty obliges the translator to be open where literal translation is not possible, and to explain their reasoning.

Reiss and Vermeer’s view that *skopos* can override fidelity in translation is controversial, and Nord counters this view by placing loyalty at the same level as function (2018, 116). However, the precedence of *skopos* stands to reason when we look at translation in its broader intersemiotic sense. When translation is ‘between experiences of nature and painting, or between political ideas and architecture’ (Marais 2019a, 27) the concept of loyalty is still there, but only in a much looser sense than that conceptualised by Nord. In such adaptations the *skopos* of the project clearly plays the larger role. As we shall see, the same can be argued for intralingual translation.

3.5 Characteristics of Translated Texts

Accepting that a translation must have a purpose or aim behind it, this section turns to the question: Are there any characteristics which can identify a translated text, rather than an original text? Mona Baker (1993, 243) proposed a number of translation *universals*³⁵ which are characteristically seen in translations, based on a study of a corpus of translated and non-translated texts. These are: *explicitation* of implicit material in the source text; *simplification* of the lexicon, syntax or semantics of the source text; *normalisation*, a tendency to conform to the typical patterns of the target language; and *levelling out*, a higher level of homogeneity of translated texts than source language texts on, for example, the oral-literate continuum.

Gideon Toury proposed two laws of translational behaviour. The first is a law of *growing standardisation*, by which textual relations ‘in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being ignored, in favour of [more] habitual options offered by a target repertoire’ (2012, 304). Pym unpacks and clarifies this rather opaque definition: ‘when compared with non-translations, translations are simpler, flatter, less structured, less ambiguous, less specific to a given text, more habitual, and so on’ (2008, 6). In fact, all four of Baker’s universals:

³⁵ Pym (2008, 11) points out that Baker’s use of *universal* is much looser than the use of this term in linguistics (such as in Chomsky’s Universal Grammar, or Greenberg’s Linguistic Universals).

explicitation, simplification, normalisation and levelling out, are ‘elaborations of Toury’s law of standardization’ (2008, 10).

Toury’s second law is the law of *interference*, by which ‘phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to force themselves on the translators and be transferred to the target text’ (Toury 2012, 310). This law accounts for phenomena such as calques (e.g. ‘long time no see’, a literal translation of the Chinese ‘hǎo jǐu bú jiàn’), loanwords and the strange syntax sometimes seen in translated text. Interestingly, these two laws of standardisation and interference lie in tension with one another and at times one or the other is dominant. Pym sought to bring them together with the idea of risk-taking:

Translators tend to standardize language or to channel interference because these are two main ways of reducing or transferring communicative risk ... For instance, if the source text or culture is authoritative or prestigious, it makes sense to allow that authority or prestige to absorb risk (thus producing interference). Or again, if the source-text syntax in a particular passage is especially difficult to interpret, it makes sense to invest effort in those places to reduce the risk of misinterpretation, thus producing standardization of various kinds. (Pym 2008, 19)

Pym adds that standardisation may dominate where translated texts are on the periphery of the target culture, whereas interference is more visible where translated texts take on a central position. As Even-Zohar explains (2000, 200-201), in cultures where there is a weak literary tradition, or where the culture is undergoing a major transition, translated texts can take on central importance. In these circumstances, interference would dominate over standardisation.

Summarising these characteristics of translated texts, there are two broad, competing tendencies at work:

1) *Standardisation, manifesting as:*

- a) *Explicitation,*
- b) *Simplification,*
- c) *Normalisation,*
- d) *Levelling-out; and*

2) *Interference:*

e.g. calques, loanwords, source language syntax.

We see here a complex interplay of factors occurring in the translation process, where competing tendencies interact with one another and with other contextual factors. Given their contradictory nature, we may not use them as *proof* that a text is a translation. However, these

phenomena give us a descriptive framework to examine a text as a translation within its cultural context.

As we turn to *intralingual* translation, the phenomena of *standardisation* are more likely to be visible than those of *interference*. With the source and target languages the same, phenomena such as calques, loan words and strange-sounding syntax are unlikely to be *introduced* into the text. Although such features might *remain* in a text (as archaisms, for example) if left alone by the translator, the general trend in intralingual translation is towards standardisation and simplification, as I will show in the following section.

3.6 Intralingual Translation

Translation scholars have been divided on whether *translation* has to involve a change of language. As we have seen, Jakobson defined intralingual translation as ‘an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs in the same language’ (1959, 233). However, Jakobson gave interlingual translation the alternative name ‘*translation proper*’ and concentrated on translation between different languages in the rest of his paper. Thus, intralingual and intersemiotic translation were left on the periphery, a trend which has continued in translation studies until recent times (Zethsen 2009, 795). Some translation scholars such as Mossop (2016) reject intralingual translation as a category altogether, although Mossop has a very narrow view of what constitutes translation.³⁶ To Zethsen, however, modern life has many examples of intralingual translation: ‘localisation, précis-writing, expert-to-layman communication, easy-readers for children, subtitling for the deaf ... these activities share family resemblances to translation proper’ (2009, 796).

In order to explore these resemblances, along with the points of distinction between intra- and interlingual translation, Zethsen studied different Danish editions of the Bible,³⁷ including versions adapted for young children, and outlined four influential factors which give rise to

³⁶ To Mossop, *equivalencing*, by which he means the intention to write something with approximately the same meaning as the source text (2016, 7), is the central work of the translator. Thus, *intralingual* translation, which could use the original wording but chooses to change it, is not translation at all. His views stem from a focus on professional translation in a Western context: passing professional knowledge or literature between similarly educated people who happen to speak different languages. However, seen globally translation has to encompass communicating new concepts into cultures which do not have them at all, or avoiding the unintended connotations of a dictionary-equivalent word in a different culture. Mossop would label this kind of work as *explaining* (ibid., 9) rather than translation, but I would argue strongly that these are core to the work of the translator.

³⁷ As Zethsen acknowledges, Bible translation involves interlingual translation from the original Hebrew and Greek (2009, 800-801). However, I will argue that, due to their common source system, all Bible translations in a particular language can legitimately be considered as intralingual translations of each other (see section [3.73-7](#) below).

intralingual translations: *knowledge, time, culture, and space* (ibid., 805). I will summarise each of these factors briefly.

Knowledge: Where this is lacking in the target group, intralingual translations can bring explicitation, explanation or additional information. While this supplementation may be simply factual, there may also be subjective additions which might carry a persuasive agenda (ibid., 806).

Time: This covers the diachronic factor for intralingual translation, where temporal distance between the original and the current target group requires a revision. Archaic vocabulary and grammar are replaced by modern equivalents or by explicitation. Terms once in common use which are no longer deemed acceptable, such as those seen as racial slurs, may be replaced (Ersland 2014, 16). Steiner distinguishes this from a language barrier between the source and receptor: 'here the barrier or distance between source and receptor is time' (1975, 28). This process happens implicitly whenever we read anything from the past. 'The process of diachronic translation inside one's own native tongue is so constant, we perform it so unawares, that we rarely pause either to note its formal intricacy or the decisive part it plays in the very existence of civilization' (ibid., 29). Whether implicitly done by the reader, or explicitly done by a translator, 'every generation retranslates the classics, out of a vital compulsion for immediacy and precise echo' (ibid., 29-30). In Marais' terms (see section [3.2 above](#)), this is the continuous trajectory of semiosis that is kept alive by translation (2019a, 70).

Culture: Cultural references may need to be explained or replaced in intralingual translation, thus this is a subset of the *knowledge* factor above. This is particularly the case where *cultural rich points* are in play. These are 'surface forms that tap deeply into the world that accompanies language, where that world can be represented by systems of interpretive frames' (Agar 1991, 177). The uninitiated, who lack knowledge of the interpretive frames, will fail to comprehend these rich points, whereas to insiders these are the hot topics they 'recognize instantly and then disagree over when they discuss them' (ibid.).

Space: Zethsen's final factor involves the reduction or extension of a text due to space factors. For example, reduction in the case of subtitling for the hard-of-hearing, précis-writing and abridgement, and extension where the above factors of knowledge, time or culture demand explanation.

With Steiner (1975, 261), Zethsen points out the many similarities between inter- and intralingual translation, and she argues that much is to be gained from applying translation

theory to the practice of same-language translation. However, she points out a strong tendency towards simplification as a distinctive feature of intralingual translation, along with a greater degree of freedom in the use of restructuring, additions and omissions (Zethsen 2009, 808). Of course, both of these tendencies depend on the overall *skopos* of the intralingual translation.

Srenock (2018) uses Zethsen's description of intralingual translation to compare Chronicles with the books of Samuel and Kings, and the Book of Jubilees with Genesis and the first part of Exodus. Although he stops short of describing these books as translations, Srenock tentatively states that 'Chronicles and Jubilees could be heuristically described as transfers analogous to translations' (2018, 25). Such a transfer involves 're-creation', where a text is reconstructed with a new context in mind. Thus, Chronicles is a re-creation of Samuel-Kings in a post-exilic context, with an exclusive focus on the southern kingdom, and additional material focused on the temple and the Levitical priests. 'The new concerns of Chronicles are the result of a new audience, one in which the people have returned from exile and rebuilt the temple' (ibid., 26). The book of Jubilees, which rewrites the story of Genesis 1 – Exodus 18, can be compared to the way Chronicles rewrites Samuel-Kings (Strothotte 2009, 814). Srenock describes Jubilees as a 'retelling' of Genesis 1 – Exodus 18, heavily edited and presented as the direct dictation of an angel to Moses. By 'permeating the narrative with legal references' (Srenock 2018, 27), the editors reframe the text for the law-oriented mindset of 2nd century BCE. Elsewhere, Srenock (2017) analyses the Genesis Apocryphon with a similar methodology.³⁸

While Srenock's examples of intralingual transfer within the Hebrew corpus are useful, his definition of translation remains unnecessarily narrow and restrictive: 'the use of different words – whether from the same or a different linguistic system – to communicate the meaning of a source text.' (2017, 457). Aside from the linguistic bias which excludes non-verbal signs, even intralingual translations which retain some of the original wording would only be classed as partial translations by this definition. Srenock's hesitancy to describe process of transfer as intralingual translation could be overcome by a broader perspective on translation theory.

³⁸ The Genesis Apocryphon is extant in Aramaic, and therefore even where its content follows Hebrew Genesis closely, this is an interlingual translation. Srenock distinguishes between 'isomorphic translation,' which follows the Hebrew wording closely, minor content changes and major content changes which involve large additions, omissions and restructuring (2017, 462-473). These large-scale modifications in the Genesis Apocryphon lie outside his definition of translation, and he describes these as 'fan fiction' or 'extending' rather than translation (ibid., 477).

Intralingual translations are more open to comparison than translations from another language. As another version of the text already exists in the language, the two can be placed side-by-side, highlighting the different translation choices made. The next section draws on Complexity Theory to give a model for comparing any two texts derived from the same source as intralingual translations of each other.

3.7 The Translation Loop: A Model for Comparing Intralingual translations

Byrne depicts the evolution of a complex system as a trajectory of change. These trajectories 'have histories that are a mixture of "much the same" and change. For much of the time, complex systems remain the same sort of thing. There are changes in them over time but these do not constitute changes of kind' (Byrne 2005, 105). In other words, complex systems do not change in a linear fashion. Rather they evolve gradually following stable patterns³⁹, but occasionally undergo more significant changes or transformations, where 'changes of quantity became changes of quality' (ibid.). We have seen this kind of change in the physical realm, when Bénard cells of convection currents suddenly emerge as water is gradually heated from below (see section [3.33-3](#)).

Applying this insight to translation as a complex system, the evolution of a translation is a trajectory of translational actions, most of which will be in the stable category Byrne calls 'much the same'. However, there will be occasional transformations, or significant changes in trajectory, which introduce change in a translation to a more significant degree. The relative infrequency of these significant changes in translation means that two translations of the same incipient system will have many points of similarity. This assumption stands behind the model depicted in [Figure 1](#).

³⁹ Marais applies the theory of attractors to the translational process: 'A semiotic trajectory can be predicted to be in the vicinity of the attractor.... This means that semiosis takes on (somewhat) stable forms without ever repeating itself' (Marais 2019c, 59).

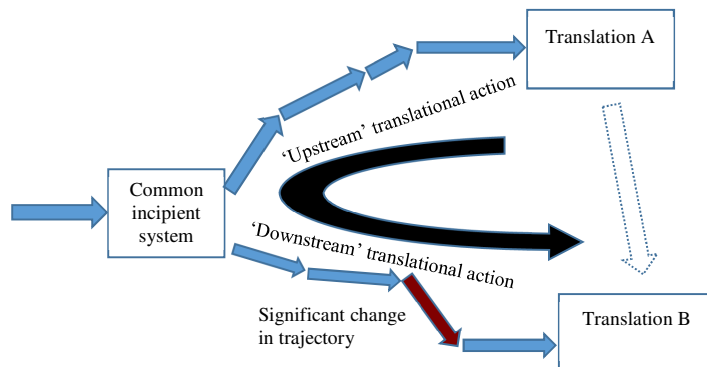


Figure 1: Translation B as an Intratranslation of Translation A

Figure 1 gives a simplified view of the relationship between two translations of a particular sign. This sign could be at the linguistic level: a morpheme, word, phrase, or grammatical feature, or could be another feature related to the presentation of a text or its oral performance. Both share a common incipient system, but each has been revised and adapted through subsequent cycles of translation. For these purposes, we view translation in the broader intersemiotic sense (see section 3.2 above), which includes intralingual and interlingual translation. Each step, represented by the sequence of arrows, can represent a cycle of reading and transcribing a manuscript, updating language due to diachronic or dialectic change, reinterpreting the text in the signs of another language, or a shift in the oral reading tradition of a text. We start with the assumption that, at a global level, Translation B is an intratranslation of Translation A (the dotted arrow between the two). In order to relate the two translations, we then need to trace the loop back *upstream* through the sequence of translational actions from Translation A to the common incipient system, and then *downstream* through a different sequence of translation actions to Translation B. The central, looping arrow represents the accumulation of upstream and downstream translational activity which link Translation A to Translation B.

In overall presentation the two documents might differ greatly, such in as in the script used, style of font, and layout on the page. However, these features are likely to remain reasonably consistent within each of the documents.⁴⁰ This assumption of consistency serves to highlight

⁴⁰ Descriptive Translation Studies uses the term *translation norms* (Toury 2004) to describe this general assumption of consistency. In complexity systems theory, complex physical systems tend to gravitate towards

the changes when they occur within a document, such as a change of scribal hand in a manuscript. A similar pattern of consistency is also assumed at the linguistic level. A direct comparison will show, for example, lexical, grammatical and stylistic differences which reflect any differences in dialect or register between the two translations. As a general rule, we assume that the pattern of such linguistic translational action will be consistent. I have represented these 'predictable' translational actions as light blue arrows on [Figure 1](#).

As Translations A and B are recognisably the same text, we assume that normal sequences of translational action are predictable. Drawing from Jakobson (1959), Breed (2014) distinguishes between *readings* and *transmutations*. *Readings* are intralingual translations which 'produce sign systems that carefully account for the elements of the source text as they reorganize them' (Breed 2014, 133). In topology, shapes can be stretched and reformed without changing their fundamental shape, but if they are torn or punctured, their topological form changes. Thus, a *reading* is 'topologically homoeomorphic' (ibid.), retaining the fundamental nature of the incipient text. By contrast, *transmutations* are intersemiotic translations which 'engage the text but do not *read* it per se' (ibid.). An intersemiotic *transmutation* 'may include transformations of the biblical text that focus less on translation and more on creative expansion and adaptation or even outright topological "tearing"' (ibid., 134). When such major transmutation occurs, the text's identity is altered and can be considered to have become 'something else' (ibid., 137). In our case then, Translations A and B are both *readings* of the common source system in a global sense, as both are recognisable as translations of the same source and thus have not modified the topological structure of the text. However, if one of the translations departs from this norm, for example, by the introduction of a major expansion to a particular section, this can be considered a *transmutation* at a local level.

Aside from major transmutations, there are other cases where the pattern of consistency is broken and there is a prominent difference between translations A and B. For example, a particular word or phrase might have a very different meaning in the two renderings, a particular feature may be missing, or one translation may break its normal pattern and choose to translate a passage as prose rather than poetry. These cases represent a sharp change in the trajectory of a translation, as represented by the dark red arrow in [Figure 1](#). (It is worth noting that this diagram is applied to one particular translational difference between A and B,

certain patterns of motion called *attractors*. These *attractors*, however, remain unpredictable and are very sensitive to their initial conditions. Marais applies this to translational (semiotic) trajectories which, 'can be predicted to be in the vicinity of the attractor, but exactly where the trajectory would move can never be determined beforehand. This means that semiosis takes on (somewhat) stable forms without ever repeating itself' (2019c, 58).

such as the rendering of one word.) Leaving aside, for now, the rare cases where *both* translations have veered from their normal patterns of translation, the observer must decide where the source of the difference lies. Using whatever evidence is available, they will attempt to trace back upstream, reversing the sequence of translational actions from Translation A to the assumed common incipient system, and then downstream following the translational activity which led to Translation B.

One simple example of a *change of trajectory* leading to the different translations, is where the incipient text is ambiguous, and has been understood differently in the two translation processes. Many differences can be attributed to the distinctive *skopoi* of the two translations: where divergence in the objectives of the translational activity resulted in two very different renderings. The most obvious example of divergent *skopoi* is between translations which seek to render the text as conservatively as possible, and facilitative translations which seek to make the text as understandable as possible.⁴¹ If we perceive Translation A is a conservative translation, and Translation B as a facilitative translation, then we expect to find that the most significant change has occurred on the downstream translation processes that led to Translation B. This is important, as this means that we *can* view B as a translation of A, independent of when the two documents arose. Conversely, there will be occasions where the *change of trajectory* occurred between Translation A and the original (i.e. upstream translation processes), and in these cases Translation B has a more consistent rendering of the original, and A can be viewed as an intralingual translation of B. In neither of these cases is the relative age of the two documents important, nor is it necessary to prove a direct link between the two. Both can be linked by a sequence of up- and downstream translational actions, and therefore have a relationship of intralingual translation in one direction or the other.⁴²

Another distinctive feature of this model, is that there is no divide between intra- and inter-lingual translational action. The incipient system may be a different language to the shared language of translations A and B, but it could be in the same language or a related dialect. In the former case, it is important to understand the linguistic features of both languages in order

⁴¹ Tov calls these *careful* and *free* translations (2012, 184). Gentry describes the two approaches as *repetition* and *resignification* (2009, 33).

⁴² Here, one has to be mindful of the Second Law of Thermodynamics, the natural tendency towards disorder and an increase in entropy, which dictates that no process is entirely reversible. If the product of one translational trajectory has been transmitted with greater precision or less creative intervention, it has a lower 'entropy' than a translation transmitted with less precision or more creative intervention. By comparing upstream and downstream translational action, this model seeks to determine which of the two translational products has the lower 'entropy', and therefore is the closer to the common incipient system. When making the comparison, the relative dates of the two translational products is less relevant than their relative 'entropy' or state of preservation.

to explain some of the differences between A and B. However, in either case, most of the translational processes depicted on [Figure 1](#) are intralingual. In the case of the Hebrew Bible, there are many stages of intralingual translational action, such as copying and correcting manuscripts, transliteration between paleo-Hebrew and the square script and the work of the Masoretes. The scribes who made harmonising additions to the text, and those who made exegetical changes were also engaged in intralingual translation. Even the translation from the source to the target language is not a uniquely *interlingual* process. There are also *intralingual* factors at work. Bible translators regularly consult other translations as they work, especially where there has been a previous translation in the target language or one closely related to it. Revised translations, such as the New Revised Standard Version, openly acknowledge the previous translations on which they are based, going back to the King James version.⁴³

This model does not place a firm divide between *revision* and *retranslation*, terms which are normally used in modern literary interlingual translation. The term *retranslation*, describes subsequent translations of a source text into target language where one already exists, whereas *revision* usually refers to the editing, correction and modernisation of an existing translation (Koskinen and Paloposki 2010, 294). However, such a distinction is often arbitrary: revisions and retranslations lie in a 'continuum where different versions seamlessly slide together and even coalesce' (Paloposki and Koskinen 2010, 47). Even for an entirely new translation, the intralingual influence of previous translations may be unavoidable. Not only are translators likely to consult other translations as they work, the very language they use may bear the influence of past translational action. In English for example, Tyndale and the King James translators had a profound and lasting impact on the idiom of the English language, effecting every genre of literature (Bragg 2011). Their influence, acknowledged or not, is present in all subsequent English Bible translations illustrating how *intralingual* processes can play a part in interlingual translation even at a sub-conscious level.

This complex interplay of inter- and intralingual translation illustrates how a single 'source text' of a translation may not always be identifiable. Instead, it may emerge from a complex interaction of several different incipient sources. Thus, Marais prefers the term 'incipient sign system' rather than 'source text' and 'subsequent sign system' rather than 'target text' (2019a, 148-149). His term 'sign system' recognises that complex systems of signs are translated, not

⁴³ In the Preface to the NRSV (1989), the lineage is summarised, 'the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible is an authorized revision of the Revised Standard Version, published in 1952, which was a revision of the American Standard Version, published in 1901, which, in turn, embodied earlier revisions of the King James Version, published in 1611.'

simply texts, and by ‘incipient’ and ‘subsequent’ he acknowledges that the end-point of one translation process may be used as the starting point for a subsequent one.

3.8 A Complex, Intersemiotic, Purpose-based Description of Intralingual Translation

I will now attempt to draw together the strands of translation theory presented so far in this chapter, into a descriptive model of same-language translation, looking at each aspect in turn. I will give examples of how each aspect of the description might be used to categorise a particular translational action or variant in a text. These categories will be used in my analyses of the Samaritan Pentateuch in the following chapters.

3.8.1 Complex

Complexity Theory frees us from linear reductionism to a more realistic, nuanced view of translation which allows us to conceptualise the ‘messiness’ of real-world problems. Rather than a single source-text, the translation emerges from an incipient system which could include a number of different sources, previous intralingual translations, translations into other languages, and factors including culture, religion, and linguistics among others. The constraints of the *skopos* of the translation (see below) enable this emergence to occur, not by linear causality, but rather in a non-linear fashion. The parts make up the whole but the whole, such as in the accumulation of translation decisions or the further refining of the *skopos*, also influences the parts.

Applying this to the comparison of ancient manuscripts, when examining a translational variant between two ancient versions of the same text it might be unclear which reflects the original wording, if either. Often the source of a text cannot be reduced to a single other text, rather it is the result of a *complex source system* – the emergent result of a complex interaction between different texts and different scribes. For example, we may find evidence that that verse in the MT differs from the proto-Masoretic text. We may find that for the same verse, the SP is better witness to the same ultimate proto-Masoretic source. While this change to the MT might be a simple scribal error, it could alternatively be a deliberate response to a theological controversy, perhaps with reference to another version such as the SP itself. In this scenario, instead of a stemmatological ‘family tree’ view of the text (e.g. Chiesa 2020), we have a complex web of interactions.

However, this complexity does not mean that analysis is impossible.⁴⁴ If we focus on the level of the individual sign, we may find a predictable pattern in the way these are translated. If we assume this is the norm, then the departures from this norm, which result in more significant changes, become the foci of our investigations. The model of the translation loop above builds on this assumption to allow us to compare any two translations in a common language, which share a common incipient system, as intralingual translations of each other. This comparison is possible in either direction and is independent of their relative dates, but rather is focussed on where one or the other translation trajectory departed from its norms and introduced a significant change. Where Translation B is viewed as an intratranslation of Translation A, upstream translational changes link Translation A to the incipient system, and downstream translational changes link from the incipient system to Translation B (see [Figure 1](#) ~~Figure 1~~ above).

The process of recopying manuscripts can be viewed as an intralingual translation process with the *skopos* of exact reproduction or perhaps the correction of errors. However, despite the great diligence of the scribes who transmitted the texts, unintentional errors and mis-readings did occur in both translations. In this dissertation I am analysing the SP as an intralingual translation of the MT. Thus, where a translational variant can be attributed to such an error, it is marked as upstream (U) when attributed to the MT tradition, or downstream (D) when attributed to the SP tradition.⁴⁵ This distinction also applies to other kinds of significant translational variants.

3.8.2 *Intersemiotic*

All translation involves resignification, a change of sign systems. Aside from changes in linguistic signs, this could involve a change of writing system,⁴⁶ a change of font, type-setting or medium (e.g. paper or audiobook). Far from being peripheral to translational activity, these non-linguistic forms of resignification can take on central importance (see Warren-Rothlin 2014). Where verbal signs *are* changed within the same language, *normalisation* (which includes both explicitation and simplification) is a common factor, depending on the *skopos* of

⁴⁴ Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2018a) show how complexity theory can be deployed to better understand and translate the LXX of Ben Sira, while avoiding reductionistic assumptions.

⁴⁵ If our analysis found that there were more significant changes upstream than downstream, then we would need to change our assumption about the direction of translation, and view the MT as an intratranslation of the SP.

⁴⁶ Many modern languages are written in two or more writing systems: Serbian and Croatian, for example, are essentially the same language written in different scripts for cultural reasons (Magner 2001). When an existing text is made available in different script of the same language, the change in script is often accompanied by a change in orthography, vocabulary and other dialectal differences (Warren-Rothlin 2014).

the intratranslation. Explicitation is most necessary with cultural rich points, which are beyond the comprehension of the target group. Sometimes the *object* of an indexical sign is changed, as in the case of *cultural* or *geographical substitution*. The nature of the sign may also be changed by the passage of time. This kind of change may happen in the mind of a reader who, for example, might read something written in the future tense as an intention, prediction or prophecy as a sign to its actual fulfilment (or otherwise). In Peircean terms, these signs of possibility (*rhemes*) are interpreted as signs of actuality (*dicents* - see [Table 1](#)~~Table 1~~). The intralingual translator may choose to make explicit this *diachronic shift* in the nature of the sign, as we shall see in the next chapter.

In my study of the SP translational variants, many of the scribal interventions fall under this broad category, including some which could equally be placed in other categories. I have placed here all kinds of *normalisation* which replaces infrequently used grammar and clause structure with that which is more commonly used. *Harmonisation*, also in this category, can occur at many different levels, at the lowest level. For example, the harmonisation of the person of verb forms across two cola in poetry or the normalisation of unusual verb forms. These kinds of harmonisation and normalisation are part of the normal pattern of translation of the SP, and, therefore, are not considered *significant changes in trajectory*. However, harmonisation can occur on a much larger scale, such as where insertions and modifications have been made to ensure different parts of the Pentateuch fit together more easily. Such major changes are clearly *significant changes in trajectory* and will be marked (U) upstream or (D) downstream depending on where they occur. Also included in this category are other kinds of resignification such as *restructuring a sentence*, or *synonymous rewording*.

3.8.3 Purpose-based

The *skopos* of intratranslation is key, perhaps more so than for interlingual translation. No one would embark on a project of intratranslation without some kind of purpose in mind. Unlike interlingual translation, in intratranslation the source text is already present in the target language before the translator intervenes. While an interlingual translation project might simply have the aim of making the text accessible in another language, an intralingual translator must have another reason for launching their project. This *skopos* acts as constraint on the semiotic process, enabling the translation to emerge. Therefore, the resulting intralingual translation might be freer than interlingual translations tend to be, allowing for explicitation, omission or restructuring of material.

It is clear that large-scale *theological interventions* such as the Gerizim commandment fall under this category. I also place here attempts to explain or solve perceived difficulties in the text, such as *exegetical problem solving*, *reinterpretation*, and *spelling adjustments of difficult words*. These interventions are all considered to be *significant changes of trajectory*, and are marked as *upstream* where they occur in the Masoretic tradition and as *downstream* for changes in the SP tradition. I will return to the important question of the *skopos* (or *skopoi*) of the SP in section [4.64.6](#).

3.8.4 Description

The model I propose draws on Toury's work on Descriptive Translation Studies (2012) and *describes* intralingual translation rather than *prescribes* what such translation should be. It cannot be used to judge whether such a translation is good or bad, faithful or otherwise. The only judgement is how well or otherwise the *skopos* of the translation, explicit or assumed, is achieved. Unlike Toury's description, which is limited to works which are assumed to be translations (2012, 93), I cover all cases where resignification, rewording or adaptation may have taken place whether or not the product is commonly considered as a translation. I will not attempt to prove that the Samaritan Pentateuch is an intralingual translation. However, I will attempt to *describe* the SP as an intralingual translation, and to show how this description is a helpful paradigm.

3.8.5 Intralingual

The translation is done within one language; however, variations of dialect, both diachronic and regional, will often play an important role. The boundary of what is deemed a *language* and a *dialect* is often arbitrary and political. As the adage goes, 'a language is a dialect with an army and navy' (Weinreich 1945, 13).⁴⁷ However, this description would remain valid for translation between mutually comprehensible languages however defined, and most aspects would also be valid for languages further apart. In this category I place variants which are specific to the Samaritan Hebrew dialect, as opposed to the Tiberian Hebrew dialect of the MT. These include *dialectic* and *grammatical adjustments*.

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I have given an overview of translation studies, including recent developments in Complexity Theory and intersemiotic translation. I have argued that intralingual translation

⁴⁷ This saying was popularised by Max Weinreich when discussing the plight of the Yiddish language (1945). He credits it to an unknown member of the audience in one of his lectures.

is worthy of study, and that translation theory can give important insights into the process of same-language rewording and adaptation. Of particular importance to intralingual translation is the concept of *skopos* – the aim or purpose of a translation. While interlingual translations might be done simply to facilitate communication between speakers of different languages, intralingual translations must be done for a particular reason or *skopos*, as the original material is already accessible in the target language.

I then brought together these various strands of translation theory into a simple model which can be used to describe intralingual translational activity. The different types of translational variants are summarised in [Table 2](#), each under the broad categories of the intralingual translation model.

Complex	Intersemiotic	Purpose-based	Intralingual
Complex source system	Normalisation	Theological interventions	Dialectic adjustment
Scribal error	Harmonisation	Exegetical problem solving	Grammatical adjustment
Mis-reading of text	Restructuring	Reinterpretation	
	Rewording	Spelling adjustments of difficult words	
	Transliteration		
	Cultural or Geographical substitution		
	Diachronic shift in nature of sign (possibility > actuality)		

Table 2: Summary of Categories for Translational Variants.

In the following chapter I apply this descriptive tool to the Samaritan Pentateuch, first looking at the SP as a whole, before examining one passage in detail.

CHAPTER 4

APPLYING THE INTRALINGUAL MODEL TO THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH AS A WHOLE

4.1 Introduction

In this section I will examine how each aspect of the model of intralingual translation set out in the previous chapter can be applied to the SP as a whole. Firstly, I will examine the nature of the Samaritan Hebrew (SH) written and oral language, and show the differences between this and the Tiberian Hebrew (TH) used in the Masoretic text. There are important differences in script, pronunciation and grammar between the two dialects, many of which are invisible in the consonantal text as presented in the (Aramaic) square script used for Hebrew today. These dialectic variations are best understood in the context of the diachronic development of the Hebrew language in the Second Temple period. Many corresponding changes are seen in other dialects of Hebrew at the time, to a greater or lesser degree to the diachronic changes seen in SH. Understanding these linguistic variations will help us understand the dialectic distance between SH and TH, and therefore the true extent of the translational variants between the SP and the MT. This perspective will also help us understand many of the variants which *are* visible in the two consonantal texts, as many of these can be explained at the linguistic level.

I will then turn to the cultural rich points of the Samaritans and the Judeans in the Second Temple period. These factors will help us understand the framework of theology and culture of the two communities, and the main points of tension and dialogue between their worldviews. The most obvious of these tensions is over the location of the sole authorised place of the sacrificial cult, which is manifest in the clearest cases of scribal intervention in the SP. However, other subtler theological differences are at work in the exegetical modifications and harmonisations in the SP. Some of these interventions were already present in the so-called pre-Samaritan MSS which were in general circulation at the time alongside other MSS which conform more closely to the MT tradition. While the interventions in the pre-Samaritan MSS are not specifically Samaritan, these texts were chosen by Samaritan scribes over the proto-MT, and they may have had their own theological reasons for this choice.

Finally, I will turn to the transmission of the SP and MT texts, looking at textual corruption and deliberate change in the extant texts. My approach advocates the use of Complexity Theory and the idea of emergence in acknowledging the complexity of the incipient (i.e. source) system of the SP.

4.2 The Samaritan Hebrew Language

4.2.1 Introduction

In this section I will look at the characteristics of the Samaritan Hebrew language, as found in the Samaritan Pentateuch in its written and oral forms. Of particular note are the differences between Samaritan and Tiberian Hebrew, as these have direct relevance to the comparative study of the SP and the MT. Finally, I will turn to the identity of Samaritan Hebrew – whether it should be categorised as a language or a dialect, and whether it ever was a true living, spoken language.

4.2.2 The Samaritan Hebrew Written Language

The SP is written in a version of the paleo-Hebrew script, in contrast to the Aramaic (square) script used in the MT and in modern Hebrew. During the Persian period the Aramaic language was used for administration, meaning that the Aramaic square script was commonly used. According to rabbinic sources, Ezra chose to change the script used for the Hebrew scriptures, from paleo-Hebrew to the Aramaic script (Waltke 1965, 2). However, Langlois (2019) presents evidence that the paleo-Hebrew script continued to be used into the third and second centuries BCE. Several biblical Qumran MSS were written in the old script, and Langlois reviews palaeographic and radiocarbon analyses of these MSS, comparing this to the dating of Qumran MSS written in the Aramaic script. He found that the most of the paleo-Hebrew MSS dated from the third or fourth centuries BCE, and at this time the Aramaic script was rarely used to write Hebrew. The transition to the Aramaic script can be dated to the beginning of the second century BCE, and by the first century the paleo-Hebrew script had been largely abandoned, apart from occasional use on coinage and for the divine name. 4QpaleoExod^m has a paleo-Hebrew repair sheet dated to the first century BCE. However, Langlois treats this sheet as an exception. As a repair sheet, it is natural for the scribe to match the older script used on the rest of the scroll (*ibid.*, 278).

However, Langlois posits that not all communities deserted the paleo-Hebrew script, which he prefers simply to call the ‘Hebrew’ script. A branch of the Hebrew script continued to be used by Samaritan communities and evolved during the Roman period, eventually becoming the ‘Samaritan’ script by Byzantine times.⁴⁸ If we accept Langlois’ theory, and we are confident

⁴⁸ Barag (2009) present a very different view, arguing that the Samaritan script was a conscious creation in the fourth century CE based on an obsolete paleo-Hebrew script. Similarly, Kartveit argues that the SP was “re-transcribed” into an archaizing script,” (2019b, 11). However, Langlois (2019, 278-280) presents palaeographic evidence to show that the Samaritan version of paleo-Hebrew developed separately from Jewish versions of the script after diverging from it in the second century BCE.

that the Qumran evidence is truly representative of the whole Judean community, the question of why the Samaritans chose a seemingly older form of the script is turned on its head. Rather, we should ask why the Judeans abandoned their (paleo-)Hebrew script and chose the Aramaic one around the second century BCE. Cross-linguistically, such a sudden change of script is an unusual phenomenon: ‘Abrupt shifts in writing systems have historically been uncommon and language communities cling to scripts – sometimes even awkward ones – for political, cultural and religious motives’ (Collin 2005, 23). Given that the Jewish written scriptures were held in very high regard, and the strict conservatism evident in later Jewish scribal culture, this change of script used in the Jewish scriptures presents a significant socio-linguistic puzzle.

One can imagine Samaritan scribes at the turn of the eras deriving a sense of satisfaction that their proto-Samaritan script was the older, particularly since they hated Ezra (Anderson and Giles 2002, 13), to whom Rabbinic tradition attributed the change of script. It is likely, however, that these scribes would have depended on manuscripts in the Aramaic script, as well as paleo-Hebrew, when compiling the Samaritan Pentateuch. Most of the extant pre-Samaritan MSS, which form the textual basis of the SP, are in the Aramaic script, as were most Judean MSS copied from the second century BCE onwards. There is also epigraphic evidence that the Aramaic script was used alongside paleo-Hebrew at Mount Gerizim in the second century BCE (Langlois 2019, 277; Naveh 1998), showing that both scripts were used by the Samaritans.⁴⁹ Where Samaritan scribes transliterated texts from the Aramaic to the proto-Samaritan script, this was a form of resignification. This is the baseline of the intralingual transformation. Even if nothing else in a verse was changed, the script change transformed the visual impact of the manuscript and gave it a Samaritan identity.

I will next turn to the inter-dialectic differences between SH and TH, which are manifest in the oral tradition of how the SP is read.

4.2.3 Phonology of Samaritan Hebrew

The Samaritan community have continued to use their own dialects of Hebrew and Aramaic as oral, liturgical languages throughout their history (Ben Hayyim 2020, 2-3). With the Islamic conquest in the seventh century CE, Arabic became their main vernacular (Anderson and Giles

⁴⁹ Palaeographic evidence suggests the script for the Samaritan Pentateuch split off from the common stream of paleo-Hebrew writing in the second century BCE. This is distinct from the script used on later paleo-Hebrew DSS (with the possible exception of one MS found at Masada: Mas1o), and on inscriptions found in Jerusalem and even at Gerizim (Langlois 2019, 278-280).

2012, 180). However, the Samaritans preserved the oral tradition in their religious languages with great care (Ben Ḥayyim 2020, 335).

Starting in 1935, Ze'ev Ben Ḥayyim did a thorough study of both the written and oral religious languages as used in the Samaritan community, culminating in his five volume work *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*. This work included transcriptions of liturgical texts and selections of the Pentateuch, including all of Deuteronomy, based on recordings in the community (Ben Ḥayyim 1977). He transcribed the oral language phonetically in the Roman script, and used these data to analyse the phonology and grammar of the Samaritan Hebrew and Aramaic dialects. His Samaritan Hebrew grammar was the fifth and final volume of *Literary and Oral Tradition*, and this was revised translated into English in 2000 (Ben Ḥayyim 2000).⁵⁰

The most striking difference between the Samaritan and Tiberian dialects of Hebrew is the smaller range of phonemes used in the oral language. The former lacks the ה /h/ and ח /ħ/ phonemes, which are unpronounced, and the ש /š/ which is undistinguished from שׁ /s/. Also lacking are the soft allophones of ב /b/, ג /g/, ד /d/, כ /k/, ת /t/, and the hard פ /p/. The latter disappeared due to Arabic influence, and פ is normally pronounced /f/, and as /bb/ when geminated (see Florentin 2013a, 446).

Another important difference is in stress pattern of the words. The default in TH is for the ultimate syllable to be stressed, with certain exceptions, such as segolate nouns, having penultimate stress. SH on the other hand usually has penultimate stress, and ultimate stress is the exception (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 68). This difference in stress pattern has an influence on SH pronunciation, grammatical forms and spelling.

The guttural consonants (א, אַ, ה, ח) in SH are much weaker than in other dialects of Hebrew. At the start of a word, אַ and ח are usually silent, but can often be pronounced as a voiced pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ when followed by an a-type vowel, such in as אַח (‘ad) (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 39). In all other contexts א, ה and ח are pronounced as a simple glottal stop /ʔ/, which

⁵⁰ Cysouw and Good propose the term *doculect* for ‘a linguistic variety as it is documented in a given resource’ (2013, 342). This term helpfully puts discussions of what constitutes a ‘language’ or a ‘dialect’ to one side, and instead focusses on the linguistic variety as recorded in a particular document. This is a helpful term for Biblical Hebrew, which is the *doculect* as documented in the Hebrew Bible (Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2020b, 18). For this study, Samaritan Hebrew is the *doculect* as documented in the Samaritan Pentateuch in its consonantal written form, together with its pronunciation tradition as recorded by Ben Ḥayyim (1977). See section [4.2.54-2.5](#) for a discussion on Samaritan Hebrew as a living language.

disappears altogether when between two identical vowels. In compensation an extra-long vowel is used, which is denoted with a colon in Ben Ḥayyim's transliteration, e.g. יַעֲקֹב *ya'aqob > ya:qob. When between an /i/ or /u/ vowel and another vowel, the glottal stop becomes a geminated /y/ or /w/ sound, e.g. תִּיַּזְאֵל tiyyāzāl, יְשׁוּעָתוֹ yēšuwāttu.

There are six types of vowel in SH: /a/ (like a *pataḥ* in TH), /ā/ (like a *qameṣ*), /i/, /e/, /o/ and /u/. In closed post-tonic syllables, both /i/ and /e/ are pronounced /ə/ e.g. יִשְׂרָאֵל 'yišrā'el', נִיִּם 'guwwəm'. /o/ and /u/ are allophones used interchangeably for the same morpheme, /o/ normally in closed syllables, and therefore short, e.g. צֹר 'sor', and /u/ in open syllables, and therefore long, e.g. נִלְאָתוֹ 'nālātu' (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 44). With the sole exception of the conjunction /w/ (e.g. וַיֵּשֶׁר wyāšār), every consonant in SH must have a full vowel. There is no *shewa* in SH either to denote the absence of a vowel or an ultrashort vowel. SH retains the vowels which TH reduces to a *shewa* on propretonic open syllables. Alternatively, a prosthetic vowel is supplied at the start of the word such as on the ב preposition in בָּשָׁם 'afšam' (SH)⁵¹ (בְּשָׁם in TH).

Thus, the Samaritan pronunciation is very different to Tiberian Hebrew. Taken together with the different script, we have already seen a significant intralingual transformation between the MT and the SP before considering any consonantal changes to the text. I will now turn to the grammar of Samaritan Hebrew.

4.2.4 Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew

In the Second Temple period, the Hebrew language was in a process of change which led to a disconnect between the spoken language and the Classical Biblical Hebrew (CBH) of the proto-MT Pentateuch. A number of verbal forms were no longer in oral use. Although the forms using the *waw*-consecutive - the *wayyiqṭōl* (or 'converted' imperfect) and the *wəqatal* (or 'converted' perfect) - were commonly used in CBH, they had fallen out of use in the living language (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 170). In the Samaritan oral tradition, the doubling of the performative after the *waw*-consecutive (such as in MH *wayyiqṭōl*) had vanished, and full vowels were used instead of the *shewa*, so there was no distinction between a *waw*-consecutive and a conjunctive *waw* in neither the written nor the oral language. Nor were there short forms of the imperfective, characteristic of some *waw*-consecutive forms such as in H stem or III-*he*

⁵¹ For the pronunciation of ב as /f/ see Ben Ḥayyim (2000, 33).

MT verbs. These too had fallen out of use due to the penultimate stress pattern in SH, although some persisted as archaic forms in the SP text.⁵² Samaritan grammarians were aware that a *waw* before an imperfect verb could indicate past time, but the forms rendered as *wayyiqṭōl* and *wēyiqṭol* in the MT both looked and sounded the same in SH (ibid., 171). Another implication of the lack of the short form imperfective is the lack of a recognisably jussive verb conjugation. While in TH a distinct jussive form is visible for verbs with a short form of the prefix conjugation, in SH this distinction can only be seen in III-*he* verbs (ibid., 174).

In Late Biblical Hebrew, the ׁוֹ suffix was often appended to the *wayyiqṭōl* form in the first person singular or plural (Redmond 2014, 199). These *pseudo-cohortative* forms are particularly prominent in the narratives in Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel which are recounted in the first person, but only three examples are found in the MT Pentateuch (Sjörs 2021, 19). Pseudo-cohortatives dominate in Qumran Hebrew, where they are much more common than the unlengthened first person *wayyiqṭōl* form (Redmond 2014, 198-200).

On thirty-one occasions in the Samaritan Pentateuch, the pseudo-cohortative ׁוֹ morpheme is appended to the unlengthened first-person *wayyiqṭōl* form of the MT (Sjörs 2021, 21). Most of these cases occur in Moses' first-person narratives in Deuteronomy, for example:

(4) Deuteronomy 1:19

(MT) וּנְסַע מִחֹרֵב נִלְכָּךְ אֶת כָּל-הַמְדַבֵּר הַגְדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא הַהוּא

(SP) וּנְסַע מִחֹרֵב וְנִלְכָּךְ אֶת כָּל הַמְדַבֵּר הַגְדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא הַהוּא

We turned from Horeb and **we went** through all that great and frightening wilderness.

Sjörs (2021, 25) argues that this pseudo-cohortative morpheme in the SP has a benefactive function, that is, it shows that the speaker is the beneficiary of the action.⁵³ In the case of motion verbs, he argues that it marks a change of state with ingressive aspectual focus. However, this theory cannot explain all the instances of the pseudo-cohortative morpheme in the SP where it is lacking in the MT, for example:

(5) Deuteronomy 3:18 (SP)

וּאֲצִוְהָ אֶתְכֶם בַּעַת הַהוּא לֵאמֹר

⁵² Ben Ḥayyim notes that although some of these short form imperfectives are preserved in the SP and its reading tradition, in some cases the oral tradition overrides the consonantal text, and the long form is substituted on reading (2000, 172).

⁵³ Sjörs draws on Fassberg (1999, 13) on the semantics of a second person form: the lengthened imperative, which also features a ׁוֹ suffix. Fassberg argues that the lengthened imperative is a marked imperative form used when the verb is directed towards the speaker, or when the speaker is the beneficiary of the action.

And I commanded you at that time, saying...

(6) Deuteronomy 9:16 (SP)

ואראה הנה הטאתם ליהוה אלהיכם

And I looked, (and) behold, you had sinned against YHWH your God.

(7) Deuteronomy 9:21 (SP)

ואשרפה אתו באש... ואשליכה את עפרו אל הנחל

and I **burned** it with fire ... and I **threw** its dust into the stream

In (8-10) there are three instances of this additional morpheme in the SP, two of which are motion verbs, but one is a simple transitive verb:

(8) Deuteronomy 10:5 (SP)

ואפנה וארדה מן ההר ואשימה את הלוחות בארץ

I turned and came down from the mountain and I put the tablets in the arc.

It is difficult to reconcile these cases with Sjörs's theory, nor does he account for the first person *wayyiqṭōl* verbs in the MT which are *not* changed in the SP. For example, in two very similar phrases in Deuteronomy, it is hard to see why (9) has the lengthened form, but (10) does not:

(9) Deuteronomy 3:4 (SP)

ונלכדה את כל עריו

We seized all his cities.

(10) Deuteronomy 29:7 (SP and MT)

ונקח את ארצם

We took their land.

Ben Ḥayyim gives an alternative explanation for the pseudo-cohortative morpheme, arguing that the purpose of this suffix is clearly to indicate the past tense (2000, 175). As I have noted, the tense of verbs prefixed by a *waw* is not obvious in SH. However, this seems unnecessary as in most cases the past time of the verbs involved is obvious from the context, especially for the large number of pseudo-cohortatives in Moses's narrations. Therefore, the pseudo-cohortative morpheme seems to lack any semantic value (see Van der Merwe, Naudé and Kroeze 2017, 169; Joüon and Muraoka 2003, 1.141). The use of the pseudo-cohortative in Samaritan Hebrew mirrors its use in Qumran Hebrew, where 'it appears to function as a regular imperfect' (Redmond 2014, 199). Thus, the language of the SP reflects the diachronic development of the Hebrew language during the Second Temple period.

Another aspect of linguistic change is the removal of archaic linguistic features. Samaritan editors removed grammatical forms that would seem unusual or difficult to readers, replacing them with more commonly used forms (Florentin 2013c, 456). Hendel and Joosten (2018, 55) show traces of Archaic Biblical Hebrew in the MT which have been modernised in the SP. For example, in Gen. 1:24 the MT has a frozen expression for ‘beasts of the earth’ which contains an archaic case ending. This expression is modernized in the SP.

(11) Genesis 1:24

(MT) קִיְהִי-אֲרֵץ

(SP) וְהָיָה הָאָרֶץ

The beasts of the earth

Another archaic feature is the *qal* passive form, which in many cases in the MT is either repointed or reinterpreted as the Dp (*pu'al*), Hp (*hof'al*) or N (*nif'al*) stems (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 176). In SH, this process is taken further, moving towards the elimination of all internal passives, that is, passives which can be distinguished from active forms by vowel patterns alone. Changes in stress and vocalization in SH made it difficult to distinguish these stems from their active counterparts. Therefore, not only the *qal* passive, but the *pu'al* and *hof'al* were absent from SH at the time of the production of the SP. When reading the Pentateuch, Samaritan readers tended either to reinterpret these internal passive forms as active verbs, where permitted to do so by the spelling and syntax, or to read them as *nif'al*⁵⁴ or *hitpa'el* stems. These stems use performatives, rather than vowel changes alone, and commonly express a passive or reflexive sense. These reinterpretations could often be achieved by changes to vocalisation and gemination alone, avoiding the need to alter the consonantal text (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 177-178, see also Hornkohl 2020).

4.2.5 Was Samaritan Hebrew a Living Language?

Suchard (2020) points out some artificial elements in the Samaritan Hebrew reading tradition, which would not occur in a normal, living language. He draws on Florentin (1994), who points out some artificial differentiation of cognate homonyms in the oral tradition of the SP which

⁵⁴ In SH there are two forms of the *nif'al* stem. The first is similar to the N stem in TH, except in that it doubles the first radical in the perfect (e.g. Deut 4:31 SP נִשְׁבַּע niššāba, MT נִשְׁבַּע). The second form, sometimes called the *nif'al B*, geminates both the first and the second radical (e.g. Deut 4:26 SP תִּשְׁמָדוּן tiššammādon, MT תִּשְׁמָדוּן). This second form is similar to the rare *nitpa'el* stem in TH (See Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 117-119, Hornkohl 2020, 3-4).

do not occur naturally in Semitic languages. For example, שׁ is pronounced ‘šam’ when it has the sense ‘name’, but as ‘šem’ when it has the sense ‘renown’ (Suchard 2020, 5).

It is worth clarifying that the modern, liturgical reading tradition is in focus here, not the ancient Samaritan Hebrew language. Elsewhere, Florentin (2013a, 2013b) makes clear the distinction between Biblical Samaritan Hebrew and Late Samaritan Hebrew. He portrays the Biblical SH as ‘a post-biblical dialect’ which has ‘features ... in common with the Dead Sea Scrolls and Rabbinic Hebrew’ (2013a, 451). He portrays Samaritan and Rabbinic Hebrew as ‘two contemporary dialects’. He points to diachronic changes in SH, that are more advanced than in Rabbinic Hebrew, such as the weakening of gutturals, and the obsolescence of the internal passive.⁵⁵ This evidence suggests that Samaritan Hebrew had a longer lifetime as a spoken language than its Rabbinic counterpart. Florentin speculates that Samaritans continued to speak Hebrew after the fall of the Bar-Kokhba rebellion, a time when Hebrew-speaking Jews were driven from Judea. In contrast, Samaritans ‘settled in their place and remained there for many generations’ (ibid.).

Later, when the Samaritans had switched to Aramaic and then Arabic as their vernacular, the oral tradition of the Torah in Samaritan Hebrew remained, and the Samaritans continued to use Hebrew in certain liturgical works, which were, variously, influenced by Aramaic, Arabic and Jewish Hebrew (Florentin 2013b). The Torah pronunciation tradition was transmitted with great care (Ben Hayyim 2000, 335), but Hebrew was not a commonly spoken language and the Samaritans lacked a clear system of vocalisation. It was during this period of transmission, that the artificial features noted by Suchard (2020) occurred.

So, in summary, Samaritan Hebrew was a living, spoken language during the Second Temple period and probably beyond. Its diachronic development is in line with other dialects of Hebrew during this period, though it has advanced further than Rabbinic Hebrew; suggesting it was spoken for a longer duration. Although the line between a dialect and a language is somewhat arbitrary, it is appropriate to call Samaritan Hebrew a dialect of the Hebrew language, despite its significant differences from the Tiberian dialect.

When comparing the consonantal texts of the SP and the MT, these inter-dialectic variants are often invisible. However, they are nonetheless vital if one seeks to understand the SP in a

⁵⁵ Rendsberg (2020) shows common linguistic features which are shared between SH and dialects from the northern kingdom of Israel – such that found in the biblical texts with northern origin, and inscriptions discovered in that region.

Samaritan manner. In my intralingual translation description (see [Table 2](#) ~~Table-2~~), I have placed dialectic and grammatical changes in the *intralingual* category. Transliteration (i.e. script change) is in the *intersemiotic* category as this involves a change of signs. Normalisation, which covers the replacement of less common features with their more standard counterparts, is also categorised as an *intersemiotic* change. However, sometimes dialectic differences may lie behind such normalisation, in which case it could equally be categorised as an *intralingual* change.

4.3 Samaritan Cultural Rich Points

4.3.1 Definition

Agar describes the ‘rich points’ of a language and culture as ‘areas that native speakers recognise instantly and then disagree over when they discuss them’ (1991, 177). He depicts them as a surface forms of the language covered with thick putty:

The problematic bit of language is puttied thickly into far-reaching networks of association and many situations of use. When [an outsider] grabs such a piece of language, the putty is so thick and so spread out that it’s almost impossible to lift the piece of language out.... Rich points, then, are surface forms that tap deeply into the world that accompanies language. (Agar 1991, 176-177)

As Agar explains, particular rich points are often brought into focus when two cultures come into contact and are compared with each other. However, some are so profound that they are always evident, independent of the point of comparison.

Applying Agar’s insights to translation theory, Nord writes: ‘a translator has to be very aware of rich points relevant to a particular translation task between the groups or subgroups on either side of the linguacultural barrier’ (2018, 24). As we examine the translational actions of the Samaritan scribes, it is clear their choices were influenced by the rich points at the interface of Samaritan culture and Jewish culture. I will now examine some of the major distinctives of the SP when compared to the MT. This will reveal the influence of cultural rich points on the intralingual translation process.

4.3.2 *Gerizim, Jerusalem and the Correct Place of Worship*

The most striking difference between the SP and the MT is the Gerizim commandment, which occurs in the Decalogue in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5. After the commandment forbidding coveting in Exodus 20:17 comes a lengthy addition, considered the tenth commandment by

Samaritans.⁵⁶ This commandment foresees the entry of the Israelites into the land of Canaan, and commands that when they cross the Jordan and enter the land, they write the law onto lime-covered stones and set these up at Mount Gerizim, where they are also to build a stone altar and make sacrifices to YHWH. This content is not new, but rather a conflation of verses from other parts of Deuteronomy which deal with Mount Gerizim, specifically (and in order): 11:29a, 27:2b-3a, 27:4a, 27:5-7 and 11:30 (Tov 2012, 88). Crucially, the quote from Deut 27:4a reflects the SP of that verse, which names Mount Gerizim as the location of the altar, rather than the MT's Mount Ebal. Schorch (2019, 84-85), shows how this content is brought together, with a few minor modifications to aid coherence.

The Gerizim commandment is normally viewed as a Samaritan sectarian addition. It is not present in any of the Dead Sea Scroll MSS, nor in other witnesses such as the LXX, and, therefore, is a downstream modification in our loop model. It is not an intralingual *reading* of its source text, but is rather a *transmutation*, which creatively expands on the source. The reason behind this creative addition seems to have been to strengthen the case for Mount Gerizim as the sole authorized place for the cult. This view is held by Tov (2012, 87-88), Anderson and Giles (2012, 102-103) and Kartveit (2009, 295). Tov (2020, 147) points to the one-time action required by the commandment, which is incompatible with the timeless nature of the rest of the commandments. He also raises the verbosity of the commandment, and the fact that it is composed of text found elsewhere, as further indications that the text has been inserted artificially. To Tov, the Gerizim commandment was inserted in order to assert the centrality of Mount Gerizim as the centre of the cult. The revisers responsible for the insertion were constrained to use only texts found elsewhere in the SP, rather than make up new formulations. In this respect they were following the traditions of the redactors of the pre-Samaritan DSS (see [4.4 below](#)~~4.4 below~~). Thus constrained, they chose Deuteronomy 27, which names Gerizim in the SP text. It may have been clearer had they chosen Deuteronomy 12, which explicitly demands the centralisation of the cult, but as this passage did not mention Gerizim, they chose chapter 27 instead. In this way, they demonstrated the centrality of the Mount Gerizim, and countered the claims of the rival Jewish place of worship in Jerusalem (ibid., 148-149).

Schorch agrees that the Gerizim commandment is an addition to the text, but denies that it is a sectarian addition (2019, 95-96). He argues that it is compatible with harmonising additions

⁵⁶ Samaritans consider the first commandment as part of the introduction to the law code; thus, the additional commandment is their tenth (Anderson and Giles 2012, 102).

found in other passages in the pre-Samaritan texts, and that there is nothing uniquely ‘Samaritan’ about the Gerizim commandment. Rather he suggests that ‘the authors of this insertion seem to have been part of the scribal culture shared by followers of both the Jerusalem and Gerizim sanctuary’ (ibid., 96). However, the proper location of the cult was a matter so important to Samaritans and Jews, with such a long history of conflict and debate, that it seems natural to describe it as a ‘cultural rich point.’ This is particularly true at the point of contact between the two cultures. As we have seen, the Hasmoneans destroyed the Gerizim temple in the late second century BCE. However, this did not end the debate on the proper site for the cult. In the New Testament, Jesus interacts with a Samaritan woman at Jacob’s well, as recorded in John 4. From the woman’s words in John 4:9, and the way the author describes Jewish-Samaritan relations, we understand that this kind of interaction was a rare event. Once the woman is convinced that Jesus is a prophet, the topic she chooses to discuss is this very cultural rich point – the proper location of the cult. She opens the debate: ‘Our fathers worshipped on this mountain [pointing to Mount Gerizim⁵⁷], but you say that in Jerusalem is the place where people ought to worship’ (John 4:20, ESV). This early account indicates how the Gerizim / Jerusalem debate was still a hot topic between Samaritans and Jews in the first century CE. In this context, it seems unlikely that an addition to the Ten Commandments highlighting the importance of Gerizim might be seen as neutral, as Schorch argues (2019). Rather, the Gerizim commandment was a sectarian addition, made in the context of a debate between Jews and Samaritans on the correct location for worship. It was also composed carefully, only using scriptures from elsewhere in the SP.

In the MT, Deuteronomy 27:4 names **הַר עֵיבָל** (Mount Ebal) as the site of the altar rather than the SP’s **הַר גֵּרִיזִים** (Mount Gerizim).⁵⁸ Mount Ebal is directly opposite Mount Gerizim, and in covenant ritual prescribed in Deut 27:12-13, half of the tribes were to stand on Ebal to pronounce the covenant curses while the other half stood on Gerizim to pronounce the blessings. Given Mount Ebal’s association with cursing, the directive to build an altar there is puzzling. If the SP version Deuteronomy 27:4 were original, this would bolster Samaritan claims about the centrality of Gerizim; as we have seen, the SP version of this verse was one of the sources for the Samaritan tenth commandment. Kartveit points to textual evidence which supports the SP reading: ‘Mount Gerizim’ is found in this verse in one old Greek and one Latin

⁵⁷ Jacob’s well is situated in modern Nablus, within sight of Mount Gerizim.

⁵⁸ In Samaritan tradition **הַר גֵּרִיזִים**, pronounced ‘ārgārīzām’, is written as one word due to the holiness of the site (Tsedaka and Sullivan 2013, 173).

MS (Kartveit 2009, 302). A recent discovery of a Hebrew fragment of Deuteronomy, possibly from cave 4 at Qumran, also supports the SP reading of this verse (Charlesworth 2010), although this fragment is yet to be authenticated (Tov 2020, 144n10). Many scholars agree with Kartveit, that ‘Gerizim’ is the original reading of Deut 27:4, including Schorch (2011, 28) and Knoppers (2013, 204). Kartveit argues that ‘Gerizim’ was replaced by ‘Ebal’ in the proto-Masoretic tradition, as a negative reaction against Samaritan claims about Gerizim (2009, 292). However, Van der Meer (2004, 501) believes that the Old Latin text cited by Kartveit is the result of textual corruption, and points out the many witnesses to the LXX which agree with the MT.

In textual criticism, the criterion of *lectio difficilior* prefers the more difficult reading to the simpler one. That is to say, when presented with two variants of the same text, the ‘harder’ one is more likely to be the original than the ‘easier’ one. This is based on the tendency of scribes to simplify and clarify the text, rather than to render it more problematic (Brotzman and Tully 2016, 138). This is in line with the normalising tendency of intralingual translation, and I would contend that scribal activity as a whole can be described as intralingual translation. There are problems with the *lectio difficilior* criterion, as scribal errors can sometimes introduce more difficult readings (Tov 2012, 275-277), but it remains a useful general principle. In the case of Deut 27:4, placing the altar on Mount Ebal, as in the MT, is the more difficult reading. As we have noted, Ebal is the mountain associated with cursing, and Gerizim blessing. To Tov, this ‘surprising’ choice of Mount Ebal is an argument *against* the originality of the MT reading (2020, 143). I would argue that it is an argument *for* originality. There may be exegetical significance in the placement of the law code and altar on Mount Ebal, such as a link between sacrifice and the expiation of covenant curses. In contrast, the ‘Gerizim’ reading leads to a more comfortable understanding, linking the law and sacrifice with blessing. Confronted with this seemingly ‘wrong’ choice of mountain for a holy altar, some other translators naturally wanted to ‘correct’ the text and place the altar on the mountain associated with blessing, explaining the small number of non-Samaritan translations which read ‘Gerizim’. These changes could have happened independently in response to this perceived difficulty, with no link with the Samaritans. Samaritan scribes may or may not have had access to previously extant texts which read ‘Gerizim’, but they had multiple reasons for choosing this reading. Not only did ‘Ebal’ seem the wrong choice of mountain, as it did to some other scribes, also ‘Gerizim’ was the centre of their cult, the place they believed was uniquely chosen by God.

Thus, a downstream intersemiotic change was made: a geographic substitution of one mountain for another, reflecting one of the central parts of Samaritan religious life.

4.3.3 'The Place YHWH Has Chosen' or 'The Place YHWH Will Choose'

Another SP distinctive is related to the above debate on the correct location of worship. The MT and the SP differ each time where the central location of the cult is mentioned in the book of Deuteronomy. In the MT the phrase 'the place which YHWH will choose' is used with the imperfective (*yiqtol*) בַּחַר of the verb בָּחַר (to choose), wherever regulations refer to the central focus of worship. This occurs twenty-two times in Deuteronomy with minor variations, the first instance being Deut 12:5. The imperfective here is understood as pertaining to a future act of choice on God's part: a single location is prescribed, outlawing unauthorised sacrificial sites, without disclosing its particular location. The choice lays in the future as envisaged from Moses' farewell discourse. To Jewish readers of Deuteronomy in the Second Temple period, Jerusalem was the chosen location, and the choice was made clear at the time of King David, as the exact place when a particularly severe episode of God's judgement on Israel was halted (see 2 Sam 24:16).

By contrast, the Samaritan version of Deuteronomy uses בָּחַר the perfective (*qatal*) form of the verb. In the Samaritan understanding this means that the choice which was already made long before David. God had already selected a specific location: Mount Gerizim.

In Deuteronomy the words are presented as Moses' discourse on the verge of the promised land. As we have seen, in the MT the choice of central location for the cult lies in the future. In Peircean terms, the phrase, הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם ('The place which the LORD your God will choose' Deut 12:5) is a *rheme*, that is, a sign of possibility, rather than a *dicent*, a sign of actuality. This is a *legisign* and a *symbol* and a *rheme* (denoted '331', see [Table 4](#), section 3.23.2). However, the SP rendering of this phrase, הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר בָּחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם ('The place which the LORD your God has chosen') is a *legisign*, a *symbol* and a *dicent* (denoted '332') – that is, a sign of actuality referring to a particular, known location.

In the MT, when the narrative frame is situated *after* the choice of Jerusalem as the central location of the cult, the same semiotic shift occurs in the sign, and it moves from being a *rheme* to a *dicent* – as it now refers to an actual physical location rather than an unknown possibility.

When Nehemiah cites the formula (12) in a prayer, he changes the imperfective to a perfective (13~~(+3)~~).⁵⁹

(12) Deut 16:2 (MT)

הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר-יבְחַר יְהוָה לְשֹׁכֵן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם

(The) place which the LORD will choose for his name to dwell (there)

(13) Nehemiah 1:9

הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּי לְשֹׁכֵן אֶת-שְׁמִי שָׁם

The place which I have chosen for my name to dwell (there).

The perfective is similarly used in Kings and Chronicles, where the choice is shown in the past tense. For the writers of these historical books, to make this shift is entirely natural; the divine choice of Jerusalem was core to their identity and the city itself was the scene of much of their narrative. This change is an example of an intralingual translation where the *time* factor is significant (see section [3.6 above](#)~~3.6-above~~). As Steiner noted, this kind of diachronic intralingual translation is so common that we often ‘perform it unawares’ (1975, 29) when reading texts from an earlier era. An additional shift occurs in the citations of this formula in Kings and Chronicles. In all occurrences, the perfective form of the verb בָּחַר replaces the imperfective, but in addition to this, in all but one citation, מָקוֹם (place) is replaced with עִיר (city).⁶⁰ Thus ‘the place which YHWH will choose’ becomes ‘the city which I have chosen’, a change which underlines the semiotic shift from the as-yet-unchosen ‘place’ of MT Deuteronomy to the actual, physical city of Jerusalem.

Schenker (2008, 341-342) highlights the lack of extant witness in the Qumran manuscripts or in the Hexapla for the verses which contain the cult location formula. He argues that the original had the perfective “he has chosen” and that this was changed to the imperfective “he will choose” in the proto-Masoretic tradition in the second century BCE, and that the SP preserves the original, and cites a minority of Greek and Latin manuscripts which support the SP’s perfective reading of the Deuteronomy formula. To Schenker the fact that these manuscripts are independent of the SP give force to the veracity of the SP’s reading as original (ibid., 347). However, the above analysis shows how the semiotic change from a future-tense *rheme* to a

⁵⁹ The verb is also in the first person here, like in the citations in Kings and Chronicles. (1 Kings 8:16; 11:32, 36; 2 Kings 21:7; 23:27; 2 Chron 7:16; 33:7). In the Deuteronomy formula it is always in the third person.

⁶⁰ This shift occurs in 1 Kings 8:44, 48; 11:32, 36; 14:21; 2 Kings 23:27; 2 Chron. 6:5, 34, 38; 12:13. The sole exception in Kings and Chronicles is 2 Chron. 7:12, which guards מָקוֹם.

past-tense *dicent* is entirely natural, and could have emerged independently in both intra- and interlingual translations.

Thus, to the Samaritans, the choice of Gerizim as the sole authorised location of the cult was as important as Jerusalem was to the Judeans. However, with only the Pentateuch in their canon, they had no equivalent to the Judean David-Solomon narrative to back up their temple. Instead, they were forced to modify their Pentateuch, in the composition of the *Gerizim* commandment, the modification of the verbal aspect of בָּחַר from imperfective to perfective in the numerous occurrences of the formula ‘the place YHWH will choose’ in Deuteronomy, and the substitution of Gerizim for Ebal in the location of the altar in Deuteronomy 27:4.⁶¹ Although the latter two of these changes are also attested in a minority of other manuscripts, they can be explained in intralingual translational terms. Thus, the change of tense of בָּחַר is due to the physical realisation of the choice of cult location, which changed in the type of sign from a *rheme* of possibility to a *dicent* of actuality, and the substitution of Gerizim for Ebal is an attempt to resolve a reading which is exegetically difficult.

I now turn to another kind of difference found in the SP compared to the MT, which is centred on narratives involving Moses. However, unlike the modifications described above, the development of these variations cannot be attributed to Samaritan theology.

4.4 Pre-Samaritan Harmonisations

Tov (2018) distinguishes between three different types of harmonisation found in the Pentateuch of the MT, the LXX and the SP. Firstly, there are harmonisations influenced by the *immediate* context. Secondly, there are harmonisations influenced by the *remote* context, and thirdly, there is harmonisation by the ‘addition or expansion of a subject or object on the basis of the context’ (ibid., 34).

The prime examples of harmonisation based on the *immediate* context are found in Exodus 7-11, which has a striking amount of variation between the SP and the MT. There are seven major expansions in the SP in these chapters, relative to the MT. The first of these comes between Exodus 7:18 and 19, and is an almost verbatim repetition of the text in verses 16-18. In these

⁶¹ There are other Samaritan modifications related to the defence of the cult at Gerizim including two verses which imply a multiplicity of cult sites. In Exod 20:24, the MT’s בְּכֹל־הַמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אֶזְכֹּר אֶת־שְׁמִי ‘in every place where I *cause* my name to be remembered’ becomes the SP’s אֲשֶׁר אֶזְכֹּרְתִי אֶת שְׁמִי ‘in the place where I *caused* my name to be remembered’, and in Leviticus 26:31 the MT’s plural מְקוֹדְשֵׁיכֶם ‘your sanctuaries’ is rendered in the singular (see Waltke 1965, 338).

verses, present in both the MT and the SP, YHWH instructs Moses what to say to Pharaoh to warn him of the plague on the Nile. The MT does not record Moses repeating these words to Pharaoh, but the SP expansion records Moses and Aaron relaying them to Pharaoh verbatim. The same pattern occurs in the warning before several of the other plagues (after Exodus 7:29, 8:19, 9:5, and 9:19). In Exodus 10:3, the MT records Moses and Aaron speaking to Pharaoh *without* first being told what to say by YHWH, whereas the SP supplies this beforehand, and a similar expansion is found in Exodus 11:3. When YHWH instructs Moses to tell Aaron to stretch out his rod, the SP records Moses giving the instruction to Aaron (after Exodus 8:1). As Tov comments, with this amount of repetition, ‘the fullness of the wording is often artificial and even tautological’ (2018, 43). It seems that the reason for these expansions is to make it clear that Moses did exactly everything which YHWH commanded, hence Zahn terms these expansions *command-fulfilments* (2015, 289-290). There is a lack of consistency, however: YHWH gives Moses two messages for the people of Israel in Exodus 6:6-8 and 19:3-6 which are not repeated in the text as he relays them.

A different kind of *command-fulfilment* harmonisation is exemplified in the SP of Numbers 25:4-5. Here, in the MT, YHWH commands Moses:

(14) Numbers 25:4 (MT)

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה קַח אֶת־כָּל־רִאשֵׁי הָעָם וְהוֹקֵעַ אוֹתָם לִיהוָה בְּנֶגַד הַשָּׁמַשׁ

And YHWH said to Moses, ‘Take all the heads (i.e. chiefs) of the people and hang (impale) them before YHWH in the sun.’

However, Moses softens this command:

(15) Numbers 25:5 (MT)

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־שֹׁפְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הֲרִגוּ אִישׁ אֶנְשָׁיו הַנִּצְמָדִים לְבַעַל פְּעוֹר

And he said to the judges of Israel, ‘Each (of you) kill (those of) his men who have bound themselves to Baal Peor.’

The SP modifies the original command from YHWH to make it align with what Moses’ actions:

(16) Numbers 25:4 (SP)

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל מֹשֶׁה אָמַר וַיְהִיגוּ אֶת הָאֲנָשִׁים הַנִּצְמָדִים לְבַעַל פְּעוֹר

And YHWH said to Moses (saying), ‘kill (pl.) the men who have bound themselves to Baal Peor.’

Interestingly, although this verse is attested in one of the pre-Samaritan DSS (4QNum^b, 4Q27), it lacks the modification found in the SP (Jastram 1994, 237). Elsewhere, 4QNum^b has

harmonisations beyond those found in the SP (Tov 2012, 93), so the lack of one here seems to imply that the above change is a Samaritan innovation.

Another set of harmonisations involve a change which is influenced by the *remote* context. These mostly are what Zahn terms *recollection-precedents* (2015, 289). Many of these are influenced by Moses' summarising speech in Deuteronomy 1-3, where a number of events are recalled which are not explicitly recorded in MT Exodus and Numbers, or which did not have the same wording. The pre-Samaritan texts, however, solve this 'problem' by harmonising the narrative in Exodus and Numbers with that of Deuteronomy, in order to make the latter formal quotation of the earlier books, even at the expense of unnatural changes to the text of Exodus and Numbers (Tov 2012, 81). For example, in Deuteronomy 1:6-8 Moses recalls YHWH commanding the people to leave Horeb and enter the land of Canaan. As this explicit command is lacking in the corresponding part of MT Numbers, the SP inserts these verses before Numbers 10:11.⁶² There are cases of such *recollection-precedents* which involve other characters than Moses: Jacob's divinely inspired dream about livestock breeding is recounted to his wives in Genesis 31:10-13 without antecedent. In the SP and the pre-Samaritan text 4QRP^a⁶³, the dream is inserted into the narrative of the previous chapter.

In contrast to the changes associated with Gerizim, these expansions are attested in the extant pre-Samaritan Dead Sea scrolls. The most important of these MSS, 4QpaleoExod^m (4Q22) attests 12 major expansions, including every expansion to Exodus 7-11 listed above where its text is preserved (Skehan, Ulrich and Sanderson 1992, 55). Given that 4QpaleoExod^m and the other pre-Samaritan MSS were found at Qumran, it is unlikely that these texts are directly associated with the Samaritans or their theology. Zahn (2015) shows how this kind of revision was not exclusive to the pre-Samaritan tradition. In the context of the Golden Calf narrative, Exodus 32:9 is absent from most Greek texts, including the major codices, but present in the MT, SP and 4QpaleoExod^m:

(17) Exodus 32:9 (MT)

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה רְאִיתִי אֶת־הָעַם הַזֶּה וְהִנֵּה עִם־קִשְׁה־עֲרֹף הוּא

And YHWH said to Moses, 'I have seen this nation, and behold it is a stiff-necked nation.'

⁶² Anderson and Giles (2012, 85-89) list several more examples of harmonisations across different parts of the Pentateuch, which are attested by the pre-Samaritan DSS where extant.

⁶³ 4QRP^a (4Q364) is a reworked Pentateuch text which shares some characteristics with 4QpaleoExod and the SP (see Tov and White 1994, 193-194; Zahn 2011).

This verse is identical to Deuteronomy 9:13, aside from a change of speaker, and Zahn argues that it was a secondary insertion into the Exodus text, as *recollection-precedent* to Deut 9:13 (ibid., 293). Given the lack of this verse in the Greek texts, this insertion was done at an early stage. A further insertion in the following verse, Exod 32:10, in the SP and 4QpaleoExod^m, adds material from Deut 9:20. The fact that this second insertion is lacking in the MT, shows that this kind of harmonisation took place in different stages of the development and transmission of the texts.⁶⁴

Tov's third category of harmonisation, the addition or expansion of a subject or object based on its context, is found where, for example, the context suggests that two people are being addressed but only one is mentioned. In Exod 10:24 MT, Pharaoh calls for Moses, but in the context of the narrative it is likely that Aaron accompanied him, thus in the SP he summons both Moses and Aaron. Tov suggests that this kind of harmonisation was done at a subconscious level, rather than having an ideological agenda (2018, 34).

In summary, the main concerns behind the harmonisations in the pre-Samaritan texts seem to be *coherence* in the fulfilment of commands, and *self-referentiality* which demands an explicit precedent for later recollections of events (Zahn 2015, 292). The major clusters of significant harmonising pluses occur as *command-fulfilments* within the plague narrative in Exod 7-11, and *recollection-precedents* from Deut 1-3, which are inserted into the corresponding earlier narratives, largely in Numbers.

Tigay (2005) gives another insight into the redactional process, citing the two different accounts of Moses choosing tribal elders in the MT, Exod 18 and Deut 1:9-18. In the former account, Moses follows the advice of his father-in-law Jethro to appoint leaders; in the latter, the initiative comes from Moses himself. In the SP, the Deuteronomy passage is interpolated into Exod 18:25, and is thus placed alongside the Exodus account without replacing it. This is a clear case of *conflation*, 'where a scribe, confronted with variant readings, refuses to choose one over the other but presents them both (usually producing a redundant text)' (ibid., 55). The pre-Samaritan account of the Sinai theophany, Exod 20:18-22j, gives another example of

⁶⁴ Tov (2018, 37-40) gives examples of harmonisation in the LXX of the Pentateuch, and presents evidence that these reflect harmonisation in its Hebrew *Vorlage* rather than the work of a Greek translator. Tov (2019) also points out the many harmonisations which the SP and LXX share in common, arguing that they both reflect a common *text-block* which tends to harmonise and popularise the text, in contrast to the more-conservative proto-MT text block. In contrast he argues that harmonisation is 'minimal' in the MT (2018, 55), pointing to the small number of harmonisations unique to the MT.

conflation.⁶⁵ Here the redactor skilfully weaves the additional dialogue of Deut 5:24-31 into the Exodus text to create a unified whole, which might be difficult to discern as a composite were the original sources unknown (Tigay 2005, 76). Perceptively, Tigay notes how the pre-Samaritan redactions were particularly focussed on reconciling different versions of dialogues; the redactor ‘had little interest in nonverbal action’ (ibid., 77).

To Tigay, a similar process of conflation, not limited to direct discourse, stands behind the text of the proto-MT Pentateuch. This, according to the Documentary Hypothesis, was compiled from several different sources to forge a continuous narrative (ibid., 54). While a source-critical analysis of the Pentateuch lies beyond the scope of this study, Breed (2014) shows how the boundary between the literary composition of the ‘final’ text and subsequent ‘secondary’ changes is arbitrarily drawn, as the same processes which led to a text’s composition continue after its ‘final’ form has been attained. ‘Scholars were always both copyists and authors, always changing and transmitting to various degrees’ (Breed 2014, 21).

So, what insight does the concept of intralingual translation give to the harmonisation in the pre-Samaritan texts? Firstly, the idea of *skopos* is important here, that is ‘the aim or purpose of a translation’ (Vermeer 2004, 229; see section [3.4 above](#)~~3.4 above~~). The majority of the harmonising changes were done intentionally, and these harmonised texts are often characterised as ‘vulgar’ (Kahle 1956) or ‘popularising’ (Tov 2018) in contrast to the more conservative approach of the proto-MT. However, the careful precision shown in harmonisations, such as the near-verbatim duplications and the intricate inter-weaving of differing accounts, leads Ben-Dov to a different conclusion: ‘The duplications are the exact opposite of “free”; they are deliberately executed acts, limited to a very special type of textual difficulties, and use very limited language, mostly quoted from other sections in the Pentateuch’ (2013, 224). And these deliberate actions had a goal or *skopos* in mind. Ben Dov writes of the pre-Samaritan texts:

This early recension was an attempt to produce an academic version of Moses’ writings... a comprehensive effort to smooth out petty narrative difficulties in the Torah, raising the bar of the anticipated perfection to be attained in it. These corrections came mainly in reports of speech acts by Moses or by God, aiming to bring these *logoi* and their fulfilment to perfection. (Ben Dov 2013, 233)

⁶⁵ Unlike the Gerizim commandment earlier in the same chapter, this conflation is attested in 4QpaleoExod^m (Skehan, Ulrich and Sanderson 1992, 102).

Here is a focussed and specific *skopos* for the intralingual translational action of the pre-Samaritan scribes.⁶⁶ Their work was motivated by their concern for the perfection of the Torah, with a focus on the spoken word and its exact fulfilment, especially concerning the speech acts of God and of Moses.⁶⁷

Of course, this is only one of the different *skopoi* which came to guide different stages of the evolution of the SP. I will now return to Complexity Theory to see how a conceptualising a trajectory of translational actions helps us to understand this process.

4.5 A Complex Source System

Samaritan scribes had multiple texts and translations available to them, and to point to a single source for the SP is reductionism. Another reductionist error would be to view the MT as an unchanging standard against which all variants are measured. While the transmission of the MT tradition is generally viewed as being conservative, Judean scribes were not immune to making errors, and occasionally they deliberately modified the proto-MT text in response to theological controversies (as we will see in Deuteronomy 32:8 in the next chapter). Complexity Theory, an important part of my description of intralingual translation, guards us from making reductionist assumptions. It allows for complex incipient systems, where an intralingual translation emerges from a complex interaction of different sources. It also opens the possibility for a continued interaction between texts. Thus, a ‘translation’ may influence subsequent versions of its incipient ‘source text’, or both ‘translation’ and ‘source text’ may evolve differently in their subsequent versions, which may leave the ‘translation’ to be the better witness to the incipient ‘source text’ as it was in the past.

The translation loop model, presented in section [3.73-7](#), conceptualises this complex relation between two translations which share the same incipient system. Figure 2 below applies this model, viewing the SP as an intratranslation of the MT. Starting from the MT, as preserved in the Leningrad Codex, we trace back upstream through the sequence of light blue arrows, which represent subsequent stages of scribal translational activity, back to the common incipient system.

⁶⁶ Zahn (2011) contrasts the SP text tradition with the 4Q Reworked Pentateuch MSS 4QRP^a (4Q158) and 4QRP^b (4Q364). Although these texts share many of the same characteristics, the SP is more conservative than these other MSS, which have more additional material. Zahn concludes: ‘the major alterations in SP nearly all result from a single concern: to increase the consistency of speech events... Outside of their specific concern, they may have been content to leave the text more or less as it stood’ (2011, 173).

⁶⁷ While these harmonisations originate in the pre-Samaritan text tradition, and therefore cannot be attributed to Samaritan theology, they are very much in tune with the great reverence that the Samaritans hold for Moses (see Bóid 1988).

The focus of this study is not the precise identification of the common ancestor of the MT and SP, nor is it the quest to recover or reconstruct the original text. However, it is assumed that there is *common incipient system* from which both the SP and the MT derive. Such a common incipient system includes both the consonantal text and the oral reading tradition.

Oral transmission is also an important factor. I have depicted this as a parallel set of dotted arrows. In the case of the MT, the Masoretes recorded the Tiberian oral tradition of vocalisation, gemination, accents, and *qere* readings which departed from the consonantal text. They then codified and transmitted these as part of their text. While there were some vocalisation marks used on SP manuscripts, the Samaritans do not have an equivalent to the Masoretic standardised vocalisation. However, Ben Ḥayyim's detailed work recording and transliterating part of the SP gives us an insight into this tradition (Ben Ḥayyim 1977).

With such complexity in the translation processes, it is not practical to depict all the possible influences and interactions which lie behind every SP-MT translational variant. For example, Figure 2 does not show the interaction between the textual and oral traditions, nor that between Samaritan and Jewish traditions. However, rather than add further details to an already-complex general picture, it is more profitable to think of the translation of one individual sign at a time. This way we can trace the loop around, upstream from the MT and then downstream to the SP, and look for clues as to where the point of divergence occurred.

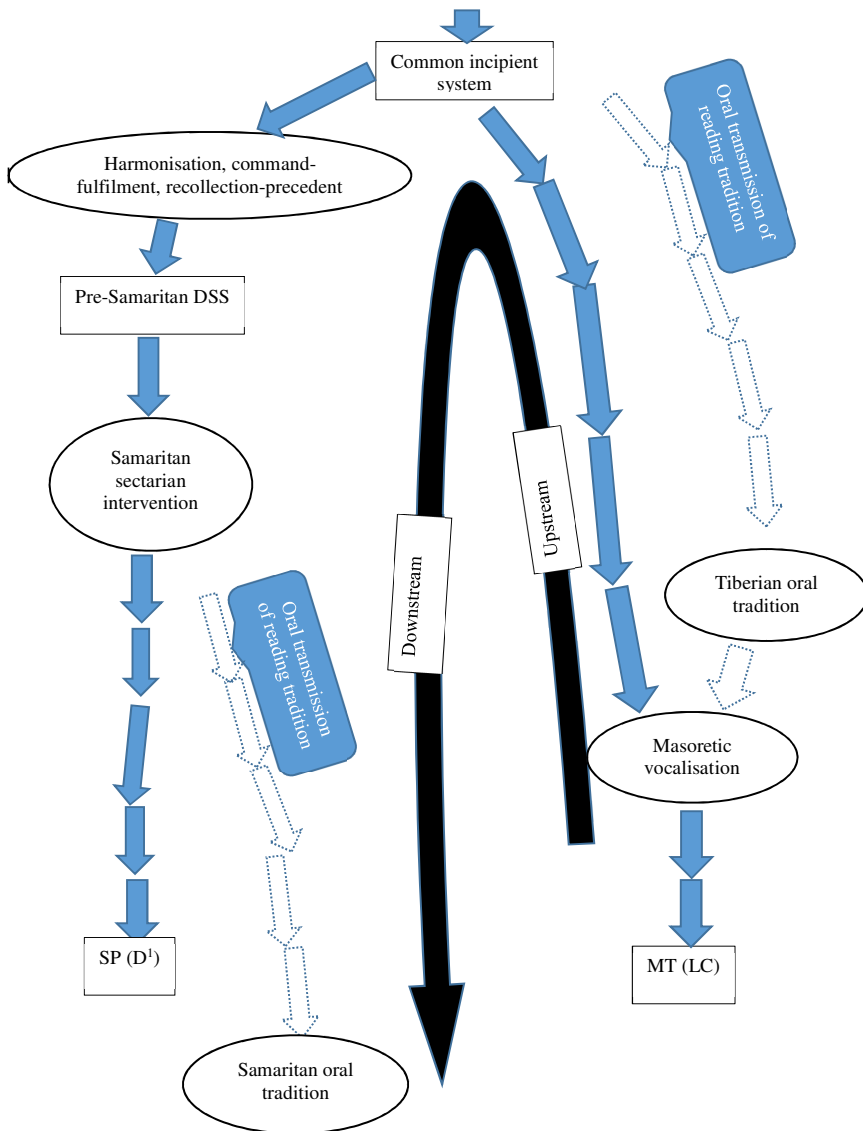


Figure 2: The SP as an Intratranslation of the MT via the Translation Loop

In some situations, the SP and the MT seem *both* to have deviated from their common incipient system in the same way. This model allows us to view these cases in multiple ways. It could be that the proto-MT scribes made a translational change, which was then picked up by

Samaritan scribes who copied it into their tradition. Alternatively, a Samaritan change could have, in theory, been copied into Jewish tradition.

In either case this is a ‘short-circuit’ to our normal loop, i.e. in this instance one does not have to go as far upstream to find the shared source of the two translations. However, there is a third alternative: it is possible *both* translations might have made the *same* choice independently. Presented with a difficult translational problem, a translator will look for a solution. In this way the translator is similar to the mountaineer who, when faced with a challenging rock-face, will look for the easiest route up. Often this route will have been traced before. Jewish and Samaritan translator-scribes might make the same choice when faced with the same dilemma, such as archaic lexical forms or difficult exegesis. They might also be responding to common currents in diachronic language change or theological debate. In this case our loop is not a short circuit, but instead has *two* significant changes of trajectory, one *upstream* and one *downstream*.

When we apply this loop model to a particular translational distinctive of the SP compared with the MT, we are aiming to discern at what point (or points) around the loop the trajectory changed significantly. For these purposes, the more predictable parts of the trajectory need not be shown in detail.

For example, Figure 3 shows the analysis of the בחר ‘chosen’ / יבחר ‘will choose’ distinction in the cult centralisation formula (e.g. in Deut 12:5). While there is no extant witness to this formula in the pre-Samaritan DSS, I have argued in section [4.3.3 above](#) that the imperfective form of the MT is original, and that the perfective form attested in the SP first arose by a process of diachronic semiotic change, and only later took on theological significance to the Samaritans. Thus, the perfective reading (‘has chosen’) is not unique to the SP, and is found in a small selection of MSS outside of the Samaritan tradition. This is an example of a downstream change of trajectory as the significant change occurred between the common incipient system and the SP.

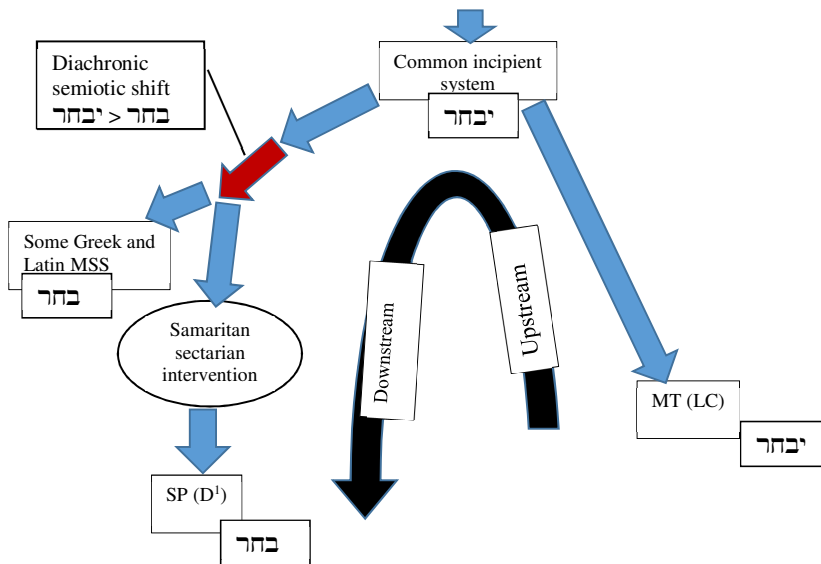


Figure 3: Analysis of the Shift: יבחר (will choose) > בחר (chosen)

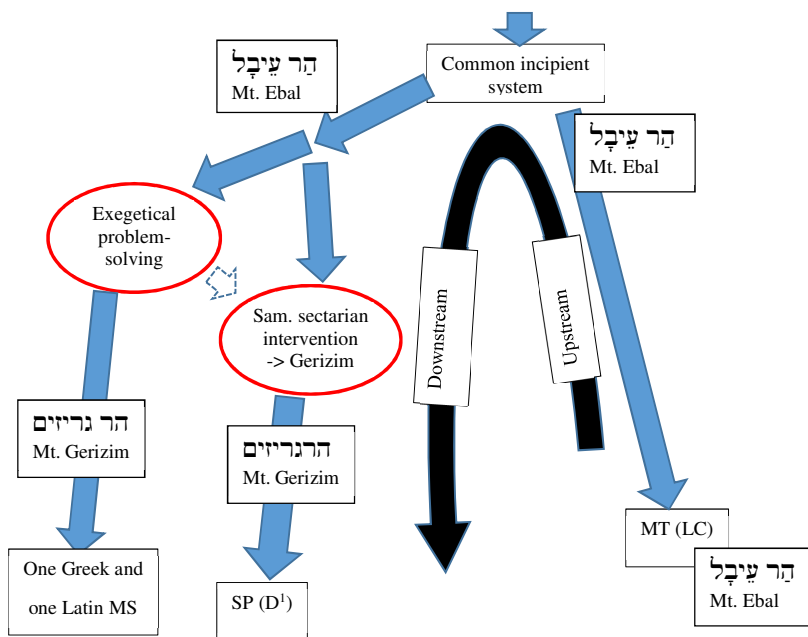


Figure 4: Analysis of the Substitution of 'Gerizim' for 'Ebal' in Deut 27:4

Figure 4 gives an analysis of the substitution of Mount Gerizim for Mount Ebal in Deut 27:4, discussed in section [4.3.2 above](#). Here we see another downstream change in trajectory, where the location for the altar is shifted from Ebal to Gerizim. This shift occurs as a response to the exegetical difficulty of Ebal being used both as a site of cursing and for an altar. Some scribes, probably not Samaritans, responded to this difficulty by substituting Gerizim, the site of blessing, for Ebal. While it is possible that Samaritan scribes had access to other MSS which had already made the change, this is not necessary. Any reader of the text would have sensed the dissonance of the choice of altar location. Alongside this, the Samaritan scribes had additional sectarian reasons for the substitution, as the choice of Mount Gerizim for the central cult was a key Samaritan cultural rich point.

Thus, in summary we have seen how viewing intralingual translational changes as trajectories can help visualise and analyse the different readings found in the MT, the SP, and other witnesses. Taking the MT as our starting point, we work back upstream to the point where the SP and MT share a common incipient system, and then downstream to the SP. In most cases, where there is a significant difference in intralingual translational action, this occurs on the downstream part of the trajectory. This is due to the conservative nature of the MT text, compared to the additional harmonisation and sectarian changes found in the SP. Where a translational change similar to the SP is found in another witness, it is not necessary to posit a direct link between this witness and the SP. While such a link is possible, it is also possible that independent scribes were responding to the *same* translational or exegetical difficulty and arrived at a similar solution.⁶⁸

4.6 Conclusion: the *Skopoi* of the Samaritan Pentateuch

As we have seen, the trajectory of translational actions which led to the SP is complex, involving scribes with varying aims and ideologies along its course. It would be reductionistic to construct a single *skopos* which covers every kind of translational intervention. However, if we look at the level of individual readings where the SP differs from the MT or other relevant witnesses, we can often find that the difference originates with a divergent translational choice at one particular point in the trajectory. As we look at more such cases, we can discern patterns of how particular translator-scribes intervened at different stages. From these patterns we can deduce what they were trying to achieve: the *skopos* of a particular set of scribal interventions.

⁶⁸ One detailed study comparing the harmonisations found in the LXX and the SP concludes that 'since most harmonistic alterations are made on the basis of the context or a parallel reading... they could have occurred independently and coincidentally in the various texts of the Pentateuch' (Kim 1994, 297).

Another set of interventions may have a different *skopos*, as they were done for another reason, possibly by another scribe, at a different time, and perhaps from a very different religious position. Table 3 summarises the kinds of major translational changes between the MT and the SP as a whole.

MT	SP	Upstream / Downstream major translational change	Category (see Table 2)
Aramaic square script	Samaritan paleo-Hebrew script	Upstream: proto-MT tradition changed scripts during the second century BCE. Downstream: Samaritan evolution of paleo-Hebrew script. It is likely that Samaritan scribes re-transcribed square script MSS into paleo-Hebrew.	Transliteration (Intersemiotic)
Tiberian Hebrew phonology	Samaritan Hebrew phonology	Downstream: SH has more significant late features such as guttural weakening.	Intralingual dialectic adjustment
TH grammar	SH grammar	Downstream: modernising tendency is greater in SH, e.g. lack of internal passives, use of pseudo-cohortative.	Intralingual grammatical adjustment
/0/	Samaritan 10 th commandment after Exod 20:17, Deut 5:21	Downstream: creative Samaritan expansion based on Deut 11:29-30 and 27:2-7.	Theological intervention (Purpose-based)
Mt. Ebal (Deut 27:4)	Mt. Gerizim	Downstream: Geographical substitution solving an exegetical problem — a cultural rich point to Samaritans, for whom this change has major theological implications.	Exegetical problem solving (Intersemiotic – geographical substitution) / Theological intervention (Purpose-based)
יבחר 'will choose' Formula in Deut 12:5 etc.	בחר 'has chosen'	Downstream: Diachronic semiotic shift — a sign of possibility (<i>rheme</i>) becomes a sign of actuality (<i>dicent</i>), signifying the Jerusalem temple.	Intersemiotic – diachronic shift in nature of sign
/0/	Major harmonisations: speech acts and their fulfilments, recollection-precedents	Downstream: pre-Samaritan scribal intervention motivated by a desire to perfect the Torah.	Purpose-based – Theological interventions

Table 3: Categorisation of Major Translational Variants in the SP.

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Although we can see different *skopoi* in play, depending on where the major change occurs along the trajectory, it is possible to discern some general tendencies. Firstly, I have attributed the vast majority of these changes to the downstream part of the trajectory. Therefore, the upstream part, from the MT back to the common incipient system, is a relatively conservative path of intralingual translation. The most significant change along this path is the resignification from paleo-Hebrew to Aramaic square script. As for the *skopos* of this translational change, could this be a Jewish reaction against the Samaritans or other sects?⁶⁹ Or should we view the Samaritan retention of a paleo-Hebrew-like script as a reaction against the Jews? Perhaps both of these *skopoi* were in play during the Second Temple period in a complex interaction mirroring the complexities of Judean-Samaritan relations.

The next set of intralingual translational changes we encounter are first found in the pre-Samaritan DSS. The *skopos* here was to perfect the Torah, with a particular focus on the speech acts of YHWH and Moses, and their exact fulfilment. But, rather than *secondary* changes, Tigay (2005) argues that there is a continuation the same kind of scribal activity which led to the composition of the Pentateuch. Breed (2014) shows how the divide between the authoritative ‘final’ form of biblical texts and subsequent *secondary* changes is difficult to define objectively. Depending on one’s theological perspective, later modifications can be seen as ‘corruption’ of an original ‘pristine’ text, as an authoritative part of its composition (Breed 2014, 39), or as a determinative edition of the original text (Tov 2012, 165-169).

Translational changes traditionally attributed to the Samaritans, such as the reading of Mount Gerizim rather than Ebal in Deut 27:4, or the perfective בָּחַר (he has chosen) referring to the central site of the cult, are sometimes found in a minority of texts outside of the Samaritan tradition. Rather than seeing this as evidence for their originality over the MT, intralingual translation allows us to see these changes as independent responses to the same translational challenge. In the above examples, we see the challenge of a perceived problem in the text (the strange choice of Mount Ebal for the altar), or the way a sign in the text is transformed by the passage of time (‘he will choose’ becomes ‘he has chosen’). Thus, Samaritan and non-Samaritan scribes may respond in similar ways to the same translational challenge and may have arrived at the same solution independently. However, as the above translational changes touch on one of the key rich points of Samaritan culture and religion, Samaritan readers would

⁶⁹ So speculates Langlois, who suggests it could have been a reaction against either the Samaritans or the Sadducees, another group who held to the older script (2019, 281-282).

invest a great deal of significance in these distinctive readings. Thus, Samaritan and Jewish scribes might have made the same translational change, but their reasons for doing so (*skopoi*) were quite different.

The process employed in composing the Samaritan tenth commandment is not very different to the pre-Samaritan harmonisations. This carefully crafted expansion uses only texts found elsewhere in the Pentateuch and thus it seems to be subject to the same set of parameters. However, given the central importance of Gerizim to Samaritan identity it is unlikely that the Gerizim commandment was composed outside of their community. The *skopos* for this expansion was to bolster the status the Samaritan cult, particularly in light of the destruction of the Gerizim temple in the late second century BCE.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF DEUTERONOMY 32:1-43 AS AN INTRALINGUAL TRANSLATION

5.1 Introduction

In this section I will look at the SP text of Deuteronomy 32:1-43, comparing it with the MT. I will show how the distinctive readings of the SP could have arisen by a process of intralingual translation. These verses contain the Song of Moses, which gives a final repetition of the covenant in poetic form including the consequences of breaking it. The words of the song are to be taught to the Children of Israel.

The full analysis is presented in Appendix A. For the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch I used Ms Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 751 (henceforth D¹). This manuscript, dated 622 AH (1225 CE), is the best complete manuscript of the SP. For each instance of a difference between the SP and the MT, I have placed the verse number,⁷⁰ with a letter where there are multiple differences in a verse. Next is the location of the text in D¹: first the number of the folio followed by a line number. Next, I have included the consonantal text of D¹, written in the conventional square script. As noted in section 2.6 above, it is important to interpret the SP using Samaritan vocalisation rather than to use Masoretic vowels on the SP consonantal text. Therefore, the next column has a transcription of the Samaritan reading of the text as transcribed by Ben Hayyim (1977). The sixth column has the Masoretic Text (Leningrad Codex) as printed in the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (McCarthy 2007).

Next is a short discussion of the translational variant between the SP and MT. This draws on a number of sources including the textual notes of the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (McCarthy 2007), Ben Hayyim's grammar of Samaritan Hebrew (2000) and Tsedaka and Sullivan's English translation of the SP (2013). Where relevant, I reference textual variants between D¹ and other significant SP MSS, in particular Ms Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 752 (D²), Ms Cambridge, Add 1846 (C¹), Ms London, British Library Or 6461 (L¹) and Ms London, British Library Cotton Claudius B. VIII (L²). I also draw on the textual apparatus of the new critical edition of the SP edited by Stefan Schorch (Schorch, forthcoming).⁷¹

In the final column I have given the salient part of the intralingual translation model which applies to the translational variant. With reference to the translational loop model (see Figure

⁷⁰ Verse numbers are not a convention used by the Samaritans, so the numbering follows Jewish practice.

⁷¹ My thanks to Prof. Schorch for providing me a pre-publication version of the text of Deuteronomy, with some of the apparatus.

2, section 4.54.5), translational variants are marked as upstream (U) or downstream (D) depending on where they occur in the loop. Variants are marked as upstream where the MT has a significant change from the common incipient system and thus the SP is a witness to an older form of the text. For downstream variants, the translational change occurs between the common incipient system and the SP. Given the conservative nature of the transmission of the MT, upstream changes are less common than downstream changes and we can often assume that the text preserved in the MT is the starting point for this downstream translational action. However, on occasion there is evidence, from the LXX and the Qumran MSS, that a change has occurred in the transmission of both the MT *and* the SP. These cases, where neither the MT nor the SP represents the original text, can be viewed in different ways. Firstly, parallel changes could have occurred in the transmission of both the MT (upstream) and the SP (downstream). These could have happened independently in response to the same translational challenge, or there could have been complex interaction between the two text traditions. Alternatively, the translational variant could have already been present when the MT and SP traditions diverged (the MT/SP common incipient system). In this case, other sources such as the LXX or DSS bear witness to an older version of the text than the one present when the MT and SP traditions diverged. These cases are labelled as a ‘complex source system’, recognising the complexity involved in identifying the incipient system of the intralingual translation process.

As we have no attestation of this chapter in the pre-Samaritan DSS, we cannot be certain when downstream translational changes occurred. Thus, we can only speculate on which translational adjustments were made by the pre-Samaritan scribes and which changes were made later by the Samaritans.

All cases where D¹ and the MT of the Leningrad Codex (LC) differ regarding *plene* or defective spelling are listed. However, these are not linked to the intralingual translation model. Although *matres lectionis* are used more frequently in the SP and the MT, there is little consistency regarding their use or non-use between different SP MSS (Florentin 2013a, 448). Indeed, in my analysis of Deut 32:1-43, I found 23 instances where D¹ differs from the LC regarding *plene* or defective spelling. In the same verses, Schorch (forthcoming, 243-251) marks 33 instances where important SP manuscripts differ from D¹ regarding *matres lectionis*. Given the degree of variation within the SP tradition, it is difficult to draw conclusions about *plene* or defective spelling.

The Samaritan Hebrew of the SP and the Tiberian Hebrew (TH) of the MT are different dialects of the same language. Some of these dialectic differences are visible in the consonantal text of the SP when compared to the MT, but some differences are only heard in the respective oral traditions, reflected in the Masoretic vocalisation of the MT and the Samaritan oral tradition. While the oral languages differ greatly in pronunciation, most of the time the SP and the MT are understood in a similar way as can be seen from a side-by-side comparison of English translations such as Tsedaka and Sullivan (2013). Of interest to us here are dialectic variants which result in a change to the consonantal text or where the respective oral readings differ in their syntax or grammatical parsing. In Deut 32:1-43 we see many examples of such dialectic adjustment in the areas of grammar and spelling.

Before I discuss some of the specific translational variants found in the Song of Moses, I will now look at the scribal tradition regarding the layout of the poem in both the Masoretic and Samaritan traditions.

5.2 The Formatting of the Song of Moses in Masoretic and Samaritan Tradition

Having examined many different MT manuscripts, Barthèlemy (1992, lvii-lxviii) found that there were particular scribal rules which dictated the *mise en page* of the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32. Firstly, on the folio where the Song of Moses begins, in more than half of the manuscripts⁷² the poem is preceded by the same six lines of prose from the end of Deut 31 and the first word on the folio is וְאֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה 'and I call as witnesses' from Deut 31:28b, even where this necessitates leaving a gap at the bottom of the previous folio. These six prose lines are written across the full width of the folio without columns, and the first word of each of these lines are fixed, even when this necessitates spacing out the words with non-consonantal markers (see, for example, Figure 5). After these six lines comes a blank line (a *pətuḥah*) before the song starts. The same is true after the poem: first a *pətuḥah*, and then six lines of prose (Deut 32:44-47a) also written without columns.

The above is true for the Leningrad Codex (LC), our main reference text for the MT. However, the LC unfortunately crowds the following poetic lines together with no regard to the syntax of the text or its accents.⁷³ Thankfully, the final chapters of Deuteronomy are preserved in

⁷² Ignoring the MSS which included the Targum along with the Torah, 22 out of 39 MT manuscripts followed this rule exactly and another 4 had traces of this tradition (Barthèlemy 1992: lxi).

⁷³ Due to this 'very free and erratic' formatting of the Song of Moses (McCarthy 2004, 23n9), the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (McCarthy 2007) relied on other MT texts for formatting of the poetic lines (see McCarthy 2004). Thus,

another important MT manuscript, the Aleppo Codex (AC, see Figure 5).⁷⁴ The stichography of poetic lines in the AC aligns much more closely with the poetic structure.

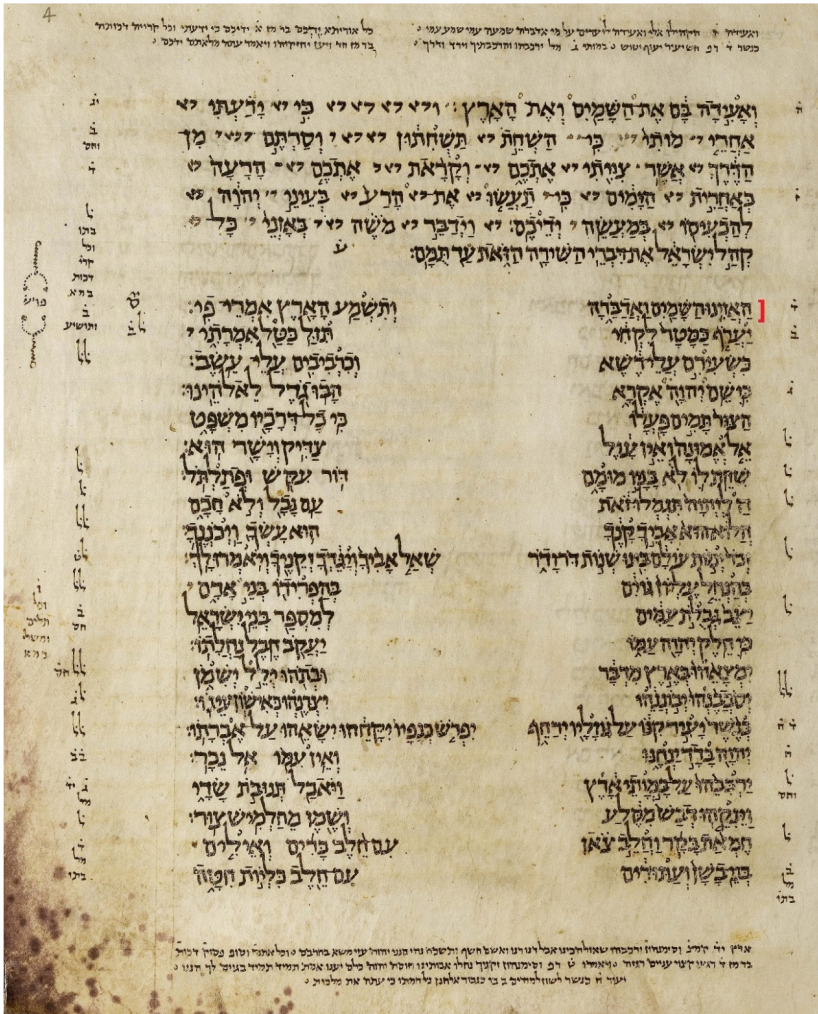


Figure 5: Aleppo Codex (MT) Folio f.4r Showing Deut 31:28b – 32:14b

while the BHQ is a diplomatic presentation of the Leningrad consonantal text and Masoretic apparatus, its formatting of Deuteronomy 32 is eclectic.

⁷⁴ The Aleppo Codex of the Hebrew Bible dates from c.925 CE, and is a very highly regarded MT manuscript. Unfortunately, most of the Pentateuch was lost in a fire in the 1940s, but the end of Deuteronomy and most of the rest of the HB remains. Were it complete, it would rival the later Leningrad Codex (1009 CE) as the standard of the MT (see Barthélemy 1992, iv).

McCarthy (2002, 30) posits that the rules regarding stichography and placement on the page were devised when the Torah was first copied onto scrolls, which traditionally had 42 lines per column. The song itself traditionally had 70 lines, so if one adds the two blank *pətuḥah* lines and the six prose lines before and after, this comes to 84 lines: exactly two columns of the Torah scroll. When codices were introduced, their smaller format only allowed for 21 lines per folio. Thus, although scribes had to adapt their practices to the smaller size available, they retained some aspects of the scroll tradition.

These traditions were codified in detail in the Tractate Sopherim part of the Talmud, which governs the reproduction and recitation of the Hebrew Bible (t. Sop. 12:8-9, Cohen 1965; see also Barthèlemy 1992, lxii). The Tractate Sopherim also dictates the stichographic layout of the poem, giving the first word which should be copied on each line. Each line is divided in the middle by a gap, but the position of the medial gap varies greatly between the different manuscripts and is not prescribed by the Tractate Sopherim. Lind (2013, 167-169) shows how these gaps cannot be relied upon to help interpret the poem. In the AC, the format of the Song of Moses generally follows the standard of the Tractate Sopherim. However, it only has 67 lines rather than required 70: the line breaks of lines 11 and 18 are missing, and the three lines 40-42 are reduced to two. See Appendix B for a detailed comparison of the formatting of the Aleppo Codex (AC), the Tractate Sopherim, and Ms. Dublin Chester Beatty 751 (D¹).

If we view the scribal layout of the poem as a sequence or trajectory of translational choices, we can see how these have been shaped by the physical size of the media used: firstly, through the larger columns of the Torah scrolls, and then the smaller folia of the codices. The Song of Moses, with its immediate narrative frame, was presented across two columns of the Torah scroll. The original *skopos* behind this presentation was a visual reference, linking the Song to the two tablets of the Torah held by Moses (McCarthy 2002, 30).⁷⁵ There is evidence for this stichographic tradition in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as 4QDeut^a attests (see McCarthy 2004, 24). The specific instructions for copying the poem in the Tractate Sopherim show the continued importance placed on the visual presentation of this passage in Talmudic tradition.

The Samaritan scribes set out the first part of the Song of Moses differently to the MT. In D¹ (Figure 6 below), Deut 32:1-4 are on the bottom six lines of the folio. Unlike the MT, there

⁷⁵ Such a visual reference is a non-verbal sign. In Peirce's taxonomy (1955, 116) this would be categorised as an iconic legisign (denoted 311, see [Table 1Table 1](#)).

does not seem to be any pattern regarding where this should appear on the folio.⁷⁶ Prior to the Deut 32:1 there is a blank line (*patuhah*), and above this comes the text of Deut 31:30 on two lines set apart from the previous narrative. Rather than a normal paragraph boundary, the last two words of verse 29 appear on the left-hand side of the page.

Similar formatting is seen in other SP MSS: in C¹ and L² there is a full blank line before and after Deut 31:30, and L¹ has blank lines with a decorative addition. While in D², the separation between Deut 31:29 and 30 is more like a normal paragraph boundary, it seems the majority of SP texts use formatting as a translational tool to emphasise the special nature of Deut 31:30. The text of this verse helps us see the *skopos* for this translational action:

(18) Deut 31:30 (SP)

וידבר משה באזני כל קהל ישראל את דברי השירה הזאת עד תמם

And Moses spoke, in the hearing of all the assembly of Israel, the words of this song until it was finished.

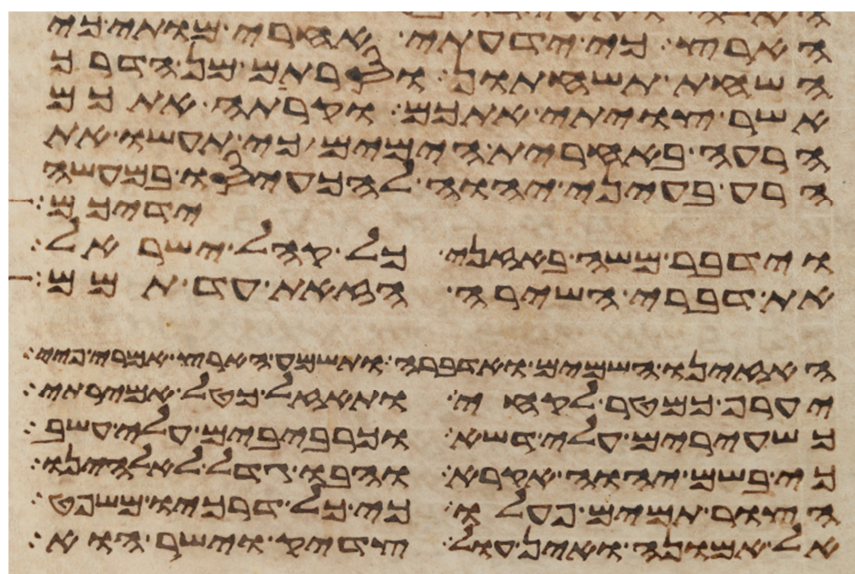


Figure 6: The Bottom Part of Folio f.307v of D¹ (Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 751), showing Deut 31:29 - 32:4.

We have seen elsewhere, for example in the command-fulfilment harmonisations (see Section [4.4 above](#)), that the scribes in the pre-Samaritan tradition were particularly reverent

⁷⁶ The poem starts nine lines from the bottom of a folio in C¹, eight lines from the bottom in D², eight lines from the top in L¹, and twelve lines from the bottom in L².

of Moses' spoken word. As Deut 31:30 introduces a vitally important speech act, the formatting seems to stem from the same general *skopos*. However, we do not have the evidence to say whether this formatting choice stems from the pre-Samaritan tradition or later Samaritan scribal practice.

Appendix B shows a detailed comparison of the initial word of each line of the Song of Moses, Deut 32:1-34, and the word following the medial gap on each line, between the Aleppo Codex (AC) and Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 751 (D¹). Also shown is the initial word for each line as prescribed by the Tractate Sopherim (t. Sop. 12.9, Cohen 1965). Apart from the final folio of the Song of Moses in D¹, which is written by a different hand and formatted with no regard to the poem's structure, there is a strong correspondence between the position of the line breaks in both manuscripts and the Tractate Sopherim. Allowing for minor differences in vocalisation and *waw* conjunctions, D¹ follows the Tractate Sopherim exactly for the first 22 lines of the poem (verses 1-14a), whereas the AC combines two lines together on two occasions. Verses 14b-15a see some departure of both manuscripts from the Tractate Sopherim (lines 23-24). The syntax of verse 14 seems to have posed a problem to Masoretes and Samaritan scribes alike. There are five cola in the verse, thus it breaks the normal pattern and pushes the start of the following verses to the second half of the line.⁷⁷ In AC this continues until verse 39, which also has 5 cola and resets the pattern.⁷⁸

However, the Samaritan scribes were not content to leave so many verses starting mid-line. In verse 15b, D¹ splits a line in two and thus is able to start this verse 16 and the following verses on a new line.⁷⁹ This pattern continues through to the end of D¹ folio 308v. The following folio, f.309r, is formatted very differently: the line breaks are no longer related to the structure of the poem and the medial gaps mostly occur in the middle of words. However, each break between cola is marked by silluq (:), and these continue to correspond to the AC and the Tractate Sopherim. Thus, there is a remarkable degree of consistency between D¹ and the Tractate Sopherim regarding the way the poem is structured.

Other SP manuscripts follow a similar pattern to D¹. C¹ spreads the first line (verse 1) over two lines rather than one, but then is identical to D¹ until verse 14b, where it puts a whole line

⁷⁷ Verse 15 too poses problems, as the MT misses out three words by haplography (see 32:15 (A), Appendix A). The verbal structure of this verse also marks an abrupt change in tone (see Notarius 2012, 199-201).

⁷⁸ McCarthy (2004, 30) cites a Masorah found in a number of MSS reminding the scribe that verses 15-39 started on the second part of each line.

⁷⁹ The Samaritan preference to start each poetic verse on a new line is reflected in the BHS (Elliger and Rudolph 1997, 345-8), which also starts each verse on a new line. The BHQ (McCarthy 2007, 92-98) follows the Masoretic tradition more closely, starting verses from 15-39 mid-line.

before the medial gap and thus gets half a line ahead for a few lines before spacing out a line and resynchronising. Then, they are identical until verse 32b. Similarly, the first point where L² differs from D¹ is verse 14b. D² does not follow this pattern regarding line breaks and medial spaces, but instead uses punctuation to mark the boundaries of cola — these are divided on similar lines to D¹.

While the Samaritans did largely follow the same divisions between lines and cola as prescribed by the Tractate Sopherim, they were not obliged to follow these where they obscured the structure of the text by starting poetic lines in the middle of the page. Whether or not the Samaritans were aware of the Jewish Tractate Sopherim, in their own tradition they were well-attuned to the flow of the text and thus formatted the poem in a way which better reflects its meaning.⁸⁰ This speaks of the care and diligence of the Samaritan scribes and their attention to the syntax and structure of the Song of Moses as they sought to present it on the page.

5.3 Discussion of Selected Translational Variants

5.3.1 Introduction

Appendix A gives a brief analysis of all the translational variants between the MT and the SP in Deuteronomy 32:1-43. In this section, I have selected some of the most significant variants for a more detailed discussion.

5.3.2 Deut 32:2 (A)

יֵעָרֵף כַּמָּטָר לְקָחֵי תִגְלָל כַּטֵּל אִמְרָתִי

May my teaching drip like the rain, may my speech **trickle** like the dew. (MT)

יֵעָרֵף כַּמָּטָר לְקָחֵי וְתֵאָזַל כַּטֵּל אִמְרָתִי

May my teaching drip like the rain, may my speech **go out** like the dew. (SP - D¹)

The verb used here in the MT, תִּגְלַל, is a 3fs imperfective G stem of the verbal root נוּל (to flow, trickle, distil). The verb וְתֵאָזַל in the SP (D¹)⁸¹ is an unusual form. According to Ben Ḥayyim's transcription (wtiyyāzāl), this is vocalised as an N 3fs waw + prefix conjugation of the root אָזַל.⁸² The G form of this stem is intransitive, meaning 'to go away' or 'to disappear', making the N stem an unlikely reading. In addition, the N stem is unattested elsewhere, thus the G stem

⁸⁰ Crown (2013) shows how Samaritan scribes divided up the Pentateuch into sections (*qiṣṣim*), identified by the first word of each section. These divisions have roots in the pre-Samaritan DSS, and can be related to the paragraph divisions of the MT and LXX.

⁸¹ Some important SP MSS here follow the MT, including C⁵, D² and P² (see Schorch forthcoming, 243).

⁸² The 'i' vowel followed by a geminated 'y' is distinctive of the N stem for 1-*aleph* verbs in SH (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 125).

more probable here. This verb is largely restricted to poetry in the Hebrew Bible, though is more commonly used in Aramaic (Lund 1996). We find it later in this chapter in the MT:

כִּי יִרְאֶה כִּי-אָזַל יָד

For he sees that (their) hand (i.e. strength) has **disappeared**. (Deut 32:36)

Here in Deut 32:2 SP (D¹), the verb וַתֵּאָזֵל is in parallel with מִטֵּר עֲרַפּ (drip like the rain), and carries a sense of ‘go out’. Due to the heightened poetic imagery of the MT’s use of נוֹזַל (to flow or distil) in this verse, and the fact that this form appears in several important SP MSS, the MT reading is likely to be original. Thus, the translational variant found in D¹ is a downstream substitution of אָזַל for נוֹזַל. The reason for this change could be an attempt to make the metaphorical language of the poem more explicit. It is interesting that the subject of this poetic imagery is the verbal instruction that proceeds from Moses’ mouth, which is one of the key foci of the pre-Samaritan harmonisations. However, the fact that some key SP MSS follow the MT here suggests that this change came at a later Samaritan stage, perhaps inspired by the same theological impulse which motivated the pre-Samaritan harmonisations. The verbal root אָזַל is more commonly used in Aramaic than in Hebrew, and therefore was in common usage in the Second Temple period. This word rendered the metaphor explicit with the addition of a single consonant.

5.3.3 Deut 32:5

שָׁחַת לָּו לֹא בָנָיו מוֹמָם דָּוָר עֲקָשׁ וּפְתִילָתָל

He (Israel) has **not** acted corruptly towards him (YHWH), his sons their blemish | a corrupt and perverse generation. (MT – Masoretic accents)

On the surface, this difficult verse seems to suggest that the people of Israel were no longer God’s children. McCarthy (2002, 42-43) suggests that this idea was so unpalatable to the Masoretic scribes that they modified the accents to yield the rather awkward MT reading presented above. This places a disjunctive accent on לֹא (not) to negate the verb שָׁחַת (to read: ‘he has not acted corruptly’) rather than what follows. An inconsistency noted in the *masora parva* (marginal notes which indicate the frequency of unusual word forms in the MT), is evidence for a modification. Thus, McCarthy proposes a different accentuation:

שָׁחַת לָּו לֹא בָנָיו מוֹמָם דָּוָר עֲקָשׁ וּפְתִילָתָל

He (Israel) has acted corruptly towards him (YHWH), (they are) his no-sons (because of) their blemish | a corrupt and perverse generation. (MT consonants, accents suggested by McCarthy 2002, 42-43)

Although the consonantal text was not changed in the MT, this change of accents is a theologically motivated translational change in the Masoretic tradition (i.e. an upstream change) which reversed the meaning of a difficult clause in the text.

The SP here reverses two words to yield לֹא לוֹ (not his). In D¹ and some other MSS these two words are surrounded by a less-used punctuation character (ז), perhaps setting לֹא לוֹ apart as a separate clause for clarification. The SP also lacks the 3mp possessive on מוֹם (blemish).

שחתו ז לא לו ז בני מוֹם : דור עקש ופתלתל

They (Israel) have acted corruptly, (they are) not his, children of blemish, | a corrupt and perverse generation. (SP)

While the terse poetic form is still difficult, these downstream changes removed some of the syntactical awkwardness of the consonantal text. The plural form of the verb שחתו yields a more natural reading (given the plural בני). The reversal of לא and לוֹ helps the verse read more smoothly – especially in D¹ which delineates the clause with punctuation. The awkward possessive endings on בני and מוֹם are removed, allowing the more natural construct relation: ‘children of blemish’. These translational changes in the SP attempt to clarify a difficult verse by presenting simplified interpretation of its meaning. However, the unpalatable implication that the Israelites were rejected as God’s children, avoided by the Masoretes, is clearly present in the text.

5.3.4 Deut 32:8 (C)

בְּהִנָּחַל עֲלֵיוֹן גּוֹיִם בְּהַפְרִידוֹ בְּנֵי אָדָם יֵצֵב נְבֻלַת עַמִּים לְמִסְפַּר בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל :

When the Most High caused the nations to inherit, he separated the sons of man, he established the borders of the nations, according to the number of the sons of Israel. (MT)

Here the SP consonantal text is identical to that of the MT. However, at the end of the verse the LXX reads: *κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ* (according to the number of the angels of God) and 4QDeutⁱ reads: בני אלוהים (the sons of God).

The Table of Nations of Genesis 10, descendants of Noah’s sons who were spread out over the earth after the flood, lists seventy different nations. Barthélemy (1963, 295-304) shows how the number seventy was also familiar as the number of gods in the Ugaritic pantheon. These were the sons of the deity Asherah and each was given to be the deity of a particular nation. The reading בני אלוהים, found in 4QDeutⁱ (4Q37), seems to link Genesis 10 to this polytheistic

world view, and the LXX supports this reading.⁸³ Were this the original, it is understandable why monotheistic scribes thought it necessary to modify the Hebrew text.

The other pertinent uses of the number seventy come in Gen 46:27, Exod 1:5 and Deut 10:22. Each of these verses gives seventy as the number of Jacob's descendants at the time he went into Egypt. Thus, the modified text of Deut 32:8 attempts to place a link between the number of the 'sons of Israel' and the Table of Nations in Genesis 10. Barthélemy (1963) believed that numbers in Gen 46:27, Exod 1:5 and Deut 10:22 were all harmonised to seventy as a result of this modification to Deut 32:8, thus they all intimately linked together (*ibid.*, 302). Having established this link, he dates these changes to the Hasmonean era, drawing on evidence from the LXX, the Qumran scrolls and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.⁸⁴ In addition, the common reading of the SP and MT points to a time before the Samaritan textual tradition definitively broke off from the Judean tradition, a separation which Barthélemy dates between the John Hyrcanus' destruction of the Gerizim cult in 107 BCE and the coming of the Romans.

However, Himbaza (2002) questions Barthélemy's line of reasoning. He argues that the numerical harmonisations of the number of Jacob's descendants are independent of Deut 32:8. He also argues that, as Targum Pseudo-Jonathan conflates content from different eras, one cannot draw general conclusions from a Hasmonean reference found elsewhere. Thus, he questions the chain of evidence for Barthélemy's early date for the revision. Himbaza cites the commentary on Gen 11:8 from *Tg. Ps.-J.*, which refers to 'seventy angels, referring to seventy nations each having its own language, and thence the writing of its own hand' (Etheridge 1862-65, 1:190), to support the older reading of Deut 32:8. To Himbaza, the reason for the change in this verse was not a defence of monotheism but rather its use of the term 'angels of God'. The problem with this term stems from the interpretation of Gen 6, Exod 21:6 and 22:7 (Heb). In Genesis 6:1-4, a notoriously difficult passage, בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים (the sons of God) lie with בְּנוֹת־הָאָדָם (the daughters of men) resulting in הַנְּפִלִים (the Nephilim), a race of giants. While the LXX translates this literally, 'οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ' (the sons of God), the Targums here interpret this as 'the sons of the great'.⁸⁵ In Exod 21:6, the legal process requires people to come before

⁸³ The LXX uses the expression 'ἀγγέλων (του) θεοῦ' or an equivalent term to translate בְּנֵי (ה)אֱלֹהִים, in Job 1:6, 2:1 and 38:7.

⁸⁴ Targum Pseudo-Jonathan refers to the 'sons of Israel' reading of this verse, while in the next chapter (Deut 33:11) praises the Hasmonean King John Hyrcanus (see Etheridge 1862-65, 2:675).

⁸⁵ Both *Tg. Onq* and *Tg. Ps.-J.* read בְּנֵי רַבֵּי בְּרִיָּא 'the sons of the great' see Etheridge (1862-65, 1:47, 1:176).

God (הַאֱלֹהִים) to make an oath. However, in the LXX this is interpreted as 'τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ' (God's place of judgement) and the Syriac and Targums read 'judge' or 'judges'.⁸⁶ To Himbaza, these interpretations show an increasing tendency to clarify the distinction between humans and the divine. Usages of term בְּנֵי-הָאֱלֹהִים (sons of god) were interpreted to mean a class of human beings in order to reject the mythology of celestial beings reproducing with humans. Thus, Himbaza posits that scribes were motivated by 'la volonté de rejeter la conception mythologique qui unit les êtres divins aux humains' (the desire to reject the mythological conception which unites divine beings with humans) (2002, 544).

This same impulse led to the theological correction of Deut 32:8 in both the MT and the SP – not because this verse had the same difficult interpretations as Gen 6:1-4, but because it implied that the 'sons of God' were angelic beings. However, as Himbaza acknowledges, the term 'sons of God' is clearly used to mean angelic beings in Job 1:6 and 2:1. And within the Pentateuch, why should the *more* controversial usages of this term, like Gen 6:2, be left untouched in both the MT and the SP while Deut 32:8 warranted a rare change to the consonantal text?

So, to summarise, Barthélemy argued that 'sons of God' was changed to 'sons of Israel' in Deut 32:8, in the Hasmonean era, to avoid the perception of polytheism. This change necessitated the harmonisation of the number of Jacob's descendants elsewhere in the Pentateuch and was transmitted into the Samaritan tradition when this diverged from the Jewish versions. Himbaza agrees that Deut 32:8 was changed, but argues that this was done later, and for a different reason – a reaction against mythological unions between gods and humans, with no connection to the harmonisation of 70 as the number of Jacob's descendants. Himbaza argues that Samaritan scribes saw the same problem and corrected their text in the same way (2002, 546).

Looking at this variant from a translational viewpoint, it is not difficult to see how scribes and translators had difficulty with the term 'sons of God' in Deut 32:8 (as in 4QDeut^j), Genesis 6 and elsewhere. The translators of the LXX, the Peshitta, and the Targums attempted to resolve these problems, but not in a consistent way, and it is not necessary to postulate a different Hebrew *Vorlage* behind these versions. Although Barthélemy's connection between Deut 32:8 and the harmonisation of the number of Jacob's descendants to go in to Egypt is tenuous, so is

⁸⁶ The Peshitta reads ܩܕܝܫܐ (judge), and the Targums read ܩܕܝܫܐܝܢ (the judges) see *Tr. Onq* (Etheridge 1862-65, 1:392), *Tr. Ps.-J.* (ibid., 1:515).

Himbaza's idea that this verse was changed at a late stage while other more contentious verses that contain 'the sons of God' were not. Another problem with Himbaza's late change is the fact that it appears in the Samaritan Pentateuch. It is doubtful that two independent groups of scribes would come to the same conclusion here, while both leaving Gen 6:1-4 alone. A first century CE change crossing the divide from Jews to Samaritans is similarly unlikely. On balance Barthélemy's early date does seem more likely, without relying on his link to the other harmonisations. Tigay (1996, 513-515) agrees that 'sons of God' is original in Deut 32:8, for the same reason as Barthélemy: it was changed by Jewish scribes concerned about the idea of YHWH sharing power with other heavenly beings.

So here the translational change is a scribal theological correction, shared by both the MT and the SP, but antedated by 4QDeut^l and the LXX. The changed text therefore forms part of the shared MT/SP complex source system and the translational change occurs at a point further upstream where it diverged from the text represented by 4QDeut^l and the LXX.

5.3.5 Deut 32:14 (B)

חֲמֵאת בָּקָר וְחֵלֶב צֹאן | עִם־חֵלֶב כְּרִים⁸⁷ | וְאֵילִים | בְּנֵי־בָשָׁן וְעֵתוּדִים |
עִם־חֵלֶב כְּלִיֹּת חֲטָה | וְדָם־עֵנֵב תִּשְׁתֶּה־חֲמֶר:

Curds of (the) cows and milk of the flock | with the fat of young rams and rams | sons of Bashan and goats | with fat, kidneys (kernels) of the wheat | and you drank wine, the blood of the grape. (MT, line divisions as AC, DP)

חמת בקר וחלב צאן | עם חמת כרים | ואילים בני בשן | ועתודים |
עם חלב כליות חטה | ודם ענב תשתה חמר:

Curds of the cows and milk of the flock | with curds of young rams | and rams, sons of Bashan | and goats | with fat, kidneys (kernels) of the wheat | and you drank wine, the blood of the grape. (SP, line divisions as D¹)

At this point in the Song of Moses, the people of Israel are enjoying the rich blessings which God provides for them. However, this verse marks the turning point of the poem, where indulgence leads to pride and self-sufficiency, and in the next verse Israel rejects God and turns to idolatry. This change in theme is marked in the poetic structure of this verse, which has five cola, and therefore breaks the bicola pattern of the rest of the poem. This structural change is particularly prominent in the Masoretic manuscripts which generally follow the pattern of line breaks prescribed by the Tractate Sopherim, such as the Aleppo Codex (AC) and the Damascus

⁸⁷ According to the Tractate Sopherim (t. Sop. 12:8-9, Cohen 1965), a new line should start here before וְאֵילִים, rather than the following word (see Appendix B).

Pentateuch (DP), as the odd number of cola in verse 14 forces the subsequent verses to start in the middle of the line (see Appendix B). Interestingly, AC and DP do not break the line at the same place as the Tractate Sopherim here, leaving וַאֲלֵיִם ‘and rams’ awkwardly divided from the appositional noun phrase which qualifies it: בְּנֵי־בָשָׁן ‘sons of Bashan’.⁸⁸ This line division also leaves וַאֲלֵיִם at the end of the line although marked with a *m^ehuppāk*, a conjunctive accent (see Lind 2013, 7). In Targum Onkelos these two lines, shown here with the MT Hebrew, are interpreted allegorically: ‘with the riches of their princes (עַם־הַלֵּב קָרִים), and the strength of the people of their lands (וַאֲלֵיִם בְּנֵי־בָשָׁן)’ (Etheridge 1862-65, 1:549). Thus, Barthélemy speculates that Masoretic scribes, ‘Ayant ce targum dans l’oreille, aient été tenté de couper après וַאֲלֵיִם, plutôt qu’avant’ (*Having this Targum in their ears, were tempted to cut after וַאֲלֵיִם rather than before*) (1992, lxv, italics his). Therefore, despite the Masoretic accents and the copying traditions of the Tractate Sopherim, this unusual line break is an upstream translational change found in some manuscripts of the Masoretic tradition and is influenced by the Targumic interpretation of this verse.

The SP (D¹) does not place the line break in the same place as AC and DP, but instead breaks the line before וַאֲלֵיִם (see Appendix B) so the colon reads ‘and rams, sons of Bashan’ – this is in accordance with the accents of the Masoretic tradition and the line breaks of the *Sopherim*. This does not imply that the Samaritan scribes followed these traditions, but rather that the line break correctly reflects the sense and structure of the poem, independently of the influence of the Jewish Targum Onkelos.

5.3.6 Deut 32:14 (C)

In addition to the differences in poetic structure discussed above, there are consonantal differences between the MT and SP of verse 14. The first word of the verse has a dialectic difference: הַמֵּאָת (MT) and חֲמַת (SP), which both mean ‘curds’. The SP spelling is due to a difference in accentuation in the construct state of this word in Samaritan Hebrew, as discussed in Appendix A, 32:14 (A). The same word, חֲמַת, is repeated in the second colon of the SP, where the MT reads הַלֵּב ‘fat’. Thus, the SP translates ‘with the curds of rams’,⁸⁹ and the MT,

⁸⁸ The rich pastures of Bashan produced famously fat and healthy livestock (see Ezek 39:18, Amos 4:1), hence the term בְּנֵי בָשָׁן is used poetically to describe the highest quality of meat.

⁸⁹ The SP wording does beg the question of how a dairy product, חֲמַת(א), is related to male כְּרִים ‘young rams’ who, not producing milk or bearing young, are mostly fattened for slaughter. Tsedaka and Sullivan translate this

‘with the fat of rams’. A terse dietary law in Exod 23:19 forbade boiling a young goat in its mother’s milk. In the SP, that law was fortified with the additional: **כי עשה זאת כזבח שכח** ‘for to do this is like forgetting a sacrifice, and it is a transgression against the God of Jacob’. This strengthening of dietary laws may be indicative of a cultural rich point in Samaritan culture, which may have reacted against the implication in Deut 32:14 that dairy products and meat were eaten together; especially as they are linked by the preposition **עם** ‘with’. Hence this downstream intralingual substitution was made, changing ‘fat’ to ‘curds’.

5.3.7 Deut 32:35

Although this variant occurs in verse 35, it is shown here with the previous verse for context:

הֲלֹא־הוּא כְּמִסַּע עֲמֹדֵי חַתָּם בְּאוֹצְרוֹתָי: 35 לִי נִקְמָם וְשִׁלְמִם לְעֵת תְּמוּט רַגְלָם כִּי קָרוֹב יוֹם אִיְדָם וְחָשׂ עֲתִידָת לָמוֹ:

³⁴ Is it not stored up for me | sealed in my treasures. | ³⁵ **Mine** (are) vengeance and recompense | for the time (when) their foot will totter | for the day of disaster is approaching | imminent things hasten up them. (MT)

הֲלוֹא הוּא כְּנוֹס עֲמֹדֵי חַתָּם בְּאוֹצְרוֹתָי 35 לְיוֹם נִקְמָם וְשִׁלְמִם לְעֵת תְּמוּט רַגְלָם כִּי קָרוֹב יוֹם אִיְדָם וְחָשׂ עֲתִידָת לָמוֹ:

³⁴ Is it not stored up for me | sealed in my treasures | ³⁵ **for the day of** vengeance and recompense (wšalləm⁹⁰) | at the time (when) their foot will totter | for the day of disaster is approaching | imminent things hasten up them. (SP)

The key difference between the MT and the SP comes at the start of verse 35 where the MT reads: **לִי** ‘mine,’ but the SP has two additional consonants to read: **לְיוֹם** ‘for the day.’ The MT reading is supported by the Vulgate, the Targums and the Peshitta (Longacre 2009, 3-6). In addition, the MT reading is further supported by two New Testament citations: Romans 12:19 and Hebrews 10:30.⁹¹ However, the LXX reads: *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδουλήσεως ἀνταποδώσω* ‘on the day of judgement I will repay’, which supports the SP reading **לְיוֹם** ‘for the day’.⁹² Tigay (1996, 405n144) suggests the MT reading **לִי**, was an abbreviation of **לְיוֹם**. Tov (2001, 256-7) agrees,

literally as ‘butter of rams’ (2013, 483). Perhaps the term **כְּרִים** is understood here in a more generic way: as ‘lambs of the pasture’ rather than as rams specifically, as **כֶּרֶם** has an alternative sense of ‘pasture’ (Clines 1993-2011, 4:458).

⁹⁰ See Ben Hayyim 1977, 160.

⁹¹ As McCarthy indicates (2007, 150), Paul normally draws on the Hebrew text in his citations in Romans, whereas the Hebrews citations usually cite the LXX. Here, unusually, the Hebrews citation follows the MT over the LXX.

⁹² In addition, 4QPaleoDeut¹ may support the SP reading, but is very difficult to read at the precise point in question (see Longacre 2009, 9).

and gives other examples of possible abbreviations in the MT text, or where the LXX translators read the MT as an abbreviation. However, Tov's other examples show י` being read as an abbreviation for the divine name, which is more understandable than י` meaning 'day' (see Longacre 2009, 10). The prominent time terms עת (time) and יום (day) in the second and third cola of the verse support the SP's reading. More likely is an omission by haplography, given the common ending of ליום and the following word נקם (McCarthy 2007, 150). This omission must have happened early in the text's transmission, given its widespread support in the ancient translations and the New Testament. However, it is predated by text represented by the SP and LXX, thus it is an upstream change in our model.

There is also a difference in the understanding of ושלם, the third word of verse 35. The root שלם and the *binyan* (D stem) is clear, as both the MT and Ben Hayyim's oral SP geminate second radical, and this stem has the meaning 'to repay'. However, there are differences in the grammatical identification of this word. In the MT, this word is pointed as a noun, שָׁלֵם. This is a *hapax legomenon* as a common noun, though, as noted in the Masora Parva, it does occur as a male name elsewhere.⁹³ The SP reads wšalləm, a D infinitive form (Ben Hayyim 2000, 211) or a noun derived from such an infinitive (*ibid.*, 262).⁹⁴ Prefixed by a *waw* conjunction, this infinite can be read as a replacement for a finite verb (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 596), and thus can be read as a separate clause with the first person subject of the verb implied, hence the LXX's ἀνταποδώσω (I will repay). This reading, suggested by Wevers (1995, 528), is also supported in the New Testament quotations cited above (see Longacre 2009, 13). Alternatively, if this infinitive is read nominally, the first part of the verse reads 'for the day of vengeance and recompense'. In Samaritan theology, the eschatological 'Day of Vengeance and Recompense' is rooted in this verse (MacDonald 1964, 381; Anderson and Giles 2002, 117). However, MacDonald suggests that it may have initially been known simply as the 'the Day of Vengeance', only to expand later to 'the Day of Vengeance and Recompense' (1964, 380). It is therefore possible that ושלם was read as a verb at first, in line with the LXX interpretation, but later became to be understood as a noun in the Samaritan tradition. This shift in understanding would not require a difference in vocalisation of the SP. By contrast, the vocalisation שָׁלֵם in the MT, which can only be a rare noun, is questionable, as not only the

⁹³ See BHS (Elliger and Rudolph 1997, 347). The name occurs in Gen 46:24 and Num 26:49.

⁹⁴ Contra McCarthy, who states that the SP presents ושלם only as a noun (2007, 151).

LXX, but also the Targums, the New Testament and almost every ancient version understand **שָׁלַם** as a verbal form in the first person.⁹⁵ While it is possible **שָׁלַם** is a rare archaic form which all the versions struggled to parse, it more likely that it was originally understood verbally and should have been pointed as an infinitive absolute: **שָׁלַם**. Therefore, we have another upstream change here in the Masoretic tradition, an error in vocalisation.

5.3.8 Deut 32:43 (A)

The MT and SP of this verse both reflect an upstream theological change for similar reasons to 32:8 (see above). However, there are more substantial differences between the textual witnesses to this verse.

In 4QDeut^a (4Q44, 2010), which preserves this verse, this text differs significantly from the MT, with six cola to the MT's four. The LXX is even more expansive, with a total of eight cola (see Table 4). Like 32:8, this verse originally referred to a plurality of divine beings. In 4QDeut^a, colon a2 reads **וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִי לוֹ כָּל אֱלֹהִים** 'And worship him, all (you) gods.' This is cited in Ps 97:7, which is dependent on this verse (see McCarthy 2007, 153). The LXX interprets **אֱלֹהִים** as *υἱοὶ θεοῦ*, 'sons of God', but the common source text of the MT and the SP made a more radical intervention: this colon was eliminated for theological reasons along with its parallel first colon, a1, which places 'heavens' in parallel to 'gods'. This was done for the same reasons as the change to 32:8, to remove the possible idea of polytheism. Along with this, 'his sons' in colon b1 was changed to 'his servants' for the same reason.

Colon a3, lacking from 4QDeut^a but present in the *Vorlage* of the LXX, became the first colon in the MT/SP. Tigay (1996, 516-517) argues that this first colon in the MT (a3) lacks a parallel colon, which would be expected given the rest of the structure of the poem. Also expected would be a parallel to colon b2. The LXX and 4QDeut^a additionally show a chiasmic structure of the last four cola, where b1 is in parallel with c2, and b2 with c1, which is lacking in the MT.

The only significant point where the SP differs from the MT is in the last colon, which reads **וְיִכַפֵּר אֶדְמַת עַמּוֹ** 'and he will atone for his people's land', smoothing the more awkward syntax of the MT's **וְיִכַפֵּר אֶדְמַתוֹ עַמּוֹ** 'and he will atone for his land, his people.' While it may be tempting to speculate a link between the SP and 4QDeut^a or LXX which read the same for this

⁹⁵ Longacre (2009, 14-16) proposes **אֲשַׁלֵּם** 'I will recompense' to explain this consistent use of the first person in the versions, but these interpretations may only be attempts to facilitate a terse, archaic text.

final colon, it is not necessary. If we assume that the MT carries the original, more difficult, wording of colon c2 here, the syntax has been smoothed in both the SP as an intralingual translation, and the LXX as an interlingual translation. 4QDeut^a might also have smoothed out the wording, by the omission of a single *waw*.

Colon	MT (SP consonants)	4QDeut ^a (4Q44, 2010)	LXX (Swete 1909)
a1		הֲדַנִּינוּ שָׁמַיִם עִמּוֹ Rejoice, (O) heavens, with him (or 'his people')	εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ἅμα αὐτῷ, Rejoice, (O) heavens, together (with) him
a2		וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִי לוֹ כָּל אֱלֹהִים And worship him, all (you) gods	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ υἱοὶ θεοῦ And worship him, (you) sons of God
a3	הֲרַנִּינוּ גּוֹיִם עִמּוֹ Rejoice, (O) nations, his people		εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, Rejoice (O) nations, with his people
a4			καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ· And be strong in him, all (you) angels of God
b1	כִּי דַם־עַבְדָּיו יִקָּוֶם For he will avenge the blood of his servants	כִּי דַם בְּנָיו יִקָּוֶם For he will avenge the blood of his sons	ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκδικᾶται, For he will avenge the blood of this sons
b2	וְנָקַם יִשָּׁב לְצַרְיוֹ He will avenge and repay his enemies	וְנָקַם יִשָּׁב לְצַרְיוֹ He will avenge and repay his enemies	καὶ ἐκδικήσει, καὶ ἀνταποδώσει δίκην τοῖς ἐχθροῖς And he will wreak vengeance, and repay punishment on the enemies
c1		וְלִמְעַנְאֵיו יִשְׁלַם And repay those who hate him	καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἀνταποδώσει, And repay those who hate (him)
c2	וְכִפֶּר אֶדְמָתוֹ עִמּוֹ And he will atone (for) his land, his people. (MT only)	וְיִכְפֵּר אֶדְמַת עַם And he has atoned for his people's land (SP same as 4QDeut ^a)	καὶ ἐκαθαριεῖ Κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ. And the Lord will cleanse his people's land

Table 4: Comparison of Deut 32:43 in MT/SP, LXX and 4QDeut^a ⁹⁶

So, in summary, there are four different versions of Deut 32:43: the MT, the almost identical SP, the LXX, and 4QDeut^a. Of these, the MT and SP both show major changes from the assumed common source. These significant intralingual translational changes were motivated by theology and the desire to remove the appearance of polytheism. What is most significant to our study is that the MT and the SP follow each other almost identically which is remarkable

⁹⁶ Adapted from Tigay (1996, 516).

given the very different renderings of this verse in the LXX and 4QDeut⁹. As with Deut 32:8, the common source system of the MT/SP had already undergone this upstream, complex theological modification before these two textual traditions diverged. Prior to that point in history, the LXX and the tradition represented by 4QDeut⁹ had already diverged. Thus, we are left without any direct witness to our assumed original *Urtext*, and have to resort to reconstruction.⁹⁷

5.4 Conclusion

Although the intralingual translation model allows us to examine each one as a translation of the other, I chose to examine the SP as an intralingual translation of the MT. In this examination of The Song of Moses in the SP and MT, we have seen translational changes both in the Masoretic and the Samaritan traditions. However, we see many more downstream translational changes in the transmission of the SP than upstream changes in the MT, and this justifies the assumption that the SP is intratranslation of the MT.

We have seen how both Samaritan and Masoretic manuscripts have particular rules regarding the layout of its poetic cola. The Masoretic rules, laid out in the *Sopherim*, specify where the line breaks should occur. These were not universally followed, and the Leningrad Codex, the most commonly used base text of the Hebrew Bible, ignores them completely. However, other important manuscripts like the Aleppo Codex and the Damascus Pentateuch generally follow the pattern of the Tractate Sopherim. Many Samaritan MSS also follow a pattern which resembles the Tractate Sopherim but are independent of it. Again, this is not universally followed, even in our most reliable base text, D¹. This MS changes format completely mid-poem where there is a change of hand, but nonetheless gives indication of the breaks between cola by means of punctuation. After verse 14, which with five cola breaks the normal pattern of the poem, the Masoretic texts are forced to start the following verses mid-line, but the D¹ returns to synchronisation by means of an additional break. This is an example of the flexibility available to Samaritan scribes to fit the formatting of the poem to its meaning – in contrast to more rigid rules codified in the Jewish tradition.

There are many downstream intralingual translational changes in the Samaritan text of the poem. Most of the translational changes help normalise the text and aid its comprehension in light of the dialectic differences between Samaritan and Tiberian Hebrew and the archaic nature

⁹⁷ An alternative view here is to view the different readings as witnesses to different determinative editions of the original text (see Tov 2012, 167). In my model, such determinative editions would be related to each other as subsequent iterations of an intralingual translation process.

of the Hebrew of this poem. Some difficult words are changed where this can be done by a minimal alteration of the consonantal text. Therefore, there is a general *skopos* of standardisation and normalisation in the intralingual translation of the SP, in line with the general characteristics of translated texts (see section [3.53-5](#)).

There are a number of upstream translational changes, where the MT has undergone a significant modification. Some of these can be explained as scribal errors, such as 32:15 (A) and 32:35. In these cases, the SP reflects the common source text more closely. However, there are two major changes, 32:8 (C) and 32:43 (A), which affect *both* the MT and SP. These changes, which become clear when examining evidence from the LXX and DSS, are both motivated by the same theological *skopos*: to avoid the appearance of polytheism.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

6.1 A Translational Paradigm for Intralingual and Intersemiotic Processes

Ferdinand de Saussure's linguistic approach to signs, *semiology*, saw signs as dyads: a *sign* is a *something* (a signal or sound pattern) that means *something* (its signification) (1986, 65-70). In contrast to De Saussure's dyadic approach, Charles Sanders Peirce's *semiotics* saw signs as triads: a sign is something (a *representamen*) that stands for something (the *object*) and is interpreted as something (the *interpretant*) in the mind of an interpreter (1955, 98-100).

Peirce's paradigm is more complex, and therefore harder to understand than De Saussure's. It is also much broader, dealing with all kinds of sign systems; not just linguistic signs (see section [3.23-2](#)). Although Jakobson's definitions of translation (1959) have been hugely influential in the field of translation studies, they were based on a 'skewed interpretation of Peirce' (Marais 2019a, 17) which considered only the translation of linguistic signs.

These two paradigms lead to very different perspectives on translation. The Saussurian paradigm views translation as a process of decoding and encoding linguistic signs – the translator decodes the meaning of a linguistic sign in the original language, and then re-encodes meaning using the sign in another language (e.g. Nida 1964). Marais (2019a) articulates a Peircean view of translation in much more fundamental terms: translation is the process by which the *interpretant* of one sign process is reinterpreted as the *representamen* of another. This covers any sign process of communication, independent of language or even species. Thus, translation is the dynamic process of interpreting and reinterpreting meaning, and we can trace the trajectory of a translational process through a sequence of interpretation and reinterpretation.

Marais's broad view of translation enables us not only to view *intralingual* processes in translational terms, but also to view any *intersemiotic* process – that is, any form of resignification – as a translational action. So, every stage of the transmission and interpretation of the Pentateuch, both in its oral and written forms, is a translational process. This includes: the evolution of the written script, the layout and formatting of its manuscripts, the transmission of the oral reading tradition of the text, intentional modifications to the text for theological reasons, errors of transmission and attempts to correct them, and modernising of the text in response to diachronic changes in the language, along with other kinds of translational

changes.⁹⁸ We can apply descriptive translation theory to all of these changes. Central to this theory is the idea of *skopos* (Reiss and Vermeer 2014, Nord 2018), which is the aim or purpose of a translation. The *skopoi* of the intralingual translation processes relevant to the SP range from the intention to reproduce manuscript exactly, to promoting a particular theological position by creatively modifying its content.

6.2 Is the Samaritan Pentateuch an Intralingual Translation?

6.2.1 *Is Intralingual Translation a Legitimate Description?*

Where we have two different translations which trace back to the same source system, we can place them side by side and compare their translational trajectories (see section [3.73-7](#)). Most major differences between the two translations can be traced to a single point where one or the other has departed from its norms and had a significant change in trajectory. In the case of the Samaritan Pentateuch, there are many more such changes in its transmission than those found in the Masoretic Text. On this basis, it is legitimate to consider the SP as an intralingual translation of the MT. This designation does not imply that the Samaritan scribes started from a Masoretic MS, which would be historically absurd, but it does mean that the MT is the closer of the two MSS to the common source system. However, this model does allow for exceptions. There are a number of occasions, such as Deut 32:35, where either the SP is a better witness to the common source system, and some unusual cases such as Deut 32:8 (C) and Deut 32:43 (A) where the MT and SP share theologically motivated translational changes which are not found in other sources such as the Septuagint or the Dead Sea Scrolls. These cases are complex and warrant further study. They may affect the dating of the divergence of the textual traditions behind the SP and MT.

However, even if it is legitimate to describe the SP as an intralingual translation as I have done here, is this a *helpful* description? If this model merely describes known phenomena without providing new insights, its value as a descriptive paradigm is questionable. The more specific question is then: how is the intralingual translation model any different from traditional textual criticism? Here I will attempt to show some of the insights and benefits of looking at the SP in this way.

⁹⁸ For example, all of Gesenius' eight categories of the SP's variant readings (see section [2.82-8](#)) can be explained in translational terms.

6.2.2 *Insights from an Intersemitic Model of Translation*

Firstly, this model includes all kinds of signs as part of translational activity. Unlike Jakobson's restriction to 'verbal' signs, non-verbal signs are also important aspects of translational activity. We have seen, for example, the layout of poetic lines in Deuteronomy 32 in the Masoretic tradition being used as a visual reference to the tablets of the Torah, even where this led to many verses starting mid-line, while the Samaritan tradition was freer to align poetic lines to the syntax of the poem (see section [5.25.2](#)).

One of the most significant differences between the SP and the MT also lies in the area of non-verbal signs: the different scripts used in the two traditions. In the Jewish scribal tradition, we have seen a major shift in the written language, which was changed from paleo-Hebrew to the Aramaic square script. Changing the written script used by a language is a significant event, typically brought about by the hegemony of a particular empire or worldview. For example, the Latin script of the Roman empire dominates the countries of Western Europe and has been spread throughout the world by colonialism, missionary endeavour, and more recently the internet. Similarly, the Arab conquest and the rise of Islam meant that not only Arabic but also other languages like Persian were written using the Arabic script, and the Soviet Union caused the use of the Cyrillic script in Mongolia and Central Asia (see Warren-Rothlin 2014, Collin 2005).

The Rabbinic view of Hebrew's change of script fits this pattern. The Aramaic square script was used across the ancient Persian empire, and Rabbinic tradition attributes the change of script to Ezra during this period. However, Langlois gives palaeographic and radiocarbon evidence which dates the change much later: in the second century BCE (Langlois 2019). The continued use of the paleo-Hebrew script by the Samaritans, allowing for its natural evolution into the Samaritan script, makes the Jewish change of script used for their holy scriptures all the more surprising, especially given the very conservative scribal traditions that were passed down to the Masoretes. Sociolinguistic studies in contemporary cultures where languages are undergoing a change of script may help shed light on this phenomenon; such as the modern use of Devanagari rather than Arabic script for Urdu in India (Ahmad 2011), and the Arabic script for a variety of languages in West Africa (Warren-Rothlin 2014).

The paleo-Hebrew script continued to be used to represent the Tetragrammaton (YHWH) on a number of MSS written in the Aramaic script, such as 1QPsb, 2QExodb, 4QExodi, 4QLev^e, and even on Greek manuscripts such as 8HevXIIgr (see Tov 2001, 220). Scribes and translators

had a *skopos* behind this archaic use of the paleo-Hebrew script for the divine name. It is an example of the written word being used as a non-verbal sign, thus it is an example of intersemiotic translation, and is worthy of further study. Our model would enable us to examine such translational action using Peircean semiotics, and Complexity Theory allows us to consider this phenomenon as part of the evolution of both the Hebrew written language and the oral and written representation of the divine name.

Meanwhile, Samaritans consciously held onto a version of the paleo-Hebrew script, which started to become distinctive from other widely used versions of the script in the second century BCE (Langlois 2019). As more scholars process Langlois' findings, and as further evidence emerges both from the Judean desert MSS and from epigraphy, further research will be possible. This will shed light on the forces which led the Jews to change their writing style but which the Samaritans were able to resist.

6.2.3 *The Skopos of Intralingual Translational Action*

A second benefit from this description is the concept of *skopos*: the aim and purpose of translational activity. Scribal activity, like all other forms of intra- and interlingual translation, is a purposeful action. Where the *skopos* is to reproduce the original exactly, the scribe still has choices to make, such as deciding which MS best reflects the 'original' text, how to deal with errors or gaps in the text of the MS, and how to deal with dissonance between the written text and the oral tradition. Sometimes we have direct insight into the *skopos* to which Masoretic scribes worked, such as the copying rules codified in the Tractate Sopherim (see section [5.25-2](#)) and at other times we can deduce their *skopos* by analysing the translational decisions they made.

In some instances, other *skopoi* take precedence over exact reproduction, as we have seen both in the Masoretic and Samaritan traditions. Both the MT and SP have the same theologically motivated modifications to Deut 32:8 (see section [5.3.45-3.4](#)) and Deut 32:43 (see section [5.3.85-3.8](#)), which occurred before their point of divergence, but which are evident by comparison with the LXX and the DSS. The pre-Samaritan DSS also made significant additions, which had the *skopos* of perfecting the Torah – this was focussed on ensuring the precise fulfilment of God's commands to Moses, and establishing that Moses' recollections of events in Deuteronomy were exactly as reflected in the earlier narratives of Exodus and Numbers. This *skopos* required these creative expansions only to use content found elsewhere in the Pentateuch with only the most minor modifications.

The Samaritans themselves made further changes to their Pentateuch, some of which had a theologically motivated *skopos*. Many of these changes were centred on their choice of Gerizim rather than Jerusalem as the centre of their cult. This followed the pattern of the pre-Samaritan harmonisations by only using texts from elsewhere in the Pentateuch. However, some of these translational changes are also found in some MSS outside of the Samaritan tradition, such as the formula ‘the place YHWH has chosen’ rather than ‘the place YHWH will choose’, for the future location of the cult in Deuteronomy (see section [4.3.34.3.3](#)). Here, insights from semiotics and translation theory show us that different translators can make the same change independently when confronted with the same difficulty. In this case, it is natural to interpret ‘the place I will choose’, set in the distant past, as referring to a specific chosen place in the present. Therefore, although this change may have been a natural interpretation of original future tense, and may have occurred independently to Jewish and Samaritan scribes, they may have had different *skopoi* in making the change. To Jewish scribes, like the author of Nehemiah who cited the formula in the past tense (see Neh 1:9), it would just be a question of the passage of time, but to Samaritans, choosing the past tense here had a clear theological *skopos* as it touched on a key cultural rich point of their identity.

6.2.4 Comparing Intra- and Interlingual Translations

A third benefit of the intralingual translation model is that it enables us to compare intralingual and interlingual translational processes. For example, the SP and the LXX, an intralingual and an interlingual translation, have similar tendencies towards harmonisation and normalisation. According to the traditional view of textual criticism, this shows that the SP and LXX are part of the same ‘text block’ (Tov 2019) and stem from a similar Hebrew *Vorlage* which is distinguished from the proto-MT. However, the intralingual translation model challenges this view as it allows for complex sources rather than assuming linear relationships between texts and a single source. Traditional textual criticism sees that the key value of the LXX is as a witness to its single Hebrew *Vorlage*. It is widely assumed that there was only one Hebrew text in front of the LXX translators (e.g. Tov 2001, 116; Ziemer 2019, 129). The work of the textual critic, therefore, is to reconstruct this Hebrew *Vorlage* which can then be compared to other Hebrew texts.⁹⁹ Even where Septuagint scholars share this assumption, they disagree strongly on which variants are to be attributed to the work of a translator, and which are due the Hebrew *Vorlage* (Zahn 2020, 147).

⁹⁹ Tov, for example, attributes all of the harmonising pluses of the LXX to its assumed *Vorlage* rather than the work of a translator (2019, 27).

Translation theory shows us that such reconstruction is an impossible task based on false assumptions and reductionistic theories of translation. What if a complex source system of multiple versions of the consonantal text, oral reading traditions, and perhaps previous translations were available to them along with the cultural and religious context in which they worked? Then, through the work of the translators, (their negentropic semiotic work, see section [3.23-2](#)) a Greek translation would emerge from this complex source. Not only is it unjustified to assume a single *Vorlage* of the LXX, traditional textual criticism also makes false assumptions of how translation works. Translation is not a reversible process but, like scrambling an egg, is subject to the Second Law of Thermodynamics. Translation is ‘an offer of information about an offer of information’ (Reiss and Vermeer 2014, 69), done with a particular aim or *skopos* in mind. Based on the *skopos*, the translator selects which aspects of the original offer of information to present in the translation. Therefore, any attempt at a back translation, such as the reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX, will never succeed at fully reversing the translation process.

So, rather than assuming that different *Vorlagen* lie behind the LXX, the SP and the proto-MT, we can see their interrelations in translational terms, whether *inter-* or *intralingual*. As Zahn observes, ‘the activities of Greek translators bear a resemblance to ... the activities of scribes working within a single language’ (2020, 157). This insight is of particular value when we consider difficult or obscure passages. Scribes and translators, faced with a text that is difficult to understand, look for a solution. If the *skopos* they are working to requires exact replication, they will attempt to reproduce the text exactly.¹⁰⁰ If, however, they have another *skopos*, such as facilitating the understanding of the text (e.g. by removing archaic features), or removing apparent inconsistencies in the text (e.g. between events and Moses’ later recollections), scribes and translators made changes to the text they were transmitting. The key insight of translation theory is this: when faced with the same challenge, different translators and scribes may make the same choice independently. This does not mean that they were influenced by each other, rather that there was an alignment of *skopos* which meant they dealt with a *problem* in a similar way. Thus, in the example of the ‘Gerizim’ reading in Deut 27:4, traditional textual criticism sees a common *variant* as is evidence of a direct link between two manuscripts: in this case an Old Latin text and the SP (see section [4.3.24-3-2](#)). However, the translational model sees a

¹⁰⁰ Even the Masoretes, who were very reluctant to change the consonantal text, had other means at their disposal when they doubted the originality of the text, such as the *qere* marginal readings.

common *problem* which different translator-scribes have sought to solve, using common exegesis (Kim 1994, 9).

6.3 Insights into modern Bible translation practice

6.3.1 *Intralingual translation in modern Bible translation*

The model presented in this study can be applied to the contemporary Bible translation endeavour. It is common for modern Bible translation projects to use computer-assisted adaptation to accelerate their progress. If a related language already has the translation of a particular Bible book, a translation project will often adapt its translation into their own dialect as a first draft (Waters 2011a). The software commonly used for this is called 'Adapt It', produced by SIL (Waters 2011b), which is designed to be used by a bilingual translator who has good knowledge of the related language.¹⁰¹ Initially, the translator has to translate every word or phrase manually, but each translation choice is logged in a database. When the translator encounters the same or a similar word they have translated previously, the software will suggest this for their approval, and the process of adaptation accelerates. A translation produced this way is treated as a draft and requires thorough exegetical checking and revision before it is accepted for publication. Such adaptation clearly fits within our model as intralingual translation, especially where the two languages or dialects are closely related.

Some criticise such adaptations and argue that all Bible translation should be done directly from the original biblical languages (e.g. Loba-Mkole 2011). However, this is a reductionist view. As we have seen, intralingual translation plays a part in all Bible translation, whether or not this is explicitly acknowledged (see section [3.7.3-7](#)). Today, initial drafts are often based on versions in English, French or another language of wider communication which are used as a translation model, so the ideal of direct translation is rarely achieved, even though drafts are later checked against the the original Greek, Hebrew and Aramiac (Barnwell 2020, 21). In line with our intralingual translation model, it is best to acknowledge that any translation has a complex source system, rather than to pretend that only the biblical languages were consulted. The selection of the translation model, whether it be a related language used for adaptation or a model translation from a language of wider communication, is vitally important and cannot be ignored. Where languages and cultures span national boundaries, they are subject to different influences. For example, the Fulani people of West Africa are spread across a vast region from Senegal in the west as far as Sudan in the east (Harrison 2003). Large numbers are present in

¹⁰¹ Some similar adaptation features have been integrated into Paratext, the flagship Bible translation software produced by UBS and SIL (Riding and Steenbergen 2011).

Anglophone Nigeria, while most other Fulani live in Francophone countries. Their language, (known variously as Fulfulde, Pular, Fula or Peule), has developed into distinct dialects, many of which have their own Bible translation projects spanning Anglophone and Francophone countries.

In the reductionist view, which regards Bible translations as based purely on the biblical languages, adaptation between different related languages, using tools like ‘Adapt It’, is a good course of action. If a related language translation has already done all of the hard work of exegesis, why should another project repeat it? However, if we acknowledge that all translations have a complex source system, we will be aware of some possible difficulties with this adapted translation. Translations influenced by English versions will look different to those done in a Francophone context. No modern English Bible translation is independent of the previous versions in the language. French versions similarly have aspects of intralingual translation from previous versions, which have evolved differently to those found in English. If, for example, a Fulfulde Bible translation is adapted from an Anglophone into a Francophone context, it may reflect the traditions reflected in English Bibles rather than French. Readers literate in French will spot the difference from their French versions and may look unfavourably on the translation. Therefore, a draft produced this way might require significant reworking, and thus the adaptation process may not save as much effort as envisaged. From this example, we can see how Bible translation strategy can be improved by a clearer conception of how intralingual translation is a factor in *all* Bible translations.

6.3.2 *Intersemiotic translation in modern Bible translation*

The broader view of translation used in this study allows us to research the translation of all kinds of signs, verbal and non-verbal. Not only does this perspective enable us to view the formatting of poetic lines or written script as a translational choice, all kinds of choices governing presentation and physical realisation are now brought into the domain of the translator. For example, what is signified by the colour of a holy book’s cover? In Peirce’s taxonomy of signs (1955, 115), colour is in the most basic category: a *qualisign* or a mere quality (signified ‘111’ in [Table 1](#), section 3.23-2). While traditional Bibles in the western world have black covers, this colour signifies ‘evil and death’ in the Muslim world (Brown 2016, 8; Ross 2017). Green is often chosen for Bibles published in the Muslim world, but what does the colour green communicate? Here, our intersemiotic model would enable us to study such choices as translational actions. Colour, like all *iconic qualisigns* in Peirce’s model, functions at the level of *firstness* alone, where meaning lies with first impressions. The

important factor is the instinctive emotional impact of the colour, rather than any rational argument about its significance. This insight could have important implications for the methodology used for community testing.

To give another example, what is the significance of surrounding text with a decorative border? To some this may be merely an aesthetic choice, but in a Muslim context such a border has a very powerful meaning: the text within the border is sacred and ‘distinct from all human composition’ (Brown 2016, 15).¹⁰² In Peircean terms this is an *indexical sinsign* (also a *dicent*, 222 in [Table 1](#)~~Table 1~~) which physically points to the text it contains and indicates that it is scripture.¹⁰³ These phenomena are an important part of the translator’s work, but, like many other decisions made in the domain of physical and electronic publishing, they are understudied due to the current linguistic bias in translation studies.

6.4 Other Areas for Further Research

The model I have presented in this study could be applied to larger parts of the SP, taking in more evidence from the LXX, the Dead Sea Scrolls and other ancient versions. Differences between these versions can be analysed in translational terms. In particular, it would be fruitful to focus on parts of the Pentateuch attested in the pre-Samaritan DSS such as 4QpaleoExod^m (4Q22), drawing on the work of Longacre (2014) and Kim (1994). This research would give further insight into the trajectory of the development of the SP.

Any model is an approximation of reality, open to further refinement. With further research, my model of intralingual translation could be improved, drawing on Peirce’s later works on semiotics. In particular, I would like to incorporate his idea of a *final interpretant*: the end point of the semiotic process where everything to be learned from the sign process has been learned (Short 2004, 217). This final interpretant is a pragmatic consideration and can always be reinterpreted (Marais 2019a, 118). It would be helpful to explore the concept of ‘re-opening’ a previously ‘closed’ semiotic process, such as when signs are recontextualised in a new culture, to bring more insight into the translation process.

Stemmatology seeks to define fixed relationships between texts before reconstructing the original that stands behind them (Chiesa 2020). There are many reductionistic assumptions behind this model which are characteristic of classical textual criticism in general (see section

¹⁰² Brown also shows how borders were also used on Christian MSS in the Middle East and Bibles translated in the Muslim world in the nineteenth century but only fell out of use in the twentieth century (2016, 24).

¹⁰³ Such visual signs are both iconic and indexical. Naudé highlights the iconicity of such formal aspects of the Qur’an: ‘form and content form a visual image of the message’ (Naudé 2010, 400).

[3.8.13-8.1](#)). By contrast, Editorial Theory (also called New Philology), views each text as a cultural artefact worthy of study in its own right (Lied 2015; Naudé and Miller-Naudé 2016, 2018b; Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2018). The translational model presented in this paper relates texts (and oral traditions) to each other by complex network intra- and interlingual translational processes. Although the complexity of these relations defies comprehensive modelling, often a particular translational difference between two texts can be linked to one significant shift in translational trajectory. This limits the number of inter-textual relations in play at any one time, making analysis possible. Further research, combining Editorial Theory, Complexity Theory, and a less rigid form of Stemmatology, could yield deeper insights into the relations between the different texts of the Hebrew Bible.

APPENDIX A: ANALYSIS OF SP TRANSLATIONAL VARIANTS OF DEUTERONOMY 32:1-34, COMPARED TO THE MT

This table lists and categorises the translational variants between the MT and the SP of the Song of Moses (Deut 32:1-34). For the MT, the text chosen is the Leningrad Codex (LC), as published in the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (McCarthy 2007) and for the SP, Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 751 (D¹). See section [5.15.4](#) for a full description of the table and the methodology used in this analysis.

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
32:1	f307v	20	פִּי	fiyyi	פִּי	SP sometimes adds second yodh as a 1cs possessive ending. This seems to be when sense is literally 'my mouth' (see also Gen 45:12; Num 22:38, 23:12).	(D) Dialectic adjustment.
32:2 (A)		21	וּתְאֹל	wtiyyāzāl	תְּזַל	SP (D ¹): אִזַּלְךָ 'go away, disappear' (as in 32:36 MT). Unattested N stem (as per Ben Ḥayyim) seems unlikely, perhaps G stem. Some other SP MSS as MT: נִזְלַךְ (trickle, flow). SP adds conjunction. See discussion, section 5.3.25.3.2 .	(D) Rewording – Intersemitic.
32:2 (B)		21	אִמְרֹתַי	ēmīrti	אִמְרֹתַי	Samaritan Hebrew noun pattern differs from Tiberian Hebrew, see Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 270.	(D) Dialectic adjustment.
32:2 (C)		22	כַּשְׂעִירִים	kaššīrēm	כַּשְׂעִירִים	SP: plene spelling.	
32:3 (A)		23	בְּשֵׁם	afšam	שֵׁם	Tsedaka and Sullivan (2013, 482) interpret בְּ preposition as adverbial of manner (I will proclaim in the name of Shema). For *av > af for בְּ preposition, see Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 33.	(D) Exegetical adjustment.
32:3 (B)		23	וּדְבֹ	wābu	דְּבֹ	SP: waw + 3mp imperative. This construction is normally only found in a sequence of commands (e.g. Gen 1:22). Here it occurs after a colon with a	(D) Normalisation of clause delineation.

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
						verb in the first person. The waw may simply mark a new clause.	
32:5	f308r	1	שחתו לא לו בני מום	šātu lā lū ¹⁰⁴ bāni mom	שחת לו לא בניו מומם	MT upstream changes: accents changed to avoid theologically difficult reading. SP downstream changes: smooths 3cp -> 3ms verb form, changes order לא לו > לו לא, removes 3ms possessive on בני and awkward 3mp possessive on מום. Hence simplifies difficult reading. See discussion, section 5.3.35-3.3 .	(U) Theological intervention. MT accent change. (D) Normalisation in SP - simplifies difficult reading.
32:6		3	ויכונך	wyēkūnēnāk	ויכונך	SP: plene spelling.	
32:7 (A)		4	זכרו	zēkārū	זכר	In SH, 2mp imperative keeps full vowel on R1 (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 184). SP changes singular > plural to harmonise with plural imperative in second colon (MT: בינו)	(D) Normalisation harmonisation of person.
32:7 (B)		4	יומת	yūmāt	ימות	SP: mater lectionis reflects retained vowel on R1. Vowels are never reduced to shewa in SH (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 61). SP has defective spelling on fpl. ending.	(D) Dialectic adjustment.
32:7 (C)		4	שנת	šēnāt	שנת	SP: defective spelling on fpl. ending.	
32:7 (D)		4	דר ודר	dār-u-dor	דר ודר	SP: defective spelling.	
32:7 (E)		5	ויגידך	wyaggīdāk	ויגידך	SP: H stem retains medial yodh in 3ms imperfective (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 111).	(D) Grammatical adjustment.

¹⁰⁴ Ben Ḥayyim transcribes two different pronunciations of /l/: an alveolo-dental lateral 'l' and an alveolo-velar lateral 'l̥' (2000, 31). These are allophones of the same morpheme (ibid, 10). The fact that he records them can give us confidence in his listening skills and attention to detail.

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
32:8 (A)		6	בהנהיח	bānñil	בְּהִנְיִחַל	SP uses more common form of H infinitive construct of נהחל. MT spelling unique here; elsewhere it retains medial yodh (Deut 21:16, Pro 8:21 and Isa 49:8).	(D) Dialectic adjustment.
32:8 (B)	f308r	7	גנלות	gēbūlot	גְּבֻלוֹת	SP: plene spelling on fpl. ending.	
32:8 (C)		7	בני ישראל	bāni yišrā'ēl	בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	MT, SP same. LXX: κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ. 4QDeut ¹ (4Q37) בני אלוהים. See Barthélemy (1963, 295-304), Tigay (1996, 513-535), who identify this as a scribal theological correction. Barthélemy dates this change to Hasmonaeen times (1963, 303) See discussion, section 5.3.45-3.4 .	(U) Upstream change antedating the common source system shared by MT & SP. Exegetical problem solving: sensitivity to polytheism.
32:9		8	(נחלתו) ישראל	yišrā'ēl	(נְחֻלָּתוֹ) ...	SP (with LXX) additional 'Israel' at end of verse. Seems syntactically redundant, as in MT עמו (his people) is at the end of first colon, and is in parallel with יעקב (Jacob) at start of second colon. However, SP punctuation divides cola after יעקב: 'For YHWH's portion is his people Jacob, the allotment of his heritage is Israel'.	EITHER: (D) exegetical adjustment (both SP and LXX make same addition) OR: (U) exegetical change in MT, SP and LXX reflect earlier source.

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
32:10 (A)		9-10	יאמצהו בארץ המדבר ובתהללות ישמנהו יסבבנהו ויבננהו ויצרנהו כאישן עינו	yāmīṣē'u bārəṣ ammadbār wbattē ālot yāšimennē'u yēsübēbinnē'u wyēbannēnē'u wyāšārinnē'u kā'īšān īnu	ימצאהו בארץ מדבר ובתהו ילל ישמן יסבבנהו יבוננהו יצרנהו כאישן עינו	Whole verse given for context. SP has been translated: 'He shall adopt him in a land of the desert. And in his praises He will put him. He shall encircle him, and He shall make him as His son. And HE shall guard him as the pupil of His eye' (Tsedaka and Sullivan 2013, 482). The MT translates as: 'He shall find him in a desert land, in a howling waste (of) wilderness. He shall surround him and care for him and guard him as the pupil of his eye.'	
32:10 (B)	f308r	9	יאמצהו	yāmīṣē'u	ימצאהו	SP probably וצמץ 3ms D imperfective + 3ms object suffix. This has the sense: 'He will strengthen him'. Ben Ḥayyim (2000, 113-115) postulates a D stem in SH without R2 gemination, even though this doesn't explain for the 'i' vowel in his vocalisation here. Tsedaka and Sullivan interpret this as 'adopt' (see above). LXX: ἀυτάρακησεν, 'he made him self-sufficient'. McCarthy suggests both might be attempts to solve the apparent problem of God finding Israel 'as though it had been "lost" from his sight' (2007, 141).	(D) Exegetical problem solving.
32:10 (C)		9	המדבר	ammadbār	מדבר	SP adds definite article. Articles are commonly omitted in poetry (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 250).	(D) Normalisation of use of definite article.
32:10 (D)		9	ובתהללות ישמנהו	wbattē ālot yāšiminnē'u	ובתהו ילל ישמן	MT reading is difficult ('and in the howling waste of the wilderness' ESV). ילל 'howling' is a <i>hapax legomenon</i> . SP combines two words and modifies	(D) Adjustments to reinterpret an obscure text.

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
						consonants to read: 'and with/in praises' (תהלהלות - 'praises' retains two ל, MT spelling writes one with a dagesh forte e.g. in Deut 26:19.) The verb in SP seems to come from שמון 'to make/become fat' (3ms Qal imperfective), however the vowel pattern fits better with the Qal of שים 'to put' (see Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 151), with an object suffix (ibid., 236). Some SP MSS read ישמנהו with a medial yodh which supports this second interpretation (Schorch forthcoming, 245), and Tsedaka and Sullivan follow this this reading, hence: 'In his praises he will put him' (2013, 482).	
32:10 (E)		10	ויבנהו	wyēbannēnē'u ¹⁰⁵	יבנהו	Ben Ḥayyim argues that the first verb in SP is D of בנן (to adopt), a verb not attested in the MT but with an Arabic cognate (2000, 15; 157n88). However, given his later correction of this vocalisation, it could simply be a defective reading of the MT: D stem of בין (to care for). The addition of conjunction on this and the following verb in the SP makes for easier reading as past tense – changing archaic prefix conjugation preterite (Gianto 2016, 24) for a more common <i>waw</i> + prefix conjugation.	(D) Normalisation of tense.
32:10 (F)	f308r	10	ויצרנהו	wyāṣārinne'u	יצרנהו	יצרנהו wyāṣārinne'u in Ben Ḥayyim's transcription could be derived from צור (hence 'hem in', see Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 173). This reading	(D) Normalisation of tense.

¹⁰⁵ This reading was corrected to 'wyēbannē'u' when cited in Ben Ḥayyim's grammar (2000, 15).

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
						is based on the lack of gemination of 'š'. However, it is difficult to hear gemination from an oral recording, and this could simply be read as the MT's נצַר. For initial <i>waw</i> , normalising the tense, see 32:10 (E) above.	
32:10 (G)		10	כאישן עינו	kā'īšān īnu	כַּאִישׁוֹן עֵינֹו	SP defective spelling.	
32:11 (A)		11	יער	yā'ər	יַעֲרִיר	SP defective spelling (see Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 151).	
32:11 (B)		12	ויקחהו	wyiqqā'ē'u	וַיִּקְחֵהוּ	SP adds conjunction.	(D) Normalisation of clause delineation.
32:13 (A)		14	הארץ	āraṣ	אֶרֶץ	SP adds definite article.	(D) Normalisation of use of definite article.
32:13 (B)		14	יאכלהו	yākilē'u	וַיֹּאכַל	MT: 'He ate', SP: 'He fed him'. H stem (causative) verb in SP harmonises with other causative verbs in verse.	(D) Normalisation of verb form.
32:13 (C)		14	תנופת שדי	tēnūfāt šādi	תְּנוּפַת שְׂדֵי	MT: produce of the field. SP: another word traditionally understood as wave offering. However, Ben Ḥayyim points of a shift from fricative כ to fricative פ which has become lexicalised in SH (2000, 33), which could explain the spelling here.	(D) Dialectic adjustment.
32:14 (A)		16	חמת בקר	āmāt bāqār	חֲמַת בְּקָר	Ben Ḥayyim acknowledges confusion over the reading of the last syllable of חמת, which is pronounced āmāt here, but as āmät later in this verse and also in v24. The reason for the confusion is that the two words חמה (heat, wrath)	(D) Dialectic adjustment.

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
						and חמאה (sour milk, cream, butter) are homophones in the construct form in SH, when the last syllable is not accented (Ben Ḥayyim 1977, 159). This may explain how the aleph in חמאת dropped out in the SP here in both instances in this verse. Note however, that the aleph remains in this word in the SP of Gen 18:8.	
32:14 (B)	f308r	16	ואילים בני בשן	wīlām bāni bāšān	¹⁰⁶ ואילים בני-בשן	(U) Line break moved in AC/DP, influenced by interpretation in Targum Onkelos. See discussion, section 5.3.55-3.5 .	(U) Intersemiotic restructuring: change in poetic structure.
32:14 (C)	f308r	16	עם חמת כרים	am āmāt kīrrām	עם-חלב כרים	SP substitutes חמת (understood as a dairy product, see above) for חלב (fat, choice part of meat). Influence of Exod 23:19, forbidding boiling a young goat in its mother's milk. See discussion, section 5.3.55-3.5 .	(D) Cultural rich point: dietary laws
32:15 (A)		19	יֹאכַל יַעֲקֹב וַיִּשְׁבַּע יִשְׁמָן יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּבְעַט	yā'ūkəl yā:qob wyišba. yišmān yāšāron wyē bāt	וַיִּשְׁמָן יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּבְעַט	McCarthy suggests that first three words of this verse in the MT were lost through haplography (2007, 144). The longer SP reading has some support in the LXX: καὶ ἔφαγεν Ἰακωβ καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη καὶ ἀπελάτισεν, and also 4QPhyl ⁿ : יִן אֵכַל יִן עֲקֹב וַיִּשְׁבַּע (see Milik 1977, 73). For the SP verbal form יֹאכַל see 32:15 (B).	(U) Scribal error in MT. SP, LXX and one DSS reflect an older reading than the MT.
32:15 (B)		19	יֹאכַל... יִשְׁמָן יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּבְעַט	yā'ūkəl ... yišmān yāšāron wyē bāt	וַיִּשְׁמָן יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּבְעַט	Immediately following the above, יִשְׁמָן in the SP is not prefixed by a waw as in the MT. This use of a prefix conjugation for a preterite is characteristic	(U) Normalisation of archaic verbal form in MT.

¹⁰⁶ Line break as per Aleppo Codex (AC), Damascus Pentateuch (DP).

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
						of Archaic Biblical Hebrew (Young 1998, 77; Gianto 2016, 24). The MT modernises this to וַיִּשְׁמֹן . The first verb in of the verse in the SP, יֹאכַל , is similarly an archaic preterite. For the unusual SH vocalisation <i>yā'ūkəl</i> , see Ben Ḥayyim' discussion on I-Aleph verbs (2000, 137-8).	
32:15 (C)		20	שמנת עבית כשית ויטש אלה עשהו	šāmāntā 'ābitā kāšitā wyiṭṭāš ēla 'āšē'u	שִׁמְנַת עֲבִית כְּשִׁית וַיִּטֹּשׁ אֱלֹהֵי עָשְׂהוּ	SP: defective spelling, אלה. MT has this spelling in v17.	
32:15 (D)		21	וינבלו צור ישועתו	wyēnabbēlu šor yēšuwwātu.	וַיִּנְבְּלוּ צֹר יִשְׁעָתוֹ	SP: 3mp form of וינבלו MT has 3ms. Israel/Jeshurun changes person during this verse: 3ms -> 2ms -> 3ms in MT. Perhaps SP use of 3mp form is an attempt to clarify the confusion caused by this change of person. Plene spelling of ישועתו.	(D) Normalisation of person.
32:16		22	ובתועבת יכעסהו	wbattuwwēbot yākīsē'u	בְּתוֹעֵבַת יִכְעִסְהוּ	SP: adds conjunction. Defective spelling of יכעסהו.	(D) Normalisation of clause delineation.
32:17 (B)		24	ולא שערום	!ā šārumma	לֹא שְׁעָרוֹם	Note textual difference in SP - D ¹ includes conjunction, but some other MSS do not (Schorch forthcoming, 247). Ben Ḥayyim's oral recording lacks the conjunction.	(D) Normalisation of clause delineation (some SP MSS).
32:18	f308r	25	תשא	tišša	תִּשֵּׂא	<i>Hapax legomenon</i> in MT. McCarthy (2007, 145) reads MT as 'forget' from נִשְׁדַּח , drawing on the SP which spells this verb elsewhere with ש as R3. Ben Ḥayyim (2000, 164 n98) holds that this is not interpreted as 'forget' in Samaritan tradition (contra. Tsedaka and Sullivan 2013, 483).	(D) Spelling adjustment of difficult word.

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
32:20 (A)	f308v	1	אֶסְתִּיר	astār	אֶסְתִּירָה	SP reads simple imperfective for MT cohortative. (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 175).	(D) Grammatical adjustment.
32:20 (B)		1	וְאֶרְאֶה	wērē'i	אֶרְאֶה	SP adds conjunction.	(D) Normalisation of clause delineation.
32:20 (C)		2	דֹר הַפְּכוֹת הֵם	dor ēfikot imma	דֹר תְּהִפְכוֹת הֵמָּה	For the distinctive SH noun pattern דֹר הַפְּכוֹת see Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 270. הֵם written defectively.	(D) Dialectic adjustment.
32:20 (D)		2	בָּנִים לֹא הָאֵמֶן בָּם	bānəm lā ā:mən bimma	בָּנִים לֹא אֵמֶן בָּם	In the MT אֵמֶן (faithfulness) is pointed as a noun. Reading awkwardly: 'children (having) no faithfulness in them'. The SP adds ה before אֵמֶן, seemingly a definite article. However, Ben Ḥayyim notes that the Samaritan translations do not interpret it as such, and he suggests this could be a H infinitive (2000, 19-20), which could be read verbally: children 'in whom he did not trust' (Clines 1992-2011, 1:318). This seems to have been an attempt to simplify the syntax of the MT, making YHWH the subject.	(D) Grammatical adjustment – change of person
32:21		3	בְּאֵבֵלֵיהֶם	bēbāliyyimma	בְּהִבְלֵיהֶם	SP: with their mournings. MT: with their vanities (i.e. idols). Both would be homophonic in oral SH. MT use of הַבֵּל as a byword for idols is unique in the Pentateuch, though it is in parallel with לֹא אֵל 'non-god'. This usage is common in Isaiah and Jeremiah. Perhaps unfamiliarity with this byword led to a different Samaritan interpretation, referring to mourning practices such as those forbidden in Lev 19:28.	(D) Reinterpretation leading to consonantal change.

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
32:22 (A)	f308v	5	ותוקד	wtūqəd	ותִּיקֵד	Note the vowel change in ותִּיקֵד in the SP. According to Ben Ḥayyim, the pronunciation 'wtūqəd' and its interpretation in the Samaritan Targum show this is read as a H stem, i.e. 'it kindles' (2000, 142). As already noted, there is a preference for the H stem in SH (Waltke 1965, 292). A Hp stem ('it is kindled') might seem better to fit the intransitive use in this sentence (see also Lev. 6:2 in the MT), but Ben Ḥayyim is doubtful that the Hp exists in SH (2000, 101).	(D) Grammatical adjustment.
32:22 (B)		5	עד שאל תחתית	'ad šiyjol tēttət	עַד-שְׂאֹל תַּחְתִּית	SP: Defective spelling of שאל.	
32:22 (C)		6	תאכל ארץ ויבולה תלהט מוסדי הרים	tā'ūkəl āraṣ wyēbūla tēlā'əṭ mūsādi ārəm	וְתֹאכַל אֶרֶץ וְיִבֹלָהּ וְתִלְהֵט מוֹסְדֵי הָרִים	SP lacks conjunctions on תאכל (it will devour) and תלהט (it will scorch/devour). This goes against a more general tendency to add conjunctions in the SP when omitted in poetry in the MT.	(D) Restructuring sentence.
32:23 (A)		7	אספה עליהם רעות	āsēfa 'āliyyimma rā'ot	אֶסְפָּה עָלֵימָו רְעוֹת	SP: more common 3mp pronominal suffix replaces less common, archaic form in MT (Young 1998, 79).	(D) Grammatical normalisation.
32:23 (B)		7	וחצי	wiṣṣi	חֲצִי	SP adds conjunction on second colon, which starts with a fronted noun (my arrows).	(D) Normalisation of clause delineation.
32:24	f308v	8	מזה רעב לחמו רשף קטף מררי	mizze rāb lēmu rēsāf qeṭāf mērārəm	מִזֵּי רָעֵב וּלְחָמֵי רֶשֶׁף וּקְטָפֵי מְרִירֵי	SP divides v24a as two groups of three words, describing two afflictions 'wasting hunger is his food pestilence, destruction of (their) bitternesses (pl. in SP)' (McCarthy 2007, 146). This contrasts with the MT's three groups of two words, as marked by conjunctions missing in the	(D) Restructuring sentence. Dialectic adjustment.

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
						SP. On SH dialectic spelling of קטף see Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 33.	
32:25		11	וינק עם איש שיבה	wānāq am iś šībā	וינק עם איש שיבה	SP adds conjunction to defective spelling of ינק.	(D) Restructuring sentence.
32:26 (A)		12	אפיהם	abbīyyimma	אפיהם	Difficult <i>hapax legomenon</i> , and interpretations rely on an Arabic root meaning to split/cleave (McCarthy 2007, 147). Tsedaka and Sullivan interpret SP, which lacks a medial א, as '(I would have said) to their faces' (2013, 484), though a preposition, such as ל or על, would be expected.	(D) Spelling adjustment of difficult word.
32:26 (B)		12	אשבת	ašbat	אשבתה	1cs imperfective (SP) for MT cohortative form (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 175).	(D) Grammatical adjustment.
32:27 (A)		13	לו לא	lū lā	לוֹלִי	MT's לוֹלִי and SP's לו לא are alternate, synonymic forms for introducing the negative protasis of an irreal conditional clause (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 637).	(D) Dialectic adjustment / Synonymous rewording.
32:27 (B)		13	כעם איבי אגור	kā'os iyyābu ēgor	כעם איב אגור	MT is not marked for definiteness, but this is poetry and it may be implied from the context. The SP, aside from defective spelling of איב, resolves this by adding plus 1cs possessive suffix, 'my enemy'. Perhaps possessive ending added to harmonise with preceding 1cs verb, also with 1cp ending of SP in next clause (see below).	(D) Harmonisation of definiteness / person.

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Hayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
32:27 (C)	f308v	13	פן ינכרו צרינו	fan yēnakkēru ṣārrīnu	פן ינכרו צרינו	SP has 1cp possessive suffix for צרינו 'our adversaries', resolving ambiguity of identifying the 3mp possessor of 'their adversaries' in the MT. MT also has the archaic 3mp poetic form of suffix (see note on 32:23 (A) above).	(D) Exegetical problem solving.
32:28		15	כי גוי אבד עצותם	kī guwwi abbəd iṣūtiyyimma	כי גוי אבד עצות המה	SP: From the SP oral tradition אבד (abbəd) is parsed as a D 3ms perfective verb, rather than the G participle of the MT (Ben Hayyim 1977, 160). The possessive suffix on עצותם also contrasts with the independent pronoun of the MT. Hence, the SP translates: 'for a nation has destroyed their counsel' (Tsedaka and Sullivan 2013, 484). Compared to the MT: 'for they are a nation devoid of counsel'.	(D) Grammatical adjustment. Restructuring of clause.
32:29 (A)		16	לא חכמו	lā 'ākāmu	לו חכמו	SP (with LXX) has simple negative statement 'they were not wise...', whereas MT has a protasis, 'if they were wise...' (see Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 638). McCarthy suggests this could be a misunderstanding or a deliberate exegetical change (2007, 149).	(D) Mis-reading of text OR Exegetical modification.
32:29 (B)		16	וישכלו זאת ויבינו לאחריתם	wyaškīlu zē'ot wyābīnu lā'ēritimmā	וישכלו זאת ויבינו לאחריתם	Both verbs in MT are irrealis yiqtol form (apodosis following from protasis above). Governed by the change above, SP adds conjunction to both. Perhaps this is contrastive in sense ('they were not wise but they will understand this...'). SP has defective spelling of וישכלו, but is still read as H stem.	(D) Harmonisation with reading of first part of verse.
32:30 (A)		17	איך	ik	איכה	SP always uses this spelling (see also Gen 3:9, Deut 7:17, 12:30, 18:21).	(D) Dialectical adjustment.

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
32:30 (B)			אם לא צורם מכרם	am lā šūrimma makkērimma	אם-לא פיר צורם מכרם	SP omits כִּי and thus simplifies the condition.	(D) Normalisation of sentence structure.
32:31		19	פללים	fallālam	פְּלִילִים	Difficult word in MT traditionally read as 'judges'. In Samaritan tradition, the word is understood as deriving from a root meaning 'seeing' (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 254n13), hence 'for their rock is not like our rock, (as even) our enemies see.'	(D) Spelling adjustment of difficult word.
32:32 (A)	f308v	20	ומשדמות עמרה	wmiššādāmot ēmirra	ומשדמת עמרה	SP plene spelling.	
32:32 (B)		21	ענביהם ענבי ראש ואשכלי מדרות למו	ēnābiyyimma ēnābi rē'oš wiškūli mērārot lāmu	ענבמו ענבי-רוש אשכלת מדרת למו	SP preferred 3mp possessive ending on ענביהם. SP: Masculine cs. form of ראש ואשכלי (with conjunction), contrasting fem absolute in MT. (SP uses masc. pl. form in Gen 40:10.) plene spelling.	(D) Grammatical normalisation.
32:33 (A)		22	תנינם	tānīnəm	תנינם	SP plene spelling.	
32:33 (B)		22	וראש פתנים אך זרי	wrē'oš fātānəm ak zarrī	וראש פתנים אךזר	C ³ reads אך זרי אכזרי as one word (rather than אך זרי, Schorch forthcoming, 251) which is a more common spelling of the MT's אֲכִזֵּר 'cruel' (Clines 1993-2011, 1:240). However, D ¹ , D ² , C ¹ , L ¹ , L ² divide the word, supported by the Samaritan Targum, which interprets זרי as derived from זר (stranger) (Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 274). The suffix could be a paragogic <i>yodh</i> (ibid., 281) as on e.g. ראמי (Deut 33:17 SP), perhaps added for euphonic reasons.	(U) Mis-reading of text (D) Dialectic adjustment – paragogic <i>yodh</i>

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
						This could translate: 'and the truly alien venom of vipers'. This is describing 'their wine' from the first colon, and this emphasis the foreignness fits the context: 'their vine comes from Sodom' v32, and may be original. Thus, the MT's word division may be a mis-reading of the text.	
32:34		23	הַלֹּא הוּא כְּנֹס עֲמָדֵי חֲתוּם בְּאוֹצְרֹתַי	ā lū ū kānos immādi 'ātom būšārūti	הַלֹּא הוּא כְּנֹס עֲמָדֵי חֲתוּם בְּאוֹצְרֹתַי	SP: plene spelling of לֹא and חֲתוּם. MT כְּנֹס is a <i>hapax legomenon</i> , and SP reading as כְּנֹס (gather) has support from LXX. However, McCarthy (2007, 150) points to Akkadian evidence supporting the MT, but leading to the same sense. The SP and LXX therefore could be interpreting a difficult word. Dayfani (2018, 11) suggests graphic similarity between <i>mem</i> and <i>nun</i> in paleo-Hebrew is a factor here.	(D) Spelling adjustment of difficult word.
32:35		24	לְיוֹם נָקָם וְשָׁלֵם לְעֵת תְּמוּט רִגְלִים	alyom nēqām wšallem lēt tēmoṭ riglimma	לְיוֹם נָקָם וְשָׁלֵם לְעֵת תְּמוּט רִגְלִים	To McCarthy (2007, 150) the MT is corrupt by haplography, and the SP (and LXX) fit the context better, particularly with לְיוֹם in parallel to לְעֵת. Thus, rather than 'vengeance is mine...' the SP reads 'for the day of vengeance...'. שָׁלֵם MT reads noun 'recompense', but oral SP allows for verbal interpretation. LXX, NT read 'and I will repay'. MT vocalisation error. See discussion, section 5.3.75-3.7 .	(U) לְיוֹם Haplography in MT transmission. SP attests to an older reading. (U) שָׁלֵם MT vocalisation error.
32:37		2	וְאָמְרוּ אִיהָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ	wāmāru ayye ēluwwīmu	וְאָמְרוּ אִיהָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ	SP: 3mp 'and they will say' rather than singular in MT. The SP reflects Targumic tradition (McCarthy 2007, 151). אִיהָ (SP) is an alternative spelling of אִי (see Gen 4:9, for example).	(D) Reinterpretation leading to consonantal change.

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
32:38 (A)	f309r	3	זבחייהם	zēbiyyimma	זְבַחֵיהֶמוּ	SP preferred 3mp possessive ending.	(D) Grammatical normalisation.
32:38 (B)		4	וישתו יין נסכם יקומו ויעזרוכם	wyištu yayyan niskimma yēqūmu wyāzzārūkimma	יִשְׁתּוּ יַיִן נְסִיכֶם יִקְוֹמוּ וְיַעֲזְרוּכֶם	SP plene spellings highlighted.	
32:38 (C)		4	יהיו עליכם סתרה	wyāyyu 'alīkimma sitrā	יְהִי עֲלֵיכֶם סִתְרָה	MT has 3ms jussive יְהִי. The SP has 3mp imperfective, which may be jussive in meaning. The SP's plural better fitting the context, is attested by most witnesses and may be original, with the MT dropping the <i>waw</i> by haplography (McCarthy 2007, 152).	(U) Scribal error.
32:39		7	ואנכי	wānāki	וְאֲנִי	On the fourth and final independent 1cs pronoun of this verse, the SP uses the interchangeable older form of 1cs pronoun.	(D) Synonymous rewording.
32:40		9	אל השמים	al aššāmām	אֶל-שָׁמַיִם	SP uses definite article 'the heavens'.	(D) Normalisation of use of definite article.
32:41		10	אם שנת	am šanti	אִם-שְׁנוֹתַי	In SP grammar geminate verbs share some forms with 2-waw verbs, hence the lack of gemination (see Ben Ḥayyim 2000, 148).	(D) Grammatical adjustment.
32:42		14	פרעת	farrāt	פְּרַעֲוֹת	SP defective spelling.	
32:43 (A)		14-16				While MT and SP are similar, there are significant variations between MT, 4QDeut ^a , and LXX in the number of cola. See discussion, section 5.3.85-3-8 .	
32:43 (B)		15	יקם	yiqqām	יִקְוֹם	SP defective spelling.	

Verse (variant)	D ¹ folio	line	SP (D ¹ / Schorch forthcoming)	SP - oral tradition, Ben Ḥayyim 1977	MT (LC)	Note	Translational variant category. Upstream (U) Downstream (D)
32:43 (C)		16	וְכַפֵּר אֶדְמַת עַמּוֹ	wkāfər ādāmāt 'ammū	וְכַפֵּר אֶדְמַתְוֹ עַמּוֹ	SP: 'and he will cleanse the land of his people'. MT has '... his land [and] his people'. LXX follows SP, and reads more smoothly. See discussion, section 5.3.85-3.8 .	(D) Restructuring sentence.

APPENDIX B: INITIAL WORD OF EACH LINE OF DEUT 32:1-34, AND POSITION OF MEDIAL GAPS MT/SP

This table compares the stichographic structure of the poetic lines of Deut 32:1-34 in the Aleppo Codex of the MT (AC) with Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 751 of the SP (D¹). For each line, the first word is shown, along with the word which follows the gap in the middle of the line. The right-hand column shows the first word of each line as specified in the Tractate Sopherim (t. Sop. 12:8-9, see Cohen 1965), a Talmudic tradition governing the copying and recital of Hebrew scriptures. Asterisks show where the SP differs from the MT consonantal text of these words.

After gap (D ¹)	First word (D ¹)	Line (D ¹)	After gap (AC)	First word (AC)	Line (AC)	Verse (AC)	t. Sop 12.9	Line (Sop)
No gap	הַאֲזִינוּ	f.307v 20	וְהִשְׁמַע	הַאֲזִינוּ	f.4r 7	1	הַאֲזִינוּ	1
	וְהַאֲזִיל	21	תִּזְלַל	יַעֲרֶף	8	2a	יַעֲרוֹף	2
	וְכַרְבִּיבִים	22	וְכַרְבִּיבִים	כְּשַׁעֲרָם	9	2b	כְּשַׁעֲרֵי ם	3
	וְהַבּוּ*	23	הָבוּ	כִּי	10	3	כִּי (שם) הִי (אקרא)	4
	כִּי	24	כִּי	הַצּוֹר	11	4a	הַצּוֹר	5
	צַדִּיק	25	צַדִּיק	אֵל	12	4b	אֵל	6
	דּוֹר	f.308.r 1	דּוֹר	שָׁחַת	13	5	שָׁחַת (לו) (בניו)	7
	עִם	2	עִם	הִלְיָהוּהָ	14	6a	הִלְהִי	8
	הוּא	3	הוּא	הִלּוֹא	15	6b	הִלּוֹא (הוּא)	9
	בִּינוּ	4	A combines 2 lines	זָכַר	16	7a	זָכַר	10
	זָקֵן	5	שָׁאֵל	...	16	7b	שָׁאֵל	11
	בַּהֲפִרְדּוֹ	6	בַּהֲפִרְדּוֹ	בַּהֲנַחֵל	17	8a	בַּהֲנַחֵל	12
	לְמִסְפָּר	7	לְמִסְפָּר	יַצֵּב	18	8b	יַצֵּב	13
	הַבֵּל	8	יַעֲקֹב	כִּי	19	9	כִּי (חלק)	14
	וּבַתְּהַלּוֹת*	9	וּבַתְּהוּ	יַמְצָאֵהוּ	20	10a	יַמְצָאֵהוּ	15
	וַיִּצְרַנְהוּ*	10	יַצְרַנְהוּ	יִסְבְּבָנְהוּ	21	10b	יִסּוּבְבְנֵהוּ ו	16

After gap (D ¹)	First word (D ¹)	Line (D ¹)	After gap (AC)	First word (AC)	Line (AC)	Verse (AC)	t. Sop 12.9	Line (Sop)
וינק	גם	11	אָמַרְתִּי	גַם	18	25c-26a	יונק	42
אשכית*	אמרתי	12	לוֹלִי	אֲשַׁבֵּיתָהּ	19	26b-27a	אשכיתה	43
פן	לוי*	13	פן	פן	20	27b-c	פן	44
ולא	פן	14	כי	וְלֹא	21	27d-28a	ולא	45
ואין	כי	15	לו	וְאֵין	22	28b-29a	ואין	46
ויבינו	לא*	16	אִיכָה	יְבִינּוּ	23	29b-30a	יבינו	47
ושנים	איך*	17	אם	וְשָׁנִים	24	30b-c	ושנים	48
ויהוה	אם	18	כי	וְיִהְיֶה	25	30d-31a	וה'	49
ואיבינו	כי	19	כי	וְאִיבִינוּ	26	31b-32a	ואיבינו	50
ומשדמות	כי	20	עֲנַבְמוּ	וּמִשְׁדָּמַת	27	32b-c	ומשדמות	51
ואשכלי*	ענביהם*	21	חמת	אֲשַׁכֵּלָהּ	28	32d-33a	אשכלות	52
וראש	המת	22	הלא	וְרֹאשׁ	f.5r 1	33b-34a	וראש	53
התום	הלוא	23	לי	חֶתוּם	2	34b-35a	חתום	54
לעת	ליום*	24	כי	לְעֵת	3	35b-c	לעת	55
והש	כי	25	כי	וְחֶשׁ	4	35d-36a	וחש	56
ועל	כי	26	כי	וְעַל	5	36b-c	ועל	57

(D¹ changes hand and format on this folio, cola boundaries now indicated by punctuation.¹⁰⁷)

Second colon on line (D ¹)	First colon on line (D ¹)	Line (D ¹)	After gap (AC)	First word (AC)	Line (AC)	Verse (AC)	t. Sop 12.9	Line (Sop)
ואפס	כי	f.309r 1	וְאָמַר	וְאָפֵס	6	36d-37a	ואפס	58
צור	ואמריו*	2	אָשָׁר	צוֹר	7	37b-38a	צור	59
	אשר	3	יְקוֹמוּ	יִשְׁתּוּ	8	38b-c	ישתו	60

¹⁰⁷ This folio, along with the remaining few folia of (D¹, are written by a different hand to the previous ones, and are less worn (perhaps indicating a repair). In contrast to the previous folia, there is little regard for the syntax of the poem in the line divisions, and the medial gaps often occur mid-word. However, the cola boundaries are clearly marked with a *silluq* (·), and these are shown here.

Second colon on line (D ¹)	First colon on line (D ¹)	Line (D ¹)	After gap (AC)	First word (AC)	Line (AC)	Verse (AC)	t. Sop 12.9	Line (Sop)
יקומו	וישתו*	4	ראו	יהי	9	38d-39a	יהי (עליכם) (61
ראו	ויהיו*	5	אני	ואין	10	39b-c	ואין (אלהים) (עמדי)	62
	ואין	6	ואין	מחצתי	11	39d-e	מחצתי	63
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