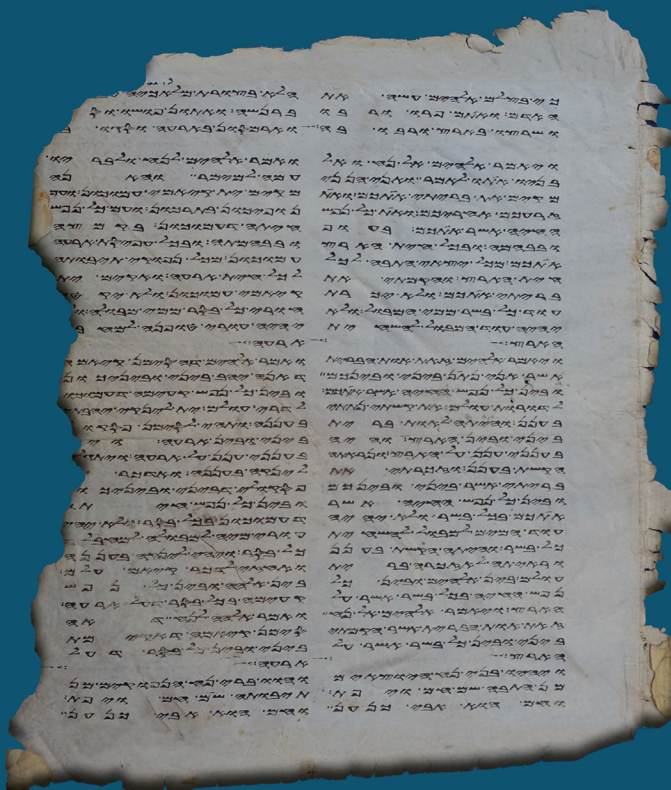# The Samaritan Pentateuch

## An English Translation with a Parallel Annotated Hebrew Text

### Moshe Florentin and Abraham Tal



UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE
Faculty of Asian and Middle
Eastern Studies

https://www.openbookpublishers.com

©2024 Moshe Florentin and Abraham Tal

Cover image: Garrett Collection (Princeton University library) Samaritan 48, p.1. Right column: Gen. 9:6b – 18. Left column: Aramaic Targum of these verses.

Cover design: Jeevanjot Kaur Nagpal

The fonts used in this volume are Charis SIL, SBL Hebrew, SBL Greek and Scheherazade New.

# ENDNOTES

**Genesis 1**

**11** וּעֵץ] MT עֵץ ‒וּ. SP's *waw* conjunctive clarifies the syntactic structure of the sentence, preventing understanding of the noun עץ 'tree' as an appositive of עשב 'herb'.

**14** להאיר על הארץ ולהבדיל] MT לְהַבְדִּיל. SP harmonises with v. 15.

**28** החיה DEF] MT חַיָּה INDEF. The use of the definite article in SP is in line with בכל החיה ההלכת in Lev. 11.27.

**29** זריע *zå̊ᵊrī* (twice) *qal* PT PASS] MT זֹרֵעַ *qal* PT. The SP passive participle functions as the attribute of the preceding 'plant'; likewise, the following זריע, in reference to the fruit of trees.

**30** הרמש *arrēmᵊš* N *רֹמֵשׂ [MT רֹמֵשׂ *qal* PT '(everything that) creeps'. The definite article aligns the noun with the previous nouns, which are determined by force of their *nomen rectum*.

**Genesis 2**

**4** שמים וארץ] MT אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמָיִם 'earth and heaven'. The SP word order follows that of v. 1.

**7** אדם *å̊då̊m* PROP N] MT הָאָדָם 'the man'. The Samaritan tradition considers the present instance of אדם a proper noun, distinct from the common noun 'man' articulated in the first hemistich (=MT). This is reflected in SAV آدم, as opposed to الانسان 'the man'. ST is inconclusive, due to the poor state of the few extant ancient manuscripts. LXX has ὁ ἄνθρωπος and Vulgate *homo* in both instances. To be sure, SAV treats both אדם and האדם as proper names in most of their occurrences. See, however, Gen. 3.8.

**14** הדקל // MT חִדֶּקֶל. The initial ח in MT חִדֶּקֶל is hardly justified, given the Akkadian *diglat*, Targumic דקלת/דגלת, Josephus's Διγλαθ (Ant. 1.39), etc. One may assume that SP הדקל, pronounced *addēqᵊl*, is not simply another instance of the erosion of the gutturals in SH, which changed ח to ה, but a reflection of the actual form of the noun. SP adopted the current form, and its initial ה represents the article, as SAV الدجلة (var. دجلة) attests. This understanding is not shared by ST, as the corrupted manuscript shows: [ל]ק[ד]ח (the other extant manuscript has the cryptic קפלוסה).

**21** תחתיה] MT תַּחְתֶּֽנָּה. SP rejects MT's linking of the verbal pronominal suffix ־נה to the preposition תחת (for the scarcity of this phenomenon see GKC §103d).

**25** ערמים *ʿārēməm* ≈ MT עֲרוּמִּ֑ים (MORPH). As far as nominal (viz. adjectival) patterns are concerned, MT makes little distinction between the present עֲרוּמִים and עֵירֻמִּם in Gen. 3.7. Both forms mean 'naked', although the former reflects the singular עָרֹם\*, while the latter, with an unchangeable vowel in its initial syllable, is the plural of עֵירֹם (Gen. 3.10–11). The despicable character of the serpent is represented by a totally different form, עָרוּם (Gen. 3.1), which has no plural in the Pentateuch (see, however, עֲרוּמִים in Job 5.12, etc.). SP is more consistent, inasmuch as the singular is always *ʿārom*, whether 'naked' (Gen. 3.10–11) or 'subtle' (Gen. 3.1), and the plural *ʿārēməm*. The singular abstract noun *ʿārom* 'nakedness' (MT עֵירֹם) occurs in Deut. 28.48.

## Genesis 3

**7** עלי *ʿāli* PL] MT עֲלֵה SG. The final *yod* may be intended to emphasise the plural construct, which is latent in the pseudo-singular of MT עֲלֵה. The variant עלי occurs in many manuscripts of SP, too. Accordingly, ST renders עלי as טרפי. Actually, SH does not discern between the singular עלה and the plural עלי, both being pronounced *ʿāli*. Undoubtedly, in Gen. 8.11 the spelling עלי denotes the singular.

**8** לרוח *alrēba* N *רוַּח\**] MT לְרוּחַ 'at the breeze (of the day)'. SAV طول النهار follows this reading. Note that the noun רוּחַ is pronounced *rū* (Gen. 1.2).

**9** איכה *īka* INTERROG] MT אַיֶּכָּה INTERROG OF PLACE + PRON 2MSG 'where are you?' In contrast with MT אַיֶּכָּה 'where are you?', the SP pronunciation is *īka*, equivalent to MT אֵיכָה 'how' (cf. Deut. 1.12). This avoids the notion of God's ignorance of Adam's whereabouts. Accordingly, MS E of the ST renders the word איך את, as does SAV according to AS كيف انت. However, the older ST (MS J) has איכה, and, according to AH, SAV renders איכה as אין אנת, i.e., اين انت 'Where are you?', in line with MT (the expected Samaritan form equivalent to MT locative אַיֶּכָּה is \**ayyåk*).

**13** עשיתי *ʿaššīti* PF 2FSG (*GSH* §2.0.13) ≈ MT עָשִׂית (MORPH). The afformative תי- of the PF 2FSG is standard in SP (*GSH* §2.0.13), but rare in MT (GKC §§44h–i).

**16** והריונך *warriyyūnək*] MT וְהֵרֹנֵךְ. Contrasting with MT's irregular הֵרֹנֵךְ, SP prefers a suffixed form of common הריון, according to the standard MT form (cf. Ruth 4.13; Hos. 9.11), also frequent in Mishnaic Hebrew (e.g., Mekh. Nez. 8).

בעצבון] MT בְּעֶצֶב. SP apparently harmonises with עצבונך in the same verse and with בעצבון in v. 17. Yet, the choice is probably also motivated by the fact that עצב is merely a state of mind, viz. 'sadness' (Gen. 6.6; 34.7; 45.5, etc.) while the intended meaning here is 'toil, travail' (Gen. 5.29).

תשוקתך *tēšūqāttək*] MT תְּשׁוּקָתֵךְ 'your desire'. ST renders the word עזרותיך (spelling of חזרותיך) 'your return', as if the *Vorlage* were תשובתך. This understanding is shared by Onqelos and LXX. Actually, חזרותיך may well mean 'desire', as the verb חזר denotes 'longing' in Rabbinic Hebrew, e.g., Bab. Talmud Qiddushin 2ᵇ (see Asatir, 175). תשובה and תשוקה interchange in Qumran Hebrew, e.g., Manual of Discipline 11.22 has ולעפר תשובתו, while Hodayot 18.4 reads ולעפר תשוקתו. The pronunciation *tēšūqāttək* exhibits an uncommon geminated ת (*GSH* §1.5.3.3, d). On the meaning 'walking' of שו"ק see Ben-Ḥayyim (1973–1974, 51).

**Chapter 4**

**1** את 3° *at* PREP 'with, from' = MT אֵת. Contrary to Masoretic Hebrew, which has no distinction between the *nota accusativi* אֵת and the preposition אֵת (meaning עִם 'with', מִן 'from'), SH has *it* for the former and *at* for the latter (*GSH* §7.3). Accordingly, ST renders the phrase קנית אנש מן יהוה 'I have gained a man from the Lord' (var. מלכת גבר מיהוה). Actually, this is how Jewish exegesis perceives the word, too. ⇓ Exod. 1.7.

**2** רעי *rāʿi* SG CSTR ≈ MT רֹעֵה (PHON). The SP spelling reflects the pronunciation *rāʿi*. The spelling רעה is found in other SP manuscripts (cf. עלי Gen. 8.11).

**7** לפתח *alfēta* INDEF] MT לַפֶּתַח DEF. Indefinite in pronunciation, *alfēta* forms with the following חטאת a construct sequence, denoting the place where Cain, the subject of the

whole phrase, is commanded to crouch. In MT the subject is חַטָּאת, which lies at the door (לַפֶּתַח) in ambush.

רבץ *rēbåṣ* IMV] MT רֹבֵץ PT. The MT participle רֹבֵץ is the predicate of the subject חַטָּאת. SP has the imperative *rēbåṣ*, addressed to Cain.

**9** איה *ayye*] MT אֵי. MT אֵי does not exist in SP.

**14** אסתיר *issåtər nif* ≈ MT אֶסָּתֵר. The pronunciation *issåtər* indicates the passive *nifꜥal*, in line with MT, rather than the apparent *hifꜥil*. The spelling אסתר is found in other SP manuscripts.

**16** בארץ *båråṣ* DEF?] MT בְּאֶרֶץ INDEF. Modern pronunciation *båråṣ* connects the word to the following נד, taken as a proper noun (see below). We prefer the determined *bå̄rəṣ*, following ST בארעה. This is implied by the disjunctive accent placed by MS Cambr. Add. 714 after the word, separating it from the following נד (see below), which acts as an adverbial in a distinct sentence.

נד *nad* נו"ד *qal* PT] MT נֹוד PROP N. The pronunciation *nad* identifies the word with the participle (cf. vv. 12, 14 above: *wnad*). ST renders it as such: כלי 'isolated' (var. טמי. See *DSA*, 388). SAV has شريد (var. طريدًا), both denoting 'exiled, expelled'. Obviously, this may be an interpretative rendering, shared by Onqelos גלי ומטלטל 'exiled and wandering' and Vulgate *profugus*. In LXX, however, the word is a proper name, Ναιδ (criticised by Jerome in his Quaestiones *ad loc.*), and so too in the Peshitta, בארעא דנוד. Cf. Josephus Ναιδ (Ant. 1.60).

**21** כנר *kinnår* N *qittal* ≈ MT כִּנֹּור N *qittol*. SP and MT differ in nominal patterns, the former being close to the Aramaic type כִּנָּרָא (Onqelos, *ad loc.*); cf. Akkadian *kinnåru* (von Soden I, 480b).

**25** ויקרא M] MT וַתִּקְרָא F 'she called'. SP assigns to Adam the prerogative of naming his son.

**26** החל *å̄ʾəl hif*] MT הוּחַל *hof*. Unlike the (impersonal?) passive MT הוּחַל, the SP pronunciation *å̄ʾəl* reflects the active (*GSH* §2.10.3), which presents Enosh as the one who commenced invocation of the Lord's name, cf. Tibat Marqe II, §47 (p. 145). This is also the

position of the book of Jubilees, which more directly attributes invocation of God's name to Enosh: 'he began to call on...' (IV, 12), shared by the Vulgate *iste coepit invocare nomen Domini*.

**Genesis 5**

**1** ברא *bårå* PF] MT בְּרֹא INF. SP *bårå* heads an asyndetic relative clause, syntactically similar to Gen. 1.1. MT's infinitive construct בְּרֹא results in a construct phrase with the preceding בְּיוֹם: 'in the day of God's creation of man'.

**23** ויהיו PL] MT וַיְהִי SG. The SP plural fits the recurrent formula used in the chapter (e.g., vv. 4, 11, 14, 17).

**29** ממעשינו PL] MT מִמַּעֲשֵׂנוּ SG. This is not just a matter of *plene* vs defective spelling, as ST attests the plural מן עובדינן.

**Genesis 6**

**1** ילדו *yēlēdu* PASS/ACT = MT יֻלְּדוּ PASS. The ambiguous pronunciation *yēlēdu* apparently points to the active voice (*GSH* §2.10.3). However, syntactic considerations demand the passive, as the subject of the verb is impersonal. Accordingly, ST takes the word as passive and renders it אתילדו.

**3** ידון *yēdon* דו"ן *qal* = MT יָדוֹן. The approximate translation 'strive' is the nearest to those of both the Masoretic and Samaritan versions, as some Jewish Targumim (יתדנון) as well as the ST (ידון) attest, both renderings having the root דו"ן 'judgement' in mind. The latter is also attested by Hammeliṣ: יתקנס 'shall be punished' (*LOT* II:446). A different rendering quoted by Hammeliṣ (ibid.), יכנס 'shall be gathered', refers to a (lost) reading ידור 'shall abide', attested by LXX, Vulgate, and Peshitta. A Qumran paraphrastic fragment, namely 4Q252 1.2, has לא ידור רוחי באדם. This reading is probably the *Vorlage* of the rendering 'abide' (RSV, etc.).

**4** ויולידו *hif*] MT וְיָלְדוּ *qal*. The MT וְיָלְדוּ refers to 'the daughters of men', while in SP the subject of the verb is 'the Nephilim'.

הם *imma* = MT הֵמָּה. SP never spells *plene* the final vowel of the 3MPL pronoun, to which MT הֵמָּה is related.

**13** את *at* PREP 'with, from' = MT אֵת. For these meanings of *at* see ⇓ Gen. 4.1 above. The meaning 'from' (rather than 'with') is clearly attested in both ST מן ארעה and SAV من الرض. For the very same perception of the Hebrew preposition את in this verse see Qimḥi *ad loc.*: "*at* like 'from,' as in 'I have gone out of the city' (Exod. 9.29), 'they had gone out of the city' (Gen. 44.4), and the like. Or its meaning may be 'with the land'...."

**17** לשחית (=להשחית) *lå'šīt hif* ≈ MT לְשַׁחֵת *pi.* MT is rather inconsistent in its use of conjugations as far as 'destruction' is concerned. While in vv. 12, 13 *hifʿil* is used, here and in Gen. 9.11, 16, the *piʿʿel* infinitive לְשַׁחֵת occurs. SP uniformly puts all these forms in the *hifʿil.* See, however, Gen. 13.10.

**20** [מן העוף MT מֵהָעֽוֹף. SP is consistent in using the regular string מן העוף, while MT מֵהָעוֹף is used only here.

[ומכל אשר MT מִכֹּל – וּ. SP harmonises with Gen. 7.8.

רמש *rēməš* PT] MT רֶמֶשׂ N. Although SP makes no distinction between the noun רמש and the participle רומש, both being pronounced *rēməš*, the context here demands the participle. Cf. Gen. 1.30 and Exod. 7.8.

על] MT *minus.* SP harmonises with Gen. 7.8.

## Genesis 7

**1** [אלהים MT יְהוָֽה. SP is consistent in using אלהים as part of the string ויאמר/וידבר אל נח (cf. Gen. 8.15; 9.8, 16).

[אל נח MT לְנֹֽחַ. SP is consistent in using אל נח as part of the string ויאמר/וידבר אל נח (cf. Gen. 8.15; 9.8, 16).

**2** הטהרה *aṭṭå'ēra* ≈ MT הַטְּהוֹרָה (MORPH). SH attributes the masculine and the feminine to two different nominal patterns: טהור *ṭå'or* for the former and טהרה *ṭå'ēra* for the latter. In Masoretic Hebrew, the feminine טְהוֹרָה is related to the masculine טָהֽוֹר.

שנים 2°] MT *minus.* SP harmonises with vv. 9, 15.

**9** יהוה] MT אֱלֹהִים 'God'. It is only in this MT verse and Ps. 68.29 that a form of צִוָּה is followed by אֱלֹהִים rather than the regular subject יְהוָה (cf. Gen. 2.16; Exod. 8.6, 10, 20, etc.).

**19, 20** ויכסו *wyēkassu pi*] MT וַיְכֻסּוּ *pu.* In SP the subject of the active verb *wyēkassu* is 'the waters', in harmony with the previous verb גברו, while its direct object is 'the mountains'. MT has 'the mountains' as subject, with a passive verb.

**23** וימיח *wyimˈmī hitp B*] MT וַיִּמַח *qal.* The passive *hitpaʿel B wyimˈmī* displays a syntactic structure according to which הַיְקוּם is the subject, albeit preceded by אֶת; cf. וַיִּוָּלֵד לַחֲנוֹךְ אֶת־עִירָד (Gen. 4.18); וַיֻּגַּד לְרִבְקָה אֶת־דִּבְרֵי עֵשָׂו בְּנָהּ הַגָּדֹל (Gen. 27.42) (see the end of §2.2.2.1 and fn. 38; cf. Num. 9.15; 19.5). In this, SP differs from MT, whose active *qal* וַיִּמַח makes הַיְקוּם the object of the sentence, but is in harmony with the passive וימיחו *wyimˈmū* later in the verse (MT *nifʿal* וַיִּמָּחוּ).

**Genesis 8**

**2** ויכל *wyēkalla pi*] MT וַיִּכָּלֵא *nif.* In contrast with the MT passive (*nifʿal*) וַיִּכָּלֵא, which serves as the predicate of הַגֶּשֶׁם 'the rain', SP has the active (*piʿʿel*) ויכל *wyēkalla*, the subject of which is אלהים 'God', mentioned in the preceding verse. However, the ST manuscripts render the verb with the passives (סכ"ם) ואתסכם and (חס"ל) ואתעסל, both with the intransitive meaning '(the rain) finished'. This approach may reveal the common SH use of *piʿʿel*, the once intensive conjugation, in the sense of *qal* (see Ben-Ḥayyim 1958, 236–42). As such, *qal* also functions as intransitive, which the ST renders as passive.

**3** מקץ] MT מִקְצֵה. SP is consistent with regard to the use of מקץ versus מקצה, the former denoting time, i.e., 'after, at the end of' (cf. v. 6), the latter place, i.e., 'from one end of' (e.g., Gen. 47.21).

**5** חדש^ *ā̊ːdəš* (החדש)] MT הַחֹדֶשׁ. The extra-long vowel *ā̊ː* is the result of the merger of the article with the first syllable of the noun *å̊dəš* (חֹדֶשׁ). Several SP manuscripts read החדש.

**10** ויחל *wyå̊əl* חל"ל/חי"ל *hif* = MT וַיָּחֶל חי"ל *hif.* ST MSS B, C, and J render ויחל as ושרי, which has the sense of both 'begin' and 'wait'. Though Hammeliṣ testifies in favour of the former sense—ואתרשי 'he began' (*LOT* II, 461)—the latter is to be preferred, in view of MS A ואמן 'he stood still' (< ואמתן?; *DSA*, 493). It is also supported by SAV, which has واتنظـر 'he waited'.

**11** טרף *ṭå̊rəf* PT PASS] MT טָרָף N. MT טָרָף is a noun serving in apposition to the previous עֲלֵה־זַיִת 'olive leaf'. ST עטיף (i.e., חטיף) 'torn off, plucked' reflects understanding of the passive participle *ṭå̊rəf* in the role of the adjective (*GSH* §2.12.2).

**12** שובה *šūba* N = INF F ≈ MT שׁוּב INF M. שובה also occurs in Num. 14.3 and in Deut. 30.3. The interpretation of the form as an infinitive with a feminine ending cannot be excluded. Cf. ליראה (Deut. 8.6); לאהבה (Deut. 11.22), albeit in such cases, the distinction between noun and infinitive is not totally clear.

**21** עוד לקלל] MT לְקַלֵּל עוֹד. SP is aligned with the order later in the verse: עוד להכות.

**22** עד *ʿad* PREP] MT עֹד ADV 'again'. The Samaritan pronunciation *ʿad* represents the preposition 'until', supported by ST עד, סעד. What SP intends to say is 'until the end of days, seedtime, etc. shall not cease'.

יומם ולילה ADV] MT וְיוֹם וָלַיְלָה N. MT displays a fourth pair of antonyms that regulate the life of the universe, whence the copula. In SP the locution exhibits the frequent adverbial יומם denoting continuity (Exod. 13.21; Lev. 8.35; Num. 9.21). In this very spirit, MS BL Or 1446 translates نهارًا وليَلًا.

## Chapter 9

**2** וחתתכם *wå̊tå̊kimma* N חֲתַת*] MT וְחִתְּכֶם N חַת*. While the MT Pentateuch displays the two variants חַת* and חִתָּה* (Gen. 35.5; SP *å̊tå̊t*), with a third one, חֲתַת*, occurring in Job 6.21, SP has only the latter, i.e., *å̊tå̊t*.

תרמש *tarməš hif* ≈ MT תִּרְמֹשׂ *qal*. The *hifʿil* pronunciation *tarməš* clearly places the earth in the position of subject. The ambiguity of MT's *qal* led most ancient versions to take כל אשר as subject and to add a preposition before האדמה, which thus becomes a complement of

place. Onqelos and Peshitta are exceptions, both putting the verb in the causative *afᶜel*, i.e., דְּתִרְחֵשׁ and מרחשא, respectively. It is noteworthy that while ST translates the phrase דתרמס ארעה, making the syntactic structure clear, SAV shares the rendering of the versions, كلـما يدب علي الارض.

**3** הכל ≈ MT כֹּל – DEF. SP is in accord with the syntactic rule that demands a definite noun after the *nota accusativi* את. See also §4.1.3.2.5.

**12** החיה DEF] MT חַיָּה INDEF. SP is consistent in using the locution נפש החיה, while MT sometimes omits the article, i.e., נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה. See also §4.1.3.2.5.

**15** אשר אתכם] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 10.

**16** וראיתה *wrå̊ʾitå* PF 2MSG] MT וּרְאִיתִיהָ PF 1CSG + PRON 3FSG 'and I shall see it'. MT וּרְאִיתִיהָ places the speaker (God) in the position of the subject and also has an object pronoun: 'and I shall see it'. By contrast, according to the pronunciation *wrå̊ʾitå*, SP makes Noah the subject: 'and you shall see' (no pronoun). Interestingly, ST reads ואחזיה (var. ואחזי), which agrees with the MT reading. The ST contained in MS C (Nablus 6) reads ותתחזי 'and you shall be shown' or, perhaps, '(the rainbow) shall be shown'.

לאזכרה *lēzå̊kå̊rå* ABST N] MT לִזְכֹּר INF. The SP abstract noun לאזכרה (*LOT* IV, 88) is rendered as such in the ST: לאדכרות (var. לאדכרה, לדכר). In fact, the pronunciation *lēzå̊kå̊rå* may also be considered a kind of infinitive, constructed on analogy with the imperfect *qal yēzå̊kår*, with a pronominal suffix: 'to remember it' (the regular infinitive would be *\*lizkår*). However, no targumic support for such an alternative is extant. At any rate, the noun אזכרה, found in both MT and SP in Lev. 2.2, 9, 16, etc., should be kept in mind.

**27** יפת *yēfət* יפ"ת *qal* PF] MT יַפְתְּ פת"י *hif* SHORT IMPF 'may (God) enlarge'. SP, as attested by the pronunciation *yēfət*, apparently attributes the word to יפ"ת 'beauty, welfare' (*GSH* §4.1.3.6, n.), a rather common word in Late Samaritan Hebrew (*LSH*, 288). Accordingly, a gloss in MS B of the ST reads ייטב אלהים ליפת, which is reminiscent of Pseudo-Jonathan ישפר ה' תחומיה דיפת 'may God embellish Japhet's territory'. To be sure, there is no agreement among the few extant manuscripts of ST with regard to the meaning of the word. The late MS B simply reproduces it as יפת, and the early MSS C and J render it יפתי '(may God)

enlarge'. It is MS A that apparently adopts the notion of beauty, making use of the Hebrew יפה. It is related to SAV يحسـن. For perfect with imperative sense, see comments at Deut. 33.7, *s.v.* שמע.

**28** אחרי] MT אַחַר. SP prefers the common preposition אחרי.

## Genesis 10

**5** איי *ayyi* = MT אִיֵּי. The synecdochic use of 'islands' as representative of their inhabitants is quite frequent in biblical literature, such as Isa. 41.1, where אִיִּים parallels לְאֻמִּים 'nations', and Isa. 49.1, where 'islands' are requested to hearken: שִׁמְעוּ אִיִּם אֵלַי, etc. In the same spirit, ST here interprets איי as אקרי 'foundations' (originally 'roots', עק"ר). Most SAV manuscripts render the word جزائر 'islands', though two of them have اصول 'roots'. Since the word occurs a second time in v. 32 (not in MT), the 18th-century Samaritan grammarian and poet Ibrahim al-ᶜAyya distinguishes between the two meanings of the same word (*LOT* I, 238–39; see notes).

**8** הוליד *ūləd hif*] MT יָלַד *qal*. SP consistently expresses 'beget' by the *hifᶜil* (or *piᶜᶜel*, e.g., ילד *yalləd* in v. 15 below) and 'give birth' by the *qal*. Cf. comment at v. 21 (see §4.1.3.2.2 and fn. 64).

**9** כנמרוד *kannimrod* PROP N = MT כְּנִמְרֹד. The determination arguably reflects a late tradition, according to which *Nimrod* is considered a common noun denoting 'wicked one' (*DSA*, 530). A 14th-century liturgical piece opposes צדיקים 'righteous' to נמרודים 'wicked ones' (Cowley, p, 234). The negative approach to Nimrod is shared by Jewish traditions that derive the name from the root מר"ד 'rebellion' (Genesis Rabba §42). Targum Neofiti refers to Nimrod ironically as גיבר בחטאה 'a hero in sin' (Gen. 10.8–9). In a more neutral note, MS A of ST renders נמרוד as נמקס 'law giver' (νομικός), in view of his immense kingdom (v. 10).

**10** וכלנה *wkallinna* כל +PRON 3FPL] MT וְכַלְנֵה PROP N. In view of the SP pronunciation *wkallinna*, the MT proper noun וְכַלְנֵה is understood as a summative particle, derived from

כל, referring to the previously mentioned territories. Accordingly, the word is rendered in ST as וכלהן, וכהלין.

**15** חת^ (= MT חֵת)] *å̊ʾət* (החת). The pronunciation *å̊ʾət* is supported by the spelling החת in several manuscripts. It is apparently the result of the proximity of the following definite gentilic names (vv. 16–18). See the recurring string הכנעני החתי והאמרי והפרזי והגרגשי והחוי והיבוסי (Exod. 3.8, 17; 13.5; different order Exod. 23.28; Deut. 7.1).

**19** האחרון ...מנהר] MT מִצִּידֹן בֹּאֲכָה גְרָרָה עַד־עַזָּה בֹּאֲכָה סְדֹמָה וַעֲמֹרָה וְאַדְמָה וּצְבֹיִם עַד־לָשַׁע. SP harmonises with Deut. 34.1.

**20** לגויהם^ *afguwwīyyimma* (בגויהם)] MT בְּגוֹיֵהֶם. SP לגויהם agrees with v. 31. The pronunciation *afguwwīyyimma* (בגויהם) is supported only by a Bodleian fragment (see von. Gall, *ad loc.*).

**21** ילד *yalləd pi*] MT יֻלַּד *qal* PASS. The active conjugation *yalləd* parallels the regular *hifʿil* in similar instances, when 'beget' is intended. This apparently creates a conflict with the previous preposition prefixed to the subject ולשם, unless the ל- is taken as an emphatic particle (GKC §143e; *GSH* §2.10.6, b, fn. 126). ST אולד (var. ילד) hardly clarifies the matter, but AS improves the syntax with وسام اولد (AH retains the passive: ולסאם ולד). Cf. comment at v. 8 (see §4.1.3.2.2 and fn. 64).

**32** מאלה] MT וּמֵאֵלֶּה +ו. SP harmonises with v. 5.

איי] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 5 (see also comment there).

**Genesis 11**

**3** להחמר *līmår* ≈ MT לַחֹמֶר. The pronunciation does not distinguish between the previous והחמר *wāʾīmår* (MT וְהַחֵמָר) and the present *līmår*, both with the meaning 'clay'. However, ST draws a clear distinction between וחימרה (var. נילוס, לושנה) for the former and טינה (var. טיאם) for the latter.

**6** יזמנו *yēzå̊mēnu* זמ"ן *pi B* IMPF] MT יָזְמוּ זמ"ם *qal* PF. SP prefers this Aramaic loan, prevalent in Second Temple Hebrew (Wagner 1966, 49), to the rather rare MT יָזְמוּ. The latter is irregular for expected *יָזֹמּוּ (זמ"ם), which occurs in the Pentateuch only once more, namely

זמם כאשר 'as he schemed' (Deut. 19.19, *q.v.*), which ST, with כמד זמן, also treats as belonging to this root.

**7** ונבלה *wnēballi* בל"י *pi* IMPF] MT וְנָבְלָה בל"ל *qal* LENG IMPF (irregular for נָבֹלָּה) 'let us confuse'. The pronunciation *nēballi* is opposed to *bållål* in v. 9. ST MS C (Nablus 6) נבלל rectifies the disagreement.

שפתים *ašfåtəm* PL שְׂפָתִים*] MT שְׂפָתֶם SG + PRON 3MPL 'their language'. ST ספואן (var. ספבן) is in keeping with SP, except for MS C (Nablus 6) שועאן 'speech' (PL), which explains the metaphor. SAV لغات 'languages' does likewise.

**8** ואת המגדל] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with vv. 4, 5.

**31** כלותו *kallūtu* dual] MT כַּלָּתוֹ SG 'his daughter in law'. The pronunciation *kallūtu* presents peculiarities, having both the plural marker *-ut* (< *-ot*) and the 3MSG suffixed pronoun *-u*, a combination that in Masoretic terms would appear as כַּלּוֹתוֹ* (the expected plural would be *\*kalluto*, matching standard Masoretic כַּלּוֹתָיו). The pronunciation apparently refers to the two daughters-in-law, Sarai and Milcah. A similar case of feminine dual occurs in Gen. 19.15, where בנותך refers to the two daughters of Lot, and so too in Gen. 46.7 (and probably זרועתו Deut. 33.27). See *GSH* §§3.2.3; 4.5.7.

**Genesis 12**

**2** והוי הי"י≈ MT וְהְיֵה הי"י. SP distinguishes between הו"י and הי"י. The former is used only in the 2nd person singular (M and F) of the imperative, while in other cases the latter, more common הי"י is used.

**6** אלון מורא // MT אֵלוֹן מוֹרֶה. Fearing association with אלון 'terebinth, oak' (see *HALOT*, *s.v.*), considered a place for idolatry condemned in prophetic literature (Isa. 6.13; Ezek. 6.13; Hos. 4.13), Jewish exegesis, as expressed in the Targumim, everywhere renders אלון as מישר 'valley'. So do Jerome (*convallis*), ST, and SAV (مرج). This was not a concern in the Septuagint and Peshitta, which both translate 'terebinth'. The same holds true for the place name אלוני ממרא.

**9** הלוך ונסע PF] MT הָלוֹךְ וְנָסוֹעַ INF ABS. MT displays two consecutive absolute infinitives: הָלוֹךְ וְנָסוֹעַ. As far as SP is concerned, only for the first of them is this parsing possible, as the ambiguous pronunciation *ålok* shows. To be sure, given SH's disinclination to use the absolute infinitive, one may construe הלוך as a *qal* participle of the *qātōl* type, rather abundant in Second Temple Hebrew (*GSH* §2.13.3). For the identity of these two parts of speech see §2.14.8. See also comments at Gen. 8.3, 5, 7. As for ונסע, pronounced *wnåsa*, it is analysable as either the participle or the perfect. ST renders the sequence אזל ונטל (var. הזול ונטל), certainly not infinitives.

**16** הייטב *åʾīṭåb hif* PASS] MT הֵיטִיב *hif*. According to the MT active הֵיטִיב, 'Pharaoh' is the subject of the verb (Qimḥi). In order to avoid the idea that Pharaoh was the source Abraham's wealth, SP supplants the active verb with the passive *åʾīṭåb* (*GSH* §§2.4.4; 2.10.8) with an unspecified subject.

**20** ולוט עמו] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Gen. 13.1.

**Genesis 13**

**9** אם השמאלה והימינה ואם הימינה והשמאלה] MT אִם־הַשְּׂמֹאל וְאֵימִנָה וְאִם־הַיָּמִין וְאַשְׂמְאִילָה 'If you take the left hand, then I will go to the right, or if you take the right hand, then I will go to the left'. MT combines nouns with verbs in both clauses. Each noun is definite and each verb is in the 1st person imperfect cohortative of *hifʿil*. The SP pronunciation *am aššēmåla wayyammīna wam ayyammīna waššēmåla* exhibits two rather strange syntactic structures, in which there is no verb, all four nouns being definite and ending in the fossilised directional *he*. See *GSH* §2.4.11, b.

**12** ויאל *wyāʾol* DENOM of אה"ל *åʾol/*ל או"ל *qal* IMPF ≈ MT וַיֶּאֱהַל אה"ל *qal* IMPF. While MT has a denominative verb derived from אהל 'tent', SP's pronunciation *wyāʾol* attests the *qal* imperfect of או"ל 'begin' (*LOT* IV, 306). However, the manuscripts of ST agree with MT: ומשכן, והפרס. The exception is the late MS B, which follows the present pronunciation: ואתרשי. SAV, too, renders the word as denoting encampment: وخيـم. In translation, we opt

for the alternative parsing of the verb as denominative of אהל 'tent', which in SH is pronounced *å̊ʾol* (*GSH* §2.6.10; cf. §4.1.3.20).

**18** ויאל *wyā̊ʾəl* או"ל *hif* IMPF] MT וַיֶּאֱהַל אה"ל *qal* IMPF. As in v. 12, SP exhibits the root או"ל, albeit in the *hifʿil*: *wyā̊ʾəl* (see Ben-Ḥayyim 1967, 13; *LOT* IV, 306). The manuscripts of ST render the word in similar terms, i.e., ואתרשי 'and he began', except the late MS A, which has ופרס 'he pitched (his tent)', probably under the influence of v. 12. The earlier version of SAV (AH) has an interpretative translation: امعن 'was rich in cattle'; the later one (AS) renders the word in line with the ST: ابتدا 'he began'.

## Genesis 14

**3** חברו *ʿå̊bå̊ru* חב"ר/עב"ר ≈ MT חֶבְרוּ 'joined'. The SP *ʿå̊bå̊ru* is ambiguous, as it is equally attributable to חב"ר 'join' and עב"ר 'pass, cross', given that the present initial ʿ, when preceding the vowel *a*, represents historical ע or ח, albeit the latter inconsistently (see *GSH* §§1.1.8; 1.1.8.3; Florentin 1995, 114–15). At any rate, verbal derivatives of חב"ר do not start with ʿ. Accordingly, the association of the present form with עב"ר is by no means unjustifiable. However, ST renders the word אדבקו (var. אתחברו) 'they joined', as does SAV: (ا)اصطحبو. By contrast, the Arabic column of MS J, which has a peculiar position among SAV manuscripts, displays عبروا, which may be responsible for the present pronunciation (*LOT* IV, 307).

**4** ובשלש עשרה MT] וּשְׁלֹשׁ־עֶשְׂרֵה. SP has the preposition -ב, which makes clear that the rebellion took place in the thirteenth year of subjugation. This is also the way the ancient versions (LXX, Vulgate, Peshitta, etc.) treat the word, as MT's cardinal number וּשְׁלֹשׁ־עֶשְׂרֵה creates the misimpression that the rebellion lasted thirteen years.

**5** הרפאים DEF] MT רְפָאִים INDEF (see §4.1.3.2.5). The determination in SP is in accordance with האימים and הזוזאים, which occur in the same verse.

**10** ומלך עמרה MT] וַעֲמֹרָה. SP harmonises with v. 8.

ההרה *å̊rå* DEF] MT הֵרָה INDEF. As against the peculiar MT הֵרָה (GKC §93aa), SP adopts the standard form of the locative, which occurs ten times in the Pentateuch (e.g., Gen. 12.8;

19.17, 19; Exod. 24.12, etc).

**14** וידק *wyiddåq* [דק"ק MT וַיָּרֶק ק"רי 'and he led forth'. The translation follows ST וזיאן 'and he equipped (for battle)', which actually does not differ greatly in meaning from MT וַיָּרֶק. The latter is similarly understood in Jewish exegesis, as reflected in Onqelos וזריז, and Neofiti וזאין (var. Pseudo-Jonathan וזין). It probably emanates from the traditional association of the verb with אריק חרבי 'I will draw my sword' (Exod. 15.9). The SP וידק belongs to דק"ק, a variant of דו"ק 'observe, scrutinise' in Aramaic, apparently associated with the Akkadian *dekû* 'mobilise troops' (*CAD*, 58).

**15** ויחלק *wyēllåq qal*] MT וַיֵּחָלֵק *nif*. The SP *wyēllåq* is faithfully rendered by ST ופלג 'and he divided'. This makes Abram the subject of the clause, and implies an implicit direct object, with the following לילה adequately translated as adverbial לילי. SAV, however, takes לילה as the object of the verb: وقسم عليهم الليل. MT's *nifʿal* וַיֵּחָלֵק is rather problematic. Jewish medieval exegesis was compelled to construe לילה as the (albeit indefinite) subject of the phrase 'the night was divided' (Qimḥi, in line with Pseudo-Jonathan ואתפלג להון ליליא, both dependent on Gen. Rab. §42). However, Onqelos attributes the verb to Abram, taking לילה as adverbial: ואתפלג עליהון בליליא.

**19** ויברך את אברם [MT וַיְבָרְכֵהוּ. SP avoids the ambiguity of MT וַיְבָרְכֵהוּ, which is rather unclear with regard to the object of Melchizedek's blessing, whether Abram or אל עליון, mentioned at the end of the preceding verse.

**20** מגן *amgən* מג"ן *hif* PF/N of מג"ן ≈ MT מִגֵּן מג"ן *pi* PF 'who has delivered'. Most Targumim and exegetes, both ancient and modern, classify MT מִגֵּן as a *piʿʿel* of מג"ן 'hand over'; cf. Hos. 11.8; Prov. 4.9. Thus, LXX says παρέδωκεν, Onqelos מסר, Peshitta אשלם, etc. Jerome, however, attributes the word to גנ"ן 'protect', and renders the phrase as *Deus excelsus quo protegente hostes in manibus tuis sunt*. SP's pronunciation *amgən* apparently assumes a similar position as far as etymology is concerned, presupposing a noun derived from גנ"ן as well, i.e., מגן, rendered by some manuscripts of ST as דתורס (θυρεός, frequent in the form תריס in MH). If this is the case, the phrase means 'the God most high, who (delivered) your enemies' shield into your hands'. On the other hand, *amgən* may be analysed as a *hifʿil*

perfect, in which case SP corresponds to MT. This is probably the meaning manifested by דמגן in the rest of the ST manuscripts. Note that the SP's pronunciation *amgən* is identical to that of the noun מגן in Gen. 15.1.

**24** בלעדי *bålåddi* PREP CSTR ST] MT בִּלְעָדָי PREP + PRON 1CSG 'without me'. The difference between Tiberian בִּלְעָדָי and בִּלְעָדֵי has been neutralised in SH due to the standard contraction of the final diphthong *ay*. In translation, we have opted for the latter.

**Genesis 15**

**1** ארבה *ēråbbi pi* 1CSG IMPF] MT הַרְבֵּה *hif* INF ABS '(your reward shall be very) great'. SP *ēråbbi* places God in the position of sentential subject. MT has a nominal sentence, where הַרְבֵּה is predicate of the subject שְׂכָרְךָ.

**3** יירש *yiråš* MSG *qal* PT] MT יוֹרֵשׁ MSG *qal* PT. SP is in line with the verb יירשך (twice) in the following verse.

**4** דבר *dabbər pi* 3MSG PF/INF] MT דְּבַר N CSTR 'the word (of the LORD)'. The SP perfect *dabbər* is faithfully rendered by SAV as خاطبه 'he spoke to him'. Actually, *dabbər* may also be interpreted as the infinitive 'speaking', the two forms being identical in pronunciation. In this case the word would denote 'speech', much like MT. ST is inconclusive, as its rendering מלל fits both SP and MT. To be sure, the Aramaic column of MS C (Nablus 6) has the noun ממלל 'word, speech'. In translation we have opted for the perfect.

**5** השמים ≈ MT הַשָּׁמַיְמָה + DIREC *he*. In fact, there is no real difference between SP השמים and MT הַשָּׁמַיְמָה, the latter of which bears the formal directional *he*. The SP locative השמים with no formal marker is rather frequent in Biblical Hebrew, e.g., וַיִּפְרֹשׂ כַּפָּיו הַשָּׁמָיִם 'and he spread forth his hands towards heaven' (1 Kgs 8.22); וַיַּעַל אֵלִיָּהוּ בַּסְעָרָה הַשָּׁמָיִם 'and Elijah went up to heaven in a whirlwind' (2 Kgs 2.11), etc. (see *GSH* §7.2; Gen. 15.5 and fn. 2).

**13** ויאמר *wiyyåmər nif*] MT וַיֹּאמֶר *qal*. According to MT's active וַיֹּאמֶר, God continues the speech started in vv. 7–9. By contrast, the SP pronunciation *wiyyåmər* features a 3rd person passive *nifʿal*, which renders the subject indefinite, perhaps because the speaker is not mentioned; cf. ST ואתאמר 'and it was said'.

**14** יעבדו *yābbīdu hif*] MT יַעֲבֹדוּ *qal* '(the nation that) they serve'. In MT יַעֲבֹדוּ, the subject of the verb is Abram's descendants, who will serve a foreign nation. The SP *hifʿil* refers to the nation that will enslave Israel. This syntactic arrangement is in harmony with the narrative in Exod. 1.13: ויעבידו מצרים את בני ישראל בפרך 'and the Egyptians imposed rigorous service on the Israelites'.

**Genesis 16**

**2** אבנה *ibbanni nif B* ≈ MT אִבָּנֶה *nif*. The verb is apparently used in the metaphorical sense of 'building a progeny'. On the other hand, some ancient versions interpret it as a denominative of בן, whence 'to obtain a son' (LXX, Vulgate), followed by most modern English translations. This is probably also the interpretation of the Jewish Targumim and the Peshitta, although, formally, their translation is etymologically inconclusive, as in ST אתבני, אבני. SAV is more explicit: ارزق (Kazimirski 1860, 855a). In his Quaestiones in Genesis (*ad loc.*), Jerome attempts to provide linguistic logic for the verb: *procreatio filiorum in hebraeo aedificatio scripta est.* He evokes Exod. 1.21, whereby 'building houses' means establishing families. See also Gen. 30.3.

**8** אוי *uwwi* INTERROG/INTERJ] MT אֵי INTERROG. Against the MT interrogative אֵי 'where from', SP has *uwwi*, interpreted differently by various manuscripts of ST. The early MSS C, J, and M render the word אי, in line with MT. The later MS A translates it ויליך, a compound meaning 'woe to you', and continues מן אתיתי. This obviously follows a tradition that considers the word the interjection *uwwi* 'woe' (found in Num. 21.29; 24.23), probably a subtle way of creating the impression that the angel of God knows where she came from, and does not need to ask her; he rather shows her sympathy. However, this reading produces syntactic unease, and raises the question whether it is not a corrupt borrowing from SAV: ويلك مـن اين اتيـتي 'Woe to you! Where are you coming from?'. Nevertheless, in translation we have opted for the received pronunciation and its graphic representation.

**12** פרה *fåri* פר"י 'prolific'] MT פֶּרֶא 'wild'. This is not just a difference in spelling. The MT פֶּרֶא is a wild ass, in contrast to SP, whose פרה has traditionally been understood as an adjective denoting fertility (cf. Gen. 1.22, 28, etc.). Accordingly, MS A of the ST translates

פשה 'fruitful' (secondary root, derivative of נפ"ש [*DSA*, 713]). The early manuscripts have פרה, which does little to clarify our version. SAV وحشـيا 'savage', however, does not differ from MT.

**13** ראה 1° *rå̊ʾi* PT] MT רֶאֶי N. MT רֶאֶי is a segholate noun, while SP displays a *qal* participle pronounced *rå̊ʾi*, which is rendered by ST as חזי. This is also the sense of SAV الناظـر 'the (God) who sees'.

## Genesis 17

**5** « »] MT אֶת. SP avoids here use of the *nota accusativi* with the *nifᶜal* passive verb *yiqqå̊ri*. See, however, the comment at Gen. 7.23.

**10** המול *å̊mol* EXCLAM *å̊* + *qal* IMV/INF] MT הִמּוֹל *nif* INF. Differing from MT הִמּוֹל (*nifᶜal* infinitive of מו"ל), SP shows a compound of the interjection *å̊* and the infinitive *mol* (*GSH* §2.14.15, 1a, and n. 193), which is expressed by various manuscripts of ST (A, B, J, M המגזר). On the other hand, *mol* is also the standard form of the *qal* imperative (*GSH*, 369b), according to which we have translated.

**12** ימול *yå̊mol qal*] MT יִמּוֹל *nif*. SP's *qal* imperfect *yå̊mol* assumes an unspecified, generic subject, which makes בן שמנת ימים the object of the circumcision. ST passive יתגזר, however, is in line with MT.

**13** המול ימול *å̊mol yå̊mol*] MT הִמּוֹל | יִמּוֹל. Both SP forms are *qal*, as in the preceding verses, i.e., *å̊mol yå̊mol*, which, being active, leave the subject unspecified. ST prefers the passive rendering המגזר יתגזר, like MT הִמּוֹל | יִמּוֹל. As the form מול may express the passive participle, we have adopted the translation 'one circumcised', with Exod. 4.25 in mind. For a discussion of the phrase, see *GSH* §2.14.15, and n. 193.

ומקנות^] *wmaqnå̊t* (ומקנת) = MT וּמִקְנַת SG. The form ומקנות, which also occurs in vv. 23 (מקנות) and 27 (ומקנות)—all in the construct state—belongs to the category of *nomina abstracta*, having the denotation 'acquisition, purchase'. As such, it bears the ending *-ot*, originally *-ut* (*GSH* §4.3.14). Note the hebraised Aramaic מזבנות 'from purchase' in Murabaᶜat letter No. 42 (Benoit, Milik, and de Vaux 1961, 155–59). No other manuscript

of SP has this form. Alternatively, one may construe מקנות as a pseudo-plural due to attraction to the preceding plural ילידי (also in v. 23; in v. 27 ומקנות is determined by the previous אנשי). At any rate, the pronunciation is unanimously *(w)maqnåt.*

**14** ימול *yåmol*] MT יִמּוֹל. The active *qal* in the present context permits the use of the following *nota accusativi*, avoiding the awkwardness of passive MT יִמּוֹל.

ביום השמיני] MT *minus*. The SP *plus* is according to Lev. 12.3.

**17** אוליד *ūləd hif* 1CSG IMPF] MT יִוָּלֵד *nif* 3MSG IMPF 'shall (a child) be born?'. A conflict arises between the 1st person IMPF, which assigns the verb to the subject Abram, and the preposition -ל prefixed to בן with the interrogative -ה to form הלבן, which apparently makes the word an indirect object. Perhaps -ל is taken as an emphatic particle, rather than a preposition, in which case the syntax is not disturbed. Note the omission of -ל in the rendering of the Aramaic column of our manuscript: הבר מאה שנה. SAV renders the two particles as a single interrogative: هل. The whole problem is non-existent in MT, which has a 3rd person verb.

**24** בהמלו *båmålu*] MT בְּהִמֹּלוֹ. As in v. 14, the active *qal* does not exclude the following *nota accusativi*, in harmony with v. 25. MT has the passive *nifʿal* בְּהִמֹּלוֹ in both verses, although in the latter the *nota accusativi* produces unusual syntax.

**25** בהמלו *båmålu*] MT בְּהִמֹּלוֹ (see v. 12, above). Our translation follows the ST noun במגזרה, i.e., a noun with a 3rd person possessive suffix. Cf. SAV عند ختنه.

**26** נמל *nēməl* נמ"ל *qal* PF PASS ≈ MT מו"ל נִמֹּל *nif* PF. In SH the preformative -נ of several ancient *nifʿal* forms of ו"ע verbs has assimilated, creating secondary פ"נ roots (*GSH* §2.5.5). Such is the case in the plural *nēmīlu* in v. 27 (for MT נִמֹּלוּ) and the *qal* PASS PART *nēmīləm* in Gen. 34.22 (MT נִמֹּלִים). Cf. *nēmēgu* for MT נָמֹגוּ (Exod. 15.15). The same tendency is detectable in MH, e.g., נמיגה, Mekhilta, 147.

## Genesis 18

**2** אנושים *ēnūšəm* < אנוש PROP N] MT אֲנָשִׁים. This peculiar form, pronounced *ēnūšəm*, is probably a derivative of the proper name אנוש, who 'began to call upon the name of the

LORD' (Gen. 4.26). The form אנשים (singular אנוש) comes in place of MT אֲנָשִׁים (singular אִישׁ) when the referent is a supernatural person, in this case God's messengers to Abraham. In Samaritan exegesis, these are angels: ומלאכיה דאתחזו לזכאי... אתחזי מנן תלתה לאברהם 'and the angels who appeared to the righteous... three of them appeared to Abraham' (TM II, §2). SP thus draws a distinction between them and human beings, whose denomination is אנשים *ēnå̊šəm*, e.g., Gen. 13.8.

וישתחוי *wyištå̊bbi* ≈ MT וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ. The SP form corresponds to the MT regular imperfect form וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה. The apocopated MT form וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ does not exist in SP.

**4** יקח *yiqqa* ACT? ≈ MT יֻקַּח PASS. The pronunciation *yiqqa* does not exclude a passive interpretation of this *qal* imperfect, which would equate with MT יֻקַּח. In fact, the stable SH sound shift that eliminated the vowel *u* in closed unstressed syllables (*GSH* §1.5.2.3) abolishes the distinction between active and passive in many cases (*GSH* §2.10.7).

**13** צעקה *ṣå̊ʾēqa* ≈ MT צָחֲקָה (PHON) 'she laughed'. SP and MT צחקה seemingly differ only orthographically, as the guttural consonants lost their phonetic value in SH (*GSH* §§1.1.8–1.1.8.3; and note that in v. 15 the orthography is indeed צחקתי). In fact, Samaritan exegesis is divided with regard to the understanding of the verb. One tradition, represented by most ST manuscripts, takes it as צח"ק and renders it as ותמחת 'wondered' (i.e., תמ"ה), out of reverence for the divine messenger. Note that reverence is disregarded in v. 12 by MS A וקטרגת 'she decried', which assumes צע"ק. It is apparently linked with Tibat Marqe, Book V, §50, where Sarah is actually portrayed as crying out, in connection with Moses's cry (Exod. 8.8), and the peoples' cry (Exod. 14.10). Ab Isda's earlier SAV version وعجبت 'she wondered' aligns itself with the mainstream. The later version, however, prefers وضحكت 'she laughed', which assumes צח"ק.

**25** השפט *å̊šūfåṭ* EXCLAM *he*?] MT הֲשֹׁפֵט INTERROG *he*. The pronunciation *å̊šūfåṭ* hardly differs from that of MT הֲשֹׁפֵט, which prefixes the interrogative *he* to the participle. Nevertheless, the ST manuscripts treat it as an interjection, whether by the particle אה 'O!' (MSS A, B, and J) or by disregarding it altogether (C, M). This involved rendering the

following verb יעשה as passive יתעבד: 'O, Judge of all the earth! Shall justice not be done?' (A, J).

**29** אשחית] MT אֱעֶשֶׂה. SP 'destroy', which harmonises with vv. 28, 31, 32, is more explicit than MT's somewhat vague אֱעֶשֶׂה 'I will do'. Note that LXX ἀπολέσω 'destroy', Vulgate *percutiam*, Onqelos גמירא אעביד, and Neofiti אשיצא agree with SP.

**Genesis 19**

**5** האנשים^ *ảʾēnūšǝm*] MT הָאֲנָשִׁים. This is a defective spelling of the pronunciation *ảʾēnūšǝm* (see Gen. 18.2). A significant number of manuscripts have the spelling האנושים (see von Gall, *ad loc.*; Schorch 2021, *ad loc.*).

**7** תריעו *tarriyyu* רע"ע *hif* ≈ MT תָּרֵעוּ (PHON). ST and other Targumim render the verb תבע(א)שון.

**8** האלה] MT הָאֵל̇. The rare demonstrative האל is not attested in SP (see §2.2.2.1).

**15** בנותך *bånūtåk* DUAL] MT בְּנֹתֶיךָ PL. The pronunciation *bånūtåk* is not that of the plural, which would have been pronounced *bånūtǝk* (cf. MT בְּנֹתֶיךָ). The possessive pronoun *-åk* designates the singular, and its affixation to non-singular nouns may attest to the dual (⇓ Gen. 11.31).

**20** מצער (twice) *miṣˈṣår* PREP -מ + N צַעַר*] MT מִצְעָר N. MT מִצְעָר presents a syntactic problem, as there is no gender congruence between מִצְעָר and the previous feminine pronoun וְהִיא. Ibn Ezra was, therefore, compelled to view the word as epicene: "Adjective with no feminine marker, like שגל." The Samaritan pronunciation *miṣˈṣår* circumvents the formal problem by transforming the word into an adverbial compound of צער with the prefixed preposition מן, in the shape of מתם (Deut. 2.34, *q.v.*; see *GSH* §6.3.16), to which the SAV reading من زغر (var. من صغر) corresponds. However, the perception of the word in its context remains the same as that in MT.

**29** בהפכו *båfåku* INF +PRON 3MSG] MT בַּהֲפֹךְ 'when overthrowing'. SP has an anaphoric pronoun referring to God.

**30** עמו] MT *minus.* SP harmonises with the previous hemistich.

**32** לכי F] MT לְכָה M. As against the fossilised MT masculine lengthened imperative, SP has the feminine in accordance with the context.

**33** ההוא DEF] MT הְוּא INDEF. SP is consistent with the rules of determination as manifested in v. 35.

### Genesis 20

**9** חטאתי *ēṭå̊tti* N F חַטָּאת +PRON 1CSG/VB *qal* 1CSG PF] MT חָטָאתִי VB *qal* 1CSG PF. Where MT exhibits the verb חָטָאתִי 'I sinned', SP has the noun *ē̊ṭå̊* with the suffixed possessive pronoun: *ēṭå̊tti* 'my sin'. However, classifying the form as a verb meaning 'I sinned' is also possible (*GSH* §0.16d), and, indeed, this is expressed by ST אתחיבת. On the other hand, SAV خطيئتي presupposes identification as a noun.

**12** אמנם *å̊mēnimma*] MT אָמְנָה. SP prefers the frequent adverb אמנם (also in Gen. 18.13; Num. 22.37; 14 times in the entire Bible) to the rare אָמְנָה (occurs in MT only here and in Josh. 7.20).

**13** ומארץ מולדתי] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Gen. 24.7.

**14** אלף כסף וצאן] MT צֹאן. SP harmonises with v. 16.

**18** אלהים] MT יְהוָֹה. SP harmonises with the preceding verse (and, more generally, with the whole chapter, in which יְהוָֹה is not mentioned at all).

### Genesis 21

**2** אתו *ittu* PREP 'with'] MT אֹתוֹ *nota accusativi*. SP is consistent in using the preposition את 'with' after the verb דבר 'speak', while MT uses here the *nota accusativi* אֵת.

**7** לו] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 5 בהולד לו.

**8** בנו] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 5 יצחק בנו.

**13** הזאת] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 10.

גדול] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 18.

**17** מלכי^ *må̄ līki* (מה לך)] MT מַה־לָּךְ. This is a rare case of joining two particles into one (var. מה ליך). It also presents a unique case of vowel-final *-ki* as the 2nd person feminine pronominal suffix, as against the more frequent *-ǝk*, usually spelled as *plene* -יך (*GSH* §3.2.2.1).

**20** רבי קשת *rå̄bi qå̄šǝt*] MT רֹבֶה קַשָּׁת. SP has a twofold interpretation in ST. Some manuscripts, among them the early MSS C and J, consider רבי a derivative of רב"י 'greatness', and render the expression as סגי קשיה 'great in bows', while the later MS A has מרמי קשתה 'archer' (cf. Vulgate *iuvenis sagittarius*). SAV is also divided. AH renders the expression شـديد المعنـه 'strong in power', while AS has شـديد القـس 'strong in bow' (var. رامـي, قواسا 'archer'). Apparently, the actual pronunciation attests the meaning 'archer boy', which is not far from the Masoretic understanding, which takes רֹבֶה as 'youngster' (cf. Aramaic רביה), and קַשָּׁת as *nomen agentis* (see Ben-Ḥayyim 1993, 98–102; Schorch 2004, 155).

**23** ולנגדי] MT וּלְנֶכְדִּי. MT וּלְנֶכְדִּי refers to 'descendant, progeny', parallel with the preceding נִין. Due to blurring of the distinction between voiced *g* and voiceless *k* (*GSH* §1.1.5), this *hapax* (other MT occurrences at Isa. 14.22; Job 18.19, which are outside the Samaritan sphere) has been supplanted by the frequent preposition נגד 'in front of'. This is faithfully rendered by the ST as ולדלקבלי 'and who is in front of me'. SAV, however, uses عقب, in line with MT.

## Genesis 22

**2** יחידאך *yā̊ʾīdåk* = MT יְחִידְךָ (MORPH). The uncommon SP spelling may be due to Aramaic influence. Cf. v. 12.

המורה^] *ammūriyya* (= MT הַמֹּרִיָּה). Jewish tradition connects the place of the supreme sacrifice with the site of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Chron. 3.1; Josephus, Ant. 1.226; Gen. Rab. §55, §7; referred to by Onqelos as ארע פולחנה 'the land of worship', etc.). Accordingly, MT, at least in terms of vocalisation, presents the word as a proper name: אֶרֶץ הַמֹּרִיָּה. This is unacceptable in SP, which rejects identification of the place with Jerusalem and treats the word as a common noun, as expressed in ST ארע חזביה 'the land of vision' (cf. Vulgate *in terram visionis*). The SP spelling המורה is apparently related to אלון מורה, which is

in the vicinity of Shechem, rendered in ST as מישר חזבה. A connection with Mount Gerizim is thus established. However, the pronunciation *ammūriyya* hardly corresponds to the present spelling.

**3** העלה DEF] MT עֹלָה INDEF (see §4.1.3.2.5). SP harmonises with v. 6.

**13** אחד *ʾād* NUM] MT אַחֵר PREP. SP's reading has the number 'one' functioning as an indefinite article, which is shared by many ancient versions, such as LXX, Peshitta, and Targum Neofiti (cf. Jub. 18.12). Their reading is syntactically the *lectio facilior*, unlike MT's אַחֵר, which posed many problems for medieval Jewish exegetes. It is nevertheless supported by Vulgate *post tergum*.

**16** ממני] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 12.

**18** גוי *guwwi* PL CSTR ≈ MT גּוֹיֵי] The plural construct is identical with the singular. In view of the context, we have preferred the plural in translation.

**20** אחר] MT אַחֲרֵי. SP is consistent in using the preposition אחר in the locution ויהי אחר הדברים האלה 'and it came to pass after these things'.

## Genesis 23

**3** מיתו *mittu qal* F PT +PRON] MT מֵתוֹ *qal* M PT +PRON. While MT uses the masculine participle מֵתוֹ for both genders, SP affixes the feminine marker to the participle before the possessive pronominal suffix -*u*, in order to stress that it is Sarah that is to be buried. This resulted in the geminated *t* in SP here and in the following verses (see *GSH* §2.12.14, n. 2). Note the SAV feminine participle ميتته.

**6** שמענו *šāmānnu* 2MSG IMV +1CPL PRON/1CPL PF] MT שְׁמָעֵנוּ 2MSG IMV +1CPL PRON 'Hear us'. SP seemingly contradicts the *qal* imperative in MT שְׁמָעֵנוּ, instead exhibiting the 1st person common plural perfect 'we have heard'. However, the form may alternatively be parsed as the imperative with the object pronoun: 'hear us' (cf. שמעני *šāmānni* 'hear me', below, vv. 11, 13, 15). ST שמענ is inconclusive, as it fits both alternatives. SAV opts for the latter, i.e., اسمع منا 'hear us', in line with MT, which we have preferred in translation.

מקבר *maqbår* N מִקְבָּר\*] MT מִקְבְּר PREP -מ + *qal* INF. Most ST manuscripts render the word מקבר, in line with the SP reading. Exceptional is the oldest one, namely MS J, which takes the word as the infinitive מקבר with the initial preposition -מ, and renders it ממקבר. This is also how SAV, with من دفن, understands it.

**8** ישת *yå̄šåt qal* 3FSG PF] MT יֵשׁ אֶת. The fusion of יש and את into a single word produced in SP a unique quasi-verbal 3FSG perfect (*GSH* §4.1.4.13), which is the natural predicate of the subject נפשכם. This is how ST perceives it, with אתרעית 'was pleased', with which SAV ان هـويت agrees. Only ST MS C (Nablus 6) אית ית follows MT. The Arabic column of MS Cambr. 714 (1219/20 CE) with אן כאן has a similar rendering.

## Genesis 24

**8** ונקית *wnēquttå* COMP: PASS PT *nēqu* נָקוּי\* +2MSG INDEP PRON *attå* (*GSH* §1.5.3.4)] MT וְנִקִּ֫יתָ *nif* 2MSG PF. Ben-Ḥayyim (*LOT* IV, 555) testifies to the variant pronunciation *nēqitta*, recorded in 1951. The latter reflects *nēqi*, similar to MH נָקִי (see v. 41 below).

**14** אברהם] MT *minus*. SP is in line with v. 12 (see also v. 27).

**15** אל לבו] MT *minus*. SP is in line with v. 45.

**20** ותוריד *wtūrəd* ד"יר *hif*] MT וַתְּעַר ער"י *pi* (see §2.2.2.1). SP is in line with v. 18.

**21** משתה *mašti* שת"י *hif* PT] MT מִשְׁתָּאֵה שא"י *hitp* PT 'contemplate'. The pronunciation *mašti* reflects *hif'il* derivation of the participle of שת"י, probably connecting the verse with those preceding it: Abraham's delegate drank the water from Rebekah's jar. MS A of the ST renders the word שתיו 'drinking', reading *hif'il* with the meaning of *qal*. MS M has a similar rendering, albeit *af'el* אשקה. Notwithstanding the present reading, most ST manuscripts translate the verb as שאם 'examination, contemplation' (var. מסתכל, מתאר), as does SAV with مـتامّل, in line with MT, LXX, and the Vulgate. Both traditions have ancient roots, as several Targums demonstrate by combining the translations, e.g., Onqelos שתי בה מסתכל

'drinks examining her'; Neofiti הוה שתי ומסתכל בה; cf. Peshitta משקא ומתבקא בה. The matter is amply treated in *GSH* §2.12.16.

**22** וישם על אפה] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 47.

**25** ללין ≈ MT לָלוּן. Against MT's inconsistent use of the construct infinitive of לו"ן—note לְלִין in v. 23—SP has ללין in both cases.

**27** אחי *ʿāʾi* SG] MT אֶחֵי PL. The difference between singular and plural in both spelling and pronunciation of SP אחי *ʿāʾi* is neutralised. However, ST אחוה, תלים attest to the singular, reflecting harmonisation with v. 48.

**45** מעט מים מכדיך] MT *minus*. SP is in line with v. 17.

**55** חדש] MT עָשׂוֹר. SP harmonises with Gen. 29.14.

**60** איביו] MT שֹׂנְאָיו 'those who hate him'. SP harmonises with Gen. 22.17.

**65** הלז] MT הַלָּזֶה 'this'. SP avoids the archaistic MT demonstrative הַלָּזֶה, replacing it with the common Mishnaic הלז 'that' (see m. Yebamot 13.7; Eduyot 4.5, etc.; cf. Naḥal Ḥever 44, l. 22, etc.). ST takes the pronunciation *allåz* as representing the reading עלז 'joyful' and renders it accordingly, as זהיה (var. זעיה). The AH rendering אלמסתבשר 'joyful' is in the same spirit. This may result from a homily *en vogue* at the time, which attributed to Isaac a radiant appearance. זהי in the sense of 'joy' occurs in several instances in ST, such as וזהי יתרו for ויחד יתרו 'Jethro rejoiced', etc. (*DSA*, 222). On the other hand, a homily making Isaac a 'shining' person also exists, as AS puts it: البهي 'the glowing'. This is probably the expression of a homiletic tradition that extended beyond the borders of the Samaritan community, since a homily that occurs in the Jewish Midrash says ראת אתו הדור 'she saw him gracious' (Gen. Rab. §60; see Geiger 1858, 140–41; Ben-Ḥayyim 1977, 70). Noteworthy is Targum Pseudo-Jonathan *ad loc.*: הדור ויאי 'gracious and handsome'. At any rate, the original demonstrative meaning of הלז still endures in a targumic quotation given

in Hammeliṣ אכית for הלז, which is no longer extant (p. 499; see Ben-Ḥayyim's note *ad loc.* and *GSH* §3.3.1.2).

**Genesis 25**

**3** אשורים ולטשים ולאמים, PROP NS (*DSA*, 81) = MT אַשּׁוּרִם וּלְטוּשִׁים וּלְאֻמִּים PROP NS (?). The Samaritan tradition takes these words as common nouns, attributes of the sons of Dedan, and translates them as such. ST derives אשורים from שי"ר 'song' and renders it as ריטורים 'poem singers' (*DSA*, 832; cf. *LOT* IV, 308). SAV has (plural) مرنـدجين, a Persian loanword meaning 'wood polisher'. ולטשים is rendered by ST as ולאטשין (var. מבדאים, בדואים) 'and workmen' and by SAV as وصــياقل 'and metal polishers' (*DSA*, 81). ולאמים is ومــرممين 'and craftsmen' in SAV (*DSA*, 838). ST has the inconclusive ולאמים, but Hammeliṣ quotes צבורין, אלמים 'clans' (*DSA*, 722), which attest to a tradition that considers the third noun a designation of tribes or families. Jewish exegesis is divided, too. Targum Neofiti reads תגרן ואמפורין וראשי אומין 'merchants, and metal forgers, and heads of nations', from which Onqelos differs in some measure by taking the words as characterisations of the descendants of Dedan: למשרין ולשכונין ולנגוון 'nomads, and people living (in the desert) and in remote areas'. The Midrash maintains that 'they (all) are heads of nations' (Gen. Rab. §61). Jerome in the Vulgate gives three proper names: *Assurim et Lathusim et Loommim*, but in his Quaestiones (*ad loc.*) states that *Laomim* are *principes multarum tribuum atque populorum* 'princes of many tribes and nations'. The medieval Jewish exegetes Rashi, Qimḥi, and Ibn Ezra reject the Targumim, accepting the view that these are proper names. Yet, in translation, we have decided to render them as proper nouns, as they have no distinct features that suggest otherwise.

**8** ימים] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Gen. 35.29 (see v. 27).

עמו SG] MT עַמָּיו PL. SP always displays the singular עמו in the locution ויאסף אל עמו vs MT וַיֵּאָסֶף אֶל־עַמָּיו.

**26** ויקראו PL] MT וַיִּקְרָא SG. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

**34** עד שים ʿ*ad šem*] MT עֲדָשִׁים. MT עֲדָשִׁים 'lentils', which defines the potage, is divided into two words in all SP manuscripts, rendered in ST as עד שוי (var. סאד שוה) and in SAV as حتى شــع. The variant טלופחין occurs in the margin and between the lines of MS M alone, and was probably interpolated from Onqelos. However, Hammeliṣ's טלפעיה attests to a reading עדשים, now lost (*LOT* II, 543, along with עד שוה). The widespread reading as two words reveals its perception as an adverbial expression: 'until satiation'. To Ben-Ḥayyim this is a homiletic division (*GSH*, 299, n. 76), based on the interpretation of שים as a passive participle 'put'; its Aramaic translation as שוי *šāba* may also reflect שבע, whence the projection of the homily on the text of SP.

**Genesis 26**

**5** אביך] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 3.

**20** התעשקו *ētåššåqu* [עש"ק הֶתְעַשְׂקוּ] MT עש"ק הֶתְעַשְׂקוּ. The Samaritan phonetic inventory has no שׂ. Every שׂ is pronounced *š* (*GSH* §1.1.6). Accordingly, the present התעשקו, pronounced *ētåššåqu*, is attributed to the root ʿ*šq* 'oppression' (cf. Lev. 19.13), explicitly rendered by an interlinear variant in ST MS M as אתעצו (the other manuscripts have the inconclusive אתעשקו). In the same note, SAV has غشموا.

עמו ʿ*ammu* N] MT עִמּוֹ PREP 'with him'. The pronunciation ʿ*ammu* reflects interpretation as the noun 'his people', the object of the preceding verb, i.e., 'because they oppressed his people', fully supported by SAV قومه 'his people'. Noteworthy is the rendering עצותה in ST MS E, whose pronominal object suffix -תה 'him' is linked to the verb עצו 'they oppressed', attesting to a *Vorlage* similar to MT.

**22** ויחפרו 3MPL] MT וַיַּחְפֹּר 3MSG. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

**26** ופי כל // MT וּפִיכֹל. The Samaritan tradition is divided as to the rendering of this proper name. Many SP manuscripts display it as a single word, while others divide it into פי and כל, which reflects the pronunciation *fī kål* here, as well as in v. 22 and in Gen. 26.26. Our manuscript vacillates between the two, displaying the split form only in Gen. 26.26. The latter reflects a midrashic approach to the word, best expressed in a late ST manuscript

with כל ומימר 'the speech of all'. This is supported by ומימר in another late manuscript (in v. 22, the same manuscript has כל ופם). A similar approach appears in the Jewish Gen. Rab. §54. However, SAV وفيكل (var. وفيكال) reflects understanding of a single word.

**28** בינתנו *bīnåtånu* SG ≈ MT בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ (PHON). Note that SH is consistent in attaching the pronoun to the consonant-final base *binat-* (בֵּינוֹת*), as opposed to MT בֵּינוֹתֵי-. Cf. ביננו *binånu* (base *bin-*) vs MT בֵּינֵינוּ (base בֵּינֵי-) below, ובינכם *wbinkimma* vs MT וּבֵינֵיכֶם, etc.

**31** לרעהו] MT לְאָחִיו. SP harmonises with Exod. 18.7.

**Genesis 27**

**4** ואכל IMPF] MT וְאֹכֵלָה LENG IMPF (see §2.2.2.2). MT harmonises with v. 7.

**12** והבאת *wībåtti* 2FSG (*GSH* §2.0.13)/1CSG] MT וְהֵבֵאתִי 1CSG 'and I shall bring'. The equivocal pronunciation *wībåtti* is amenable to both 1st person common singular perfect and 2nd person feminine singular perfect interpretation. The former differs only orthographically from MT וְהֵבֵאתִי. The latter conforms with ST, which makes Rebekkah the subject of the sentence, using the 2nd person feminine singular imperfect ותנדי 'and you shall bring' (var. ותיתי, ותיעל). SAV follows the same path: AH has وتات and AS فتجلبي, with لعنـة 'curse' as object. We have opted for this interpretation, which fits both the Aramaic version and the spelling.

**24** האתה *å'åttå* INTERROG *he* + PERS PRON] MT אַתָּה PERS PRON. SP harmonises with v. 21.

**27** ברכהו *barrēkē'u*] MT בֵּרֲכוֹ. For the PRON הו- vs ו-, see *GSH* §3.2.3.2. SP ברכהו is related to ויברכהו in the same verse.

**28** ומשמני *wmiššåmåni* PREP -מ + N שֶׁמֶן] MT וּמִשְׁמַנֵּי N מִשְׁמָן*. The *miqtal* noun of MT וּמִשְׁמַנֵּי disturbs the parallelism with the previous מִטַּל, which consists of the noun טַל and the prefixed preposition -מִ. With the pronunciation *miššåmåni*, SP restores the inner equilibrium of the blessing, displaying the noun שמן *šåmən* 'fat' with the same prefixed preposition -מ.

**36** הכו *akku*] MT הֲכִי. Against MT הֲכִי, whose initial -הֲ is the interrogative particle, SP prefixes the interjection -ה to the adverb כֹּה 'here' (pronounced elsewhere *kå*) (*GSH*

§6.3.11), resulting in an exclamatory adverb that emphasises the following statement. Cf. ST אשפיר (var. יאות).

**40** תהדר *tåḍår* אד"ר *qal*] MT תָּרִיד רו"ד *hif.* ST has the equivalent תתקן 'you shall be able', var. תשתבח 'you shall improve', תתוקר 'you shall become honourable'. Cf. SAV تستقيم 'you shall improve'.

## Genesis 29

**10** ויגל *wyēgalli* גל"י *pi* IMPF] MT וַיָּגֶל גל"ל *qal* IMPF 'rolled'. The SP pronunciation *wyēgalli* exhibits the IMPF *piᶜᶜel* of גל"י 'reveal', which hardly fits the object, i.e., the stone. Indeed, it is the well that is revealed by rolling the stone away from its mouth. In this respect, MT *qal* consecutive imperfect וַיָּגֶל of גל"ל apparently fits better. Indeed, ST renders the verb properly as וגלל. However, MS M has וגלה, corrected by a later hand to וגלגל. Obviously, two interpretive traditions existed side by side. Both are reflected in the SAV. AH renders the word وكشف 'he revealed', the later AS ودحرج 'he rolled'.

**34** קראה F] MT קָרְא M. SP reflects the standard way the mother names the new-born. Cf. vv. 32, 33, 35, and elsewhere in the next chapter.

## Genesis 30

**3** ברכי^ *birrūki* N SG *qittūl*] MT בִּרְכַּי N DUAL בֶּרֶךְ 'my knees'. The pronunciation *birrūki* connects the word to בר"ך 'blessing' (of the *qiṭṭūl* pattern). Cf. ST ברוכי, var. ברכתי, and SAV بركتي. Thus, the symbolic expression 'giving birth on somebody else's knees' (MT בִּרְכַּי) is homiletically interpreted as Rachel's consent to the concubine's rise in rank. To be sure, *birrūki* allows the assertion that a different pattern of בִּרְכַּי 'my knees' is intended (*GSH* §4.1.4.3). See also Gen. 48.12.

**11** בגד *afgad*] MT בָּא גָד 'fortune has come' (*qere*; *ketiv* בגד). The two versions exhibit identical spellings, though the MT *qere* divides the word into two, translated by Onqelos as אתא גד 'fortune has come', developed further by Pseudo-Jonathan into מזלא טבא אתא 'good fortune has come'. Medieval Jewish exegesis vacillated between the interpretation 'fortune', and its attribution to גְּדוּד 'squad' (Gen. 49.19), in order to separate the word from

the idol named גַּד in Isa. 65.11 (Rashi, Qimḥi, and Ibn Ezra). This is echoed in SAV جاء عسكر 'army has come'. The Samaritan tradition reflected in ST בסור divides בגד into the preposition ב- and the noun גד, which is attributed to נג"ד 'speech' (cf. הגיד) > 'bringing good news'. See also comment at Gen. 49.19.

**14** דודים *dū'dīm* ≈ MT דּוּדָאִים (PHON). SP stress on the last syllable in *dūd'īm* represents contraction of the final two syllables, as in MT דּוּדָאִים, into one (*GSH* 1.4.6.1).

**24** יסף *yå̊səf* סו"ף *hif* ≈ MT יֹסֵף יס"ף *hif.* On fluctuations between סו"ף and יס"ף, see *GSH* §§2.4.2; 2.4.11; *LOT* IV, 308.

**25** ואל ארצי] MT וּלְאַרְצִי. SP harmonises with the preceding אל מקומי.

**36** הנותרת *annūtå̊rət* SG] MT הַנּוֹתָרֹת PL. Unlike vv. 41 and 43, where the feminine collective noun צאן has plural attributes (see also the verb תבאהן in v. 38), in the present case in SP צאן is related to a singular participial attribute.

**38** בהשקות *bå̊šqot* SG] MT בְּשֶׁקֲתוֹת PL. ST reads במשקי (var. בהשקאות, בהשקות), which represents the infinitive construct, taking the preceding ברהטים as the equivalent of 'water troughs'. In translation, we have adopted its interpretation.

**40** איל *īl* N] MT אֶל PREP. Parallel to the MT PREP אֶל, SP has the noun איל 'ram' that Jacob set before (ST קדם) the flocks. Therefore, עקוד is the attribute of the ram, rendered by ST as דכר. This is also the interpretation in LXX and Peshitta.

**41** ויהי SHORT IMPF] MT וְהָיָה CONV PF. SP harmonises with Gen. 31.10.

## Genesis 31

**19** לגוז *algoz* גו"ז (< גז"ז) *qal* INF ≈ MT לִגְזֹז גז"ז. On the merger of *media w* and geminate verbs see *GSH* §§2.6.4; 2.7.5.

**26** בנותי *bå̊nūti* DUAL] MT בְּנֹתַי PL. The Samaritan pronunciation distinguishes betwen the plural and dual forms of certain nouns to which possessive pronominal suffixes are attached. Thus, *bå̊nūtå̊k* (singular pronominal suffix) denotes the dual form 'your two daughters', while *bå̊nūtək* (plural pronominal suffix) denotes the plural 'your daughters' (see v. 41). The present form בנותי has the inconclusive ending *-i* ,which is equally

interpretable as the singular pronominal suffix (< long *-i*) or the plural pronominal suffix (contracted final diphthong *-ay*). The neutralisation of the pronominal endings blurred the dual character of בנותי, for which we opted in translation.

**27** בשרים *afšå̊rəm* PT PL 'singers'/N שָׁר* (=שִׁיר=)] MT וּבְשִׁרֶים ו+ 'and with songs'. The SP pronunciation *afšå̊rəm* is ambiguous. On the one hand, it may reflect the otherwise unattested noun *šå̊r* 'song' (*LOT* IV, 281), in line with MT וּבְשִׁרֶים, or the *qal* participle 'singer'. This is the interpretation of AS والسرور 'and (with) joy'. On the other hand, given the realisation of ancient *ś* as שׁ, the word may be attributed to שׂר 'dignitary', which underlies the translation in most ST manuscripts: ברבנים, i.e., the notables of the land would have accompanied Jacob's departure. AH shares this interpretation: באלריסא. In MS J the word belongs to שׁו"ר 'watch', being rendering as בתרים 'scouts', which would have accompanied Jacob's party (*DSA*, 945).

**29** מדבר *amdabbər* PT] MT מְדַבֵּר PREP -מ + INF. On SA use of the participle with another verb in a predicative expression, see *LOT* IIIb, 43, 81. See also Exod. 34.33.

**42** לו לא [לֹו] MT לוּלֵ֣י. Neither לולי nor לולא is attested in SP (cf. Gen. 43.10; see *GSH* §6.3.14).

**51** יראת *yå̊rītå* יר"י/רא"א/יר"י *qal* PF 2MSG] MT יָרֵיתִי יר"י *qal* PF 1CSG 'I have set'. Unlike MT יָרֵיתִי, for which verb Laban serves as subject, in SP Jacob is the subject, and therefore the verb is in the 2nd person. However, when it comes to meaning, the Samaritans display two opposing traditions. One is represented in a single late ST manuscript with דאטרית 'which you have cast', followed by SAV التي القيت, in agreement with MT. The other is manifest in the early ST manuscripts, in which the verb is related to רא"י and therefore rendered חזית 'you have seen'. In both cases, the מצבה 'pillar' is separated from the גל 'heap' in accord with v. 50. In translation, we have opted for the former approach (see, however, *GSH* §2.4.13, n.).

## Genesis 32

**1** אתם *ūtimma* ≈ MT אֶתְהֶם. The rare MT form, which also occurs in Exod. 18.20 and Num. 21.3, is unattested in SH.

**12** אתו *ittu* PREP 'with, from'] MT אֹתוֹ *nota accusativi*. SP connects the verb ירא 'fear' with the preposition את, which, apart from its denotation 'with', also frequently means 'from' (⇓ Exod. 1.7). Thus, ירא את means 'afraid of'.

**31** פנואל // MT פְּנִיאֵל. SP harmonises the form of the name with that occurring in the following verse.

**Genesis 33**

**13** עאלת^ *uwwållåt* עו"ל PT PASS FPL ≈ MT עָלוֹת PT. The SP pronunciation *uwwållåt* (var. spellings עלאת, אעלת) attests the feminine plural passive participle of עו"ל, as against MT עָלוֹת, which is active (*GSH* §§1.5.3.1, e; 2.13.6, B).

**14** לאטי אתנחלה] MT אֶתְנָהֲלָה לְאִטִּי. The verse has embarrassed both ancient and modern commentators (see details in Ben-Ḥayyim 1973–1974, 46–58). Samaritan interpretations of the verse are far from homogenous. While our translation 'I will lead on slowly' (for לאטי and המלאכה, see below) follows the simple analysis of its words, MS J of the ST is vague in showing ואסעננה לאלכה, interpreting אתנה(ח)לה as derived from נח"ל 'possession' (סח"ן in SA) and לאטה as derived from נט"י 'depart' or יט"י 'bring'. MS A אסתובר למהכה means perhaps 'I will make an effort to walk' (*DSA*, סבר I). SAV renders *ad sensum* اتـرفق رويــدا 'I will join walking'.

לאטי ( = MT לְאִטִּי)] *lēṭṭå* (לאטה). The spelling לאטה is shared by many manuscripts (von Gall, *ad loc.*; Schorch 2021, *ad loc.*; *GSH* §6.2A, 315).

המלאכה^ *ammållēka* הל"ך *pi* PT FSG] MT הַמְּלָאכָה N. Obviously, the pronunciation *ammållēka* is not the expected equivalent of MT הַמְּלָאכָה, which is pronounced elsewhere *målåka* (Exod. 12.16; Deut. 5.14). The geminated *l* is clear evidence that the word is a feminine *piᶜᶜel* participle of הל"ך (cf. ותהלך Exod. 9.23). The ST manuscripts render the word similarly to MT, i.e., as פלחנה 'the work', with the exception of MS A, which has האזלה 'the pace' (see Ben-Ḥayyim 1973–1974, 46–58). This may reveal an innovative approach to the word, as MS A is one of the latest manuscripts of ST and differs from the rest of them. At any rate, its reading is supported by SAV الماشية 'the marching ones'.

**Genesis 34**

**1** להראות *lērråʾot nif* INF] MT לִרְאוֹת *qal* INF. MT *qal* לִרְאוֹת has produced some embarrassment in translation since it has no direct object, as in most cases the indirect object is introduced by the preposition -ב. For example, ASV, WEB, etc. render the verb 'to see' and place the following 'daughters' in the position of direct object. So does Ségond: 'pour voir'. JPS, RSV, NRSV prefer 'to visit', obviously *ad sensum*. The SP reflexive *nifʿal lērråʾot* 'to see (each other)' is used in the sense of 'meeting with' the daughters of the land (cf. MT נִתְרָאֶה פָנִים 'let us see each other' [2 Kgs 14.8]). Most ST manuscripts render the word accordingly, i.e., למתחזאה 'to see each other', with which SAV للتفــرج مـــع 'to stroll with' agrees. Two ST manuscripts, however, have למחזי, which corresponds to the MT *qal* 'to see' (see §3.3).

**2** אתה *itta* PREP 'with'] MT אֹתָהּ *nota accusativi*. MT is inconsistent with regard to the particle the verb שָׁכַב 'to have sexual intercourse' uses in order to express its object. In 24 cases the preposition עִם 'with' is chosen, while in 18 the *nota accusativi* אֶת is preferred, vocalised אֹתָהּ, etc. SP is uniform in this respect. While in orthography it does not differ from MT, its vocalisation attests to the preposition *at, itta* 'with' etc., which differs from the Samaritan object marker *it, ūta*, etc.

**16** כעם] MT לְעָם. Reading 'like (one) people', SP states that circumcision does not imply total unification 'to be one people', as one might deduce from MT וְהָיִינוּ לְעַם אֶחָד 'and we shall become one people'.

**31** הך זונה *ik zūna* אֵיךְ* + N] MT הַכְזוֹנָה INTERROG. *he* + -כ + N. MT's initial interrogative *he* makes הַכְזוֹנָה part of a rhetorical question: 'Should he treat our sister as a harlot?' Instead, SP uses the comparative הך 'like' in order to make a factual assertion: 'They treated our sister like a harlot'.

יעשו *yēššu* PL] MT יַעֲשֶׂה SG. The plural makes all the Shechemites equally guilty and seeks to justify the indiscriminate mass murder, which Jacob harshly condemns.

**Genesis 37**

**20** ואמרנו *wåmårinnu* PF +PRON 3MSG וַאֲמַרנוֹהוּ\* (*GSH* §2.3.6)] MT וְאָמַ֫רְנוּ PF. The pronunciation *wåmårinnu* is utterly contradicted by the testimony of ST ונימר 'and we shall say', which does not differ from MT וְאָמַ֫רְנוּ. Cf. also SAV ونقـــول. Apparently, the SH pronunciation resulted from attraction to the preceding verbs, to which the 3rd person pronominal suffix is affixed.

**25** ההלכים^] *ållēkəm* (הלכים) (= MT הוֹלְכִים). The pronunciation *ållēkəm* does not attest the article exhibited in the spelling, which is shared by many manuscripts (see von Gall, *ad loc.*; Schorch 2021, *ad loc.*).

**Genesis 38**

**5** בכזבה *afkazzība* PROP N כַּזִּיבָה\* // MT בִכְזִיב PROP N כְּזִיב. The SP proper noun is interpreted hermeneutically in ST as בכדובה 'in her deceit'. It was not merely the word's apparent kinship with כז"ב (Num. 23.19) that yielded this interpretation, but also the name of her son שלה, which implies 'deceit'. Cf. 2 Kgs 4.28: לֹא תַשְׁלֶה אֹתִי 'do not deceive me'.

**21** המקום DET] MT מְקֹמָהּ N +PRON 3FSG 'her place'. SP harmonises with the following verse.

**25** החתים *å̊ʿātəm*] MT הַחֹתֶ֫מֶת.

והפתיל SG] MT וְהַפְּתִילִים PL. While the signet and the cord given to Tamar are represented in MT once by חֹתֶמֶת (FSG) and פְּתִיל (MSG) and once by חֹתָם (MSG) and פְּתִילִים (MPL; v. 18), SP is consistent with חתים ופתיל.

**Genesis 39**

**13** ויצא] MT *minus*. SP is harmonised with v. 15.

**15** הרמי *å̊rēmi hif.* INF. +PRON 1CSG] MT הֲרִימֹ֫תִי *hif* PF 1CSG. SP harmonises with v. 18.

בידי] MT אֶצְלִי 'with me'. SP corresponds to vv. 12, 13 ויעזב/עזב בגדיו בידה.

**20** אסורי *å̊sūri qatūl* ≈ MT אסורי (*ketiv*), אֲסִירֵי (*qere*) *qətīl*. The form אסיר is not attested in SP.

## Genesis 40

**10** כאפרחת *kå̄f'rāt* N FSG פֹּרַחַת*[] MT כְּפֹרַחַת *qal* PT F. The pronunciation *kå̄f'rāt* presupposes a morphologically feminine derivative of *fårå*, i.e., פֶּרַח (cf. Num. 17.23), namely פִּרְחַת*, by analogy with גְּבֶרֶת vs גֶּבֶר. Its exact meaning is a matter of dispute. Only one ST manuscript, MS V, renders the word as a noun, i.e., כאפרחותה 'in its blossoming'. The rest treat it as a verb: כמד אפרחת 'when it blossoms' (var. כד אפרחת, etc.). So also does SAV: عنـد ما افـرعت. Formally, MT כְּפֹרַחַת is a feminine participle. However, in Lev. 13.57 פֹּרַחַת is clearly a noun, not a participle (see Ben-Ḥayyim 1993b, 431).

## Genesis 41

**3** ורקות] MT וְדַקּוֹת 'and thin'. In fact, there is little difference between MT וְדַקּוֹת and SP ורקות, since both have the basic meaning 'thinness'. For the latter, cf. רקיקי מצות in Num. 6.19, etc., which confirms its belonging to a geminate רק"ק, whose general meaning is 'to be thin' (*DSA*, 852b). As far as MT is concerned, דַקּוֹת occurs in Pharaoh's dream regardless of the noun it characterises, whether cows (vv. 3, 4) or ears of grain (vv. 6, 7). Things change when Pharaoh recounts his dream to Joseph: the cows are then רַקּוֹת (vv. 19, 20), and ears of grain דַקּוֹת (vv. 23, 24). This is not faithfully followed in Joseph's response, which has הָרַקּוֹת for the cows, but הָרֵקוֹת 'empty', for ears (v. 27). By reading רקות in vv. 3, 4, and 27, SP systematises the narration, assigning this adjective to the cows alone. This is followed by ST, which renders רקות as רקריקן and דקות as דקיקן (alt. רקריקאתה and דקיקאתה, respectively).

**14** ויריצהו *wyå̄riṣē'u* רו"ץ *hif* + PRON ≈ MT וַיְרִיצֻהוּ. Initially, SP did not differ from MT, both displaying the *hifʿil* IMPF of רו"ץ, meaning 'rush somebody'. Accordingly, some ST manuscripts render the word ואריטה (for וארהטה). Other manuscripts legitimately interpret SP as a *hifʿil* IMPF of רח"ץ 'wash' and translate ואסחיה (var. וארעתה for וארחתה), the *hifʿil* of רח"ע 'wash'.

**16** בלעדי *bå̄lå̄ddi* PREP CSTR ST] MT בִּלְעָדָי PREP + PRON 1CSG 'without me'. SP differs structurally from MT. The former puts *bå̄lå̄ddi* in the construct state with אלהים as *nomen*

*rectum*; the latter has בִּלְעָדָי in pausal position. As both SH construct state and pronominal suffix are *-i* (*GSH* §§1.4.4b; 3.2.1), they are indistinguishable except by context. Only MS C (Nablus 6) of ST has a manifestly construct form (the rest are inconclusive). Similarly, SAV says clearly سوى الله 'other than God', viz., the particle سوى is in the construct state. Thus, a nominal phrase is conceived whose nucleus is God, without whom no answer can be found to the riddle of Pharaoh's dreams; *bålåddi* is therefore his attribute.

יענה *yånna* ענ"י *qal* IMPF ≈ MT יַעֲנֶה. According to MT, this verb's subject is God: 'Without me; it is God who will answer'. The *qal* conjugation fits the MT understanding of Joseph's words. Since SP has already said 'without God', the particle לא is required to negate the verb, which excludes God from the position of its subject. But the active *qal* conjugation produces much unease, which ST resolves by putting the verb in the passive: יתעני 'will (not) be answered'. For את before subject (שלום פרעה), see fn. 38.

**25** אגיד *aggəd hif* IMPF 1CSG] MT הִגִּיד *hif* PF 3MSG. Beyond the *hifʿil* IMPF 1CSG, the pronunciation *aggəd* is also that of the *hifʿil* PF 3MSG, the form according to MT. It is ST that reveals the intended meaning of the form: אחוי (var. אחבי). Thus, the subject of the verb is Joseph, not God, as in MT. See below, v. 28.

**28** הראה *åri* IMPF 1CSG] MT הֶרְאָה PF 3MSG '(God) has shown'. SP's use of the 1st person sets Joseph as a middleman in order to avoid the idea that direct contact might be established between God and Pharaoh (see, however, *GSH* §2.10.8).

**33** וחכום *wåkom nomen agentis qatōl* ≈ MT וְחָכָם. Though in late Hebrew and Aramaic literature חכום is very common, it is attested in SP only as part of the locution חכום ונבון (Gen. 41.39; Deut. 4.6).

**35** ויקבץ SG] MT וְיִקְבְּצוּ PL. SP is in line with the preceding verses, in which Pharaoh is the subject.

^האכל +DET *åkål* (אכל)] MT אֹכֶל −DET (cf. v. 48). MT exhibits a tri-member construct state: כָּל־אֹכֶל הַשָּׁנִים 'all the food of the years'. SP differs, creating a *status adverbialis*: כל האכל שבע השנים '(he gathered up) all the food (during) the seven years'. Indeed, SAV renders the phrase as كل القوت في سبعة السنين 'all the food within the seven years'.

**43** ויקרא SG] MT וַיִּקְרְאוּ PL. SP coordinates the verb with the other verbs in the verse, whose subject is Pharaoh. MT's plural implies an indefinite subject.

אברך *abråk*] MT אַבְרֵךְ. This *hapax* is a longstanding object of interest and source of dispute. The earliest disagreement is recorded in the 3rd-century Sifre Devarim, §I, where two Tannaim argue about its meaning. R. Yehuda elaborates a homily dividing the word into אב, i.e., 'father in wisdom' and רך 'young in years'. R. Yose, on the other hand, accuses him of 'distorting the Scriptures', claiming that the word is a derivative of ברכים 'knees'. This dispute is an echo of the ancient twofold interpretation of this most obscure word, one suggesting a midrashic understanding, the other seeking an etymological explanation. The ancient translations reflect the binary division of interpretation. Peshitta and the Targumim follow the view expressed by R. Yehuda in various ways. All of them infer 'king' or 'ruler' from רך, which they probably attribute to the Latin *rex*. For Ibn Ezra, the form is a 1st person *hifʿil* imperfect meaning 'I shall kneel', while Qimḥi sees it as an infinitive with an initial א instead of a ה, functioning as an imperative, in parallel with the following infinitive וְנָתֹון. The old Samaritan perception of the word is reflected in the ST כרוז 'herald', which we have preferred in our translation. In this it follows a tradition based on the context, already expressed in LXX κῆρυξ 'herald', which is the object of the previous verb: 'Pharaoh appointed a herald before him (Joseph)'. A later tradition expressed by ST MS A adopts the midrashic interpretation of the word אב אחס 'a merciful father' (רך = 'mild'), which is also present in SAV الاب الشفق. Significantly, a later part of the Samaritan midrash interprets the word in the same way, when relating the words of the Israelites to Moses: דאתה כות אברך מרבי בניו באיקרה 'you are like an אברך, which raises his sons in glory' (TM II, §25). See Stadel 2012, 705–13.

ונתן *wnåtån* PF 3MSG] MT וְנָתֹון INF ABS. In line with the preceding verbs, וירכב and ויקרא, SP attributes the action to Pharaoh, in contrast with MT, which assumes an indefinite subject, expressed by the absolute infinitive.

**45** צפינתי פענה *ṣēfinti fāne //* MT צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַֽ. In MT, צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ is an Egyptian proper name expounded as such by ancient authors, e.g., Philo (*De Iosepho*, XXI) Aquila, Symmachus,

and Jerome. On the other hand, Josephus presents a different understanding, based on the etymology of צפ"ן 'concealing', namely 'revealer of secrets' (Ant. 2.9), a tradition found in some Jewish Targumim as well, e.g., גברא דטמירתא גליו ליה 'the man to whom the concealed things are revealed' (Neofiti, *ad loc.*). This is in agreement with SP, rendered by ST as גלה טמירתי 'he has revealed my secrets', taking צפינתי as a common noun with 1st person pronominal suffix attached in the status of direct object and פענח as its governing verb.

כהנאן // MT כֹּהֵן אָן. SP apparently reflects an intentional merger into one word to obfuscate Joseph's marriage to the daughter of an idolatrous priest. See *GSH* §4.1.4.13.

**Genesis 42**

**1** תתיראו *tittīråʾu* יר"א *hitp* IMPF 2MPL] MT תִּתְרָאוּ רא"י *hitp* IMPF 2MPL. SP displays the only instance of the *hitpaʿʿel* of יר"א 'fear'. However, it is rather common in MH. One may, therefore, say that SP adapted the cryptic תִּתְרָאוּ (MT) to the standard language of its time. ST translates accordingly תדחלון 'you are afraid' (var. תשתפלון, see *DSA*, 922). MS A renders the word according to context as תחסכון 'abstain'.

**21** הצרה] MT הַצָּרָה. Judging from the pronunciation *aṣṣåʾråʾ*, whose ultima stress attests a dropped guttural (*GSH* §1.4.6.1), the word is reminiscent of the identically pronounced הצרעה 'wasp, hornet' (Exod. 23.28, *q.v.*). Apparently, the Samaritan tradition does not clearly discern between צרה and צרעה, since the latter is rendered by MS C (Nablus 6) of ST as עקתה, the same way all the manuscripts translate our case (the rest have צריתה, צריעותה for the case in Exodus).

**Genesis 43**

**18** ביתה] MT בֵּית −DIREC *he* (⇓ Gen. 15.5 and fn. 2). SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

**27** עודנו] MT הַעוֹדֶנּוּ. Jewish exegesis deals in several ways with the difficult structure of Joseph's question, asking first if the old father is well and only then if he is still alive. Note also that in Gen. 42.32 the brothers have already told Joseph that Jacob is still alive. The

absence of the interrogative *he* in SP clarifies the whole sentence: 'Is your father well, the old man of whom you said he *is yet* alive?'

**30** על] MT אֶל. The use of the preposition על with the verb נכמר in SP parallels the use in 1 Kgs 3.26: כִּי־נִכְמְר֤וּ רַחֲמֶ֙יהָ֙ עַל־בְּנָ֔הּ.

**33** הבכיר *abbå̊kər*] MT הַבְּכֹר֙ [\*בְּכִיר. SP הבכיר כבכירתו is in line with the following words, הצעיר כצעירתו.

**Genesis 44**

**8** הושבנו *ūšabnu* יש"ב ≈ MT שו"ב הֲשִׁיבֹ֔נוּ. ST's rendering עזרנן (spelling of חזרנן) 'we brought again' attests interchange of bi-consonantal roots in SH, leading to a merger of roots (*GSH* §2.15, especially §2.15.3). Accordingly, SP does not contradict MT in meaning.

**20** ויוליד *wyūlə̄d hif* IMPF] MT וַיֵּ֣לֶד N. The SP verbal form, as opposed to the MT nominal וַיֵּ֣לֶד, changes the entire structure of the verse. MT reports that in addition to the brothers who came to buy grain, 'we have an old father and a little brother born in his father's old age'. Replacing וַיֵּ֣לֶד with a verb, SP creates a relative sentence: 'we have an old father who begot a little one in his old age'. Nearly all ST manuscripts follow this reading, with ואולד, and so does SAV, with واولد. The only exception is the late MS A, which has וילד (unless it is the causative *pi‘‘el*). In accordance with the above, the following זקנים is treated adverbially, rendered as בסיבותה by most ST manuscripts.

**28** ואמר *wēmər qal* PF PASS 3MSG] MT וָאֹמַ֕ר *qal* CONSEC IMPF 'and I said'. According to MT וָאֹמַ֕ר, it was Jacob who made the statement. Already LXX εἴπατε attributes it to the brothers, as does Vulgate *dixistis*. SP has the passive *wēmər*, which makes the subject of the verb impersonal: 'it has been said'. This is followed by MS A ואיתמר and by SAV وقــيل. Being unvocalised, the rest of the ST manuscripts, with ואמר, are inconclusive.

אך *ik* EMPH PARTIC/INTERROG PARTIC] MT אַ֣ךְ EMPH PARTIC 'surely'. Judging from the pronunciation, this interrogative, functioning as an exclamation of sorrow, differs from the common emphatic particle אך pronounced *ak* (=MT), although both are rendered as ברן in ST. Notably, the earlier version of SAV omits it altogether (see Gen. 37.30), while the later

version renders it as the conjunction انّ, *viz.* وقـيل انّ خطـفا خُطِـف 'and it has been said that surely he has been torn' (see *LOT* IV, 306).

## Genesis 45

**7** לשים ≈ MT לְשׂוּם. In SP, the infinitive לשים and the imperfect ישים are without exception of the same pattern, while in MT, infinitive forms are normally (לָ)שׂוּם (exceptions in Job 20.4 and the *qere* in 2 Sam. 14.7 and Isa. 10.6) and the imperfect forms are תָּשִׂים, יָשִׂים, etc. ⇓ Exod. 4.11.

**23** ארץ] MT *minus*. SP טוב ארץ מצרים corresponds to the exact same phrase occurring in v. 18, above.

## Genesis 46

**7** בנתו^ *wbintu* (ובנתו) SG] MT בְּנוֹתָיו PL. The pronunciation reflects the singular, since Dinah was Jacob's only daughter. Although the spelling with a נ is rather unusual, it occurs in the majority of manuscripts (von Gall *ad loc.*; Schorch 2021, *ad loc.*), and is followed closely by ST ברתה. SAV is divided: while AS keeps to the singular, the older AH has بناته بناתה, with a dot over the ת that apparently represents its spirant pronunciation. Obviously, the plural is intended, in line with MT. See *GSH* §§1.5.3.1, h; 3.2.3 and fn. 7.

**22** ילדה *yålåda qal* PF 3FSG] MT יֻלַּד *qal* PASS PF 3MSG. The verb *yålåda* makes Rachel the subject, as opposed to the impersonal subject of the MT passive.

ארבעה עשרה^ *arba ʿåšårå* F (ארבע עשרה)] MT אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר M. The pronunciation *arba* ameliorates the spelling ארבעה, which is incongruent with the feminine noun נפש it defines and is incompatible with the following עשרה. MT אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר is aberrant as an adjective defining a feminine noun.

**30** ראיתי *råʾīti qal* PF 1CSG/*qal* INF +PRON 1CSG (*GSH* §2.14.17)] MT רְאוֹתִי *qal* INF +PRON 1CSG. Most ST manuscripts take *råʾīti* as the 1st person common singular perfect of רָאָה and render it accordingly as חזית and דחזית. The latter makes the phrase smoother, by creating a relative clause governed by the relative particle -ד. One manuscript considers ראיתי the

infinitive/noun חזותי, which is followed by SAV نظري. This rendering is equally probable as a strategy to avoid the difficult (and rare) combination of the preposition אחרי with a finite verb (*GSH*, §2.4.17).

**34** רעי *rāʾi* PL] MT רֹעֶה SG. Neither spelling (רעי vs רעה; cf. comment at Gen. 3.7; ⇓ 4.2; 8.11; 13.7; 30.36; 37.2) nor pronunciation reveals the noun's grammatical number. Yet, the context (PL תועבת and the plural רעי צאן in v. 32) suggests a plural.

## Genesis 47

**21** העביד] MT הֶעֱבִיר 'he removed'. SP is in accordance with v. 19 (see §2.2.1.1). The MT's initial וְאֶת־הָעָם is in the position of *casus pendens,* to which the following *nota accusativi* אֹתוֹ refers: 'and as for the people—he removed them to the cities'. In SP אתו is prepositional, creating a different syntactic structure. ST is ambiguous in this respect. Some of its manuscripts, the oldest J included, render אתו as a preposition, עמה, while others, among which the old MS M, have the *nota accusativi,* יתה, in line with MT. This is also the rendering of most SAV manuscripts: استعبدهم 'he enslaved them'. A few, however, follow the reading of SP: استخدم معه 'he enslaved (the people) with him'.

**26** לבדה PRON 3FSG] MT לְבַדָּם PRON 3MPL. SP assigns the attribute to the land, while in MT לְבַדָּם delimits the priests.

## Genesis 48

**1** ויאמר *wiyyåmər nif*] MT וַיֹּאמֶר *qal*. The passive represents the subject as impersonal. As MT וַיֹּאמֶר has no subject, Rashi was compelled to explain: "this is an elliptic expression (מקרא קצר) for 'one'."

**7** אפרתה 2° // MT אֶפְרָת. ST (MSS C, E, and V) לאפרתה, as well as SAV (in all its manuscripts) الى افرته, show that the directional *he* is an integral part of the Samaritan toponym. Similar evidence is found in Gen. 45.7 (MS J לאפרתה and SAV الى افرته).

**10** כבדה 3FPL] MT כָּבְדוּ 3PL. The rather rare afformative *-a* for the 3FPL occurs in several biblical verses (GKC §44m). It is employed in larger measure in the Dead Sea Scrolls

(Kutscher 1974, 144), where Aramaic is a factor in its occurrence (it is standard in Onqelos, as well as in the Genesis Apocryphon [col. 22.28]). It seems that our case also stems from Aramaic influence. See also Deut. 34.7 (*GSH* §2.0.13).

**22** שכם *aškəm* PROP N] MT שְׁכֶם N 'shoulder'. MT שְׁכֶם is uncertain and syntactically difficult, being incongruent with the following masculine numeral אֶחָד (see GKC §130g). Most ancient versions reflect the meaning 'shoulder' (cf. Gen. 9.23; 21.14), and, taking the word as a metaphor, render it as 'part' (Vulgate, Peshitta, Onqelos). Though unetymological, this interpretation is followed by Qimḥi and Ibn Ezra. Rashi, however, adopts the view that the city of Shechem is involved, but, as he is aware of Onqelos's rendering, writes: "Shechem will be the exceeding part, beyond that of your brothers." This interpretation is much encouraged by the following relative clause, which evokes conquest, probably leaning on ch. 34, with Shechem as scene of the action. In accordance with the perception expressed by LXX Σικιμα ἐξαίρετον 'Shechem the chosen', SP's pronunciation stresses the matter ('shoulder' is pronounced *šēkåm*). MS A of ST renders the phrase as נאבלס אוקרו על אחיך 'Neapolis—glory above your brothers' (see §2.2.1.4).

אחד^ (= MT אֶחָד)] *ʿāt* (אחת). The reading אחד occurs in some old fragments of SP Genesis as well, recorded in von Gall's edition (recently, Schorch 2021, 430). One may assume that אחד was also in circulation in some Samaritan circles, which considered the pronunciation of שכם sufficient indication of the toponymic nature of the grapheme. Note that due to the phonetic nature of the phoneme /d/ in the numeral אחד, it is prone to the realisation [t] and thus could have been written אחת.

**Genesis 49**

**4** פחזת *fāʾiztå* *pi B* PF 2MSG] MT פַּחַז N. SP obviously rejects the cryptic MT פַּחַז, a segholate noun that results in confused syntax with which exegetes have struggled from time immemorial (see, for example, Gen. Rab. §98). Setting a verb in the 2nd person in agreement with the following verbs makes the sentence uniform. Noteworthy is a Qumran fragment of a commentary on Genesis (4Q252 f4.4), which also reads פחזת. Judging from the great variation in renderings in ST manuscripts, there is little agreement with regard to

the meaning of the word. ארתעת in some of them suggests 'you have been flowing', perhaps in view of the following כמים. Interestingly enough, SAV also has a noun, جرعة, which is related to the swallowing of water.

**5** כלו *kallu pi* PF 3PL] MT כְּלֵי N PL CSTR 'weapons'. MT condemns the brothers for their aggression against the people of Shechem, calling their weapons כְּלֵי חָמָס 'instruments of iniquity'. SP, on the other hand, praises them for their act of punishment, wiping away the iniquity of Dinah's rape (whence our translation: 'They consumed iniquity'). See below.

מכרתיהם *makrētīyyimma* N מַכְרֵת N MT [מְכֵרֹתֵיהֶם *מְכֵרָה N מְכֵרֹתֵיהֶ. The obscure MT מְכֵרֹתֵיהֶם has generated a plethora of interpretations and translations, reflecting attribution to a diversity of Hebrew and non-Hebrew words. Jewish exegesis varies. Qimḥi and Ibn Ezra, following the Targumim, ascribe it to מְכֹרָה 'land (of origin)', a derivative of כו"ר (cf. Ezek. 16.3), and to מִכְרֶה 'digging, mine', a derivative of כר"י, aiming at the sense 'origin'. Without rejecting the meaning *Vaterland*, Rashi mentions a tradition that assigns the word to μάχαιρα 'weapon' (Gen. Rab. 99.7). SP derives the word from כר"ת, in the sense of 'make a covenant' (cf. Gen. 21.27, 32, etc.), where the verb occurs with the object ברית. This is obvious also from ST בקיומיון 'in their covenants'. Use of 'covenant' probably refers to the arrangement proposed to Hamor. A variant, בקטעותן, has a similar meaning, as it often occurs with ברית (*DSA*, 772). However, it may represent a different interpretative tradition, namely 'cut off', referring to the circumcision of the Shechemites related in Gen. 34. Indeed, כרת is the verb employed where the performance of circumcision is mentioned (Exod. 4.25). A third tradition exists: one manuscript has במעקריון, which may denote 'their annihilation' (the usual meaning of עק"ר is 'uproot'; see Florentin, 2000–2001, 189–202).

**7** אדיר *ådər*] MT אָרוּר. Samaritan exegesis attributes אדיר to הד"ר 'splendour', rendered in ST משבח 'splendid' (var. חסין). Accordingly, Jacob praises their deeds, denigrated according to MT אָרוּר 'cursed'.

וחברתם *wåbåråtimma* N עֶבְרָה MT [וְעֶבְרָתֶם 'their wrath'. The merger of the gutturals links עברתם, initially 'their wrath', with חברתם 'their company'. Accordingly, ST renders it

ודביקתון (var. וחברתון), and SAV وصـحبتهما (dual), all denoting 'company'. Thus, SP continues the preceding verse, which describes the brothers as a group of people: 'council, assembly'.

**9** וכלביאה *wkallibyå* F *libyå* לְבִיאָה\*] MT וּכְלָבִיא F. MT וּכְלָבִיא is considered a feminine noun without the feminine marker (i.e., epicene: GKC §122c). According to Ben-Ḥayyim, the feminine לביאה is an innovation of MH, with which SP is strongly linked (*GSH* §4.5.2, n. 60).

**10** דגליו *dēgå̊lo* 'his troops'] MT רַגְלָיו 'his feet'. The metaphorical MT וּמְחֹקֵק מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו 'the ruler's staff from between his feet' describes the majesty of Judah, less than acceptable to the historic rivals of Judea. SP limits the extent of Judah's dominion to 'his own troops'. ST accordingly renders the word סדריו (var. טכסיו) (*DSA*, 311, 570). For דגל as a military unit see e.g., Num. 1.52; 2.25, etc.

שלה PROP N?] MT שילה (*ketiv*), שִׁילֹו (*qere*). The MT *qere* שִׁילֹו *ketiv* שילה has been a *crux interpretum* for ages. Jewish Targumim interpreted it as a reference to Messiah, supposed to be a descendant of David, the descendant of Judah, and Jewish medieval exegetes tend to adopt this view. This is incompatible with the Samaritan attitude towards David, the king who established Jerusalem as the centre of the land. SP is pronounced therefore *šīlå*, and considered the proper name of Judah's eldest son (Gen. 38.5, 11, etc.). Amazingly, AS renders it as سليمان 'Solomon'.

יקהתו *yiqqå̊tu* קה"ת *nif* IMPF 3PLSG] MT יְקְהַת N 'obedience'? Though incongruent with the plural עמים, MT יְקְהַת is rendered by Onqelos as a verb in the plural: וליה ישתמעון עממיא 'nations will obey him' (likewise other Targumim, albeit with different wording). SP goes in the same direction, putting the verb in the plural, rendered by ST as ידברון (var. יתנגדון) 'will follow', which corresponds with the position AS takes: تنـــقاد. AS has יגתמע 'will assemble', in accordance with the Aramaic column of our manuscript, with יתכנשון, probably considered a derivative of קו"ה. For the etymology of קה"ת see Schorch 1997, 76–84.

**11** אסורי *ǻsūri* PT PASS] MT אֹסְרִי PT ACT 'binding'. As against MT אֹסְרִי, which describes the abundance Judah enjoys among prosperous vineyards, not hesitating to bind his ass to a vine, SP promotes the idea that Judah is vainly tied up to Jerusalem (see below).

לגפן *algǻfən* PROP N] MT לַגֶּפֶן N DEF. SP resorts to the derogatory epithet of Jerusalem *Gafna* (*DSA*, 156).

עירו *īru*] MT עירה (*ketiv*), עִירֹה (*qere*) 'his foal'. MT's uncommon vocalisation עִירֹה (for expected עֵירֹה*) determined its understanding as both 'foal' and 'city'. The former is the rendering of LXX τὸν πῶλον, Vulgate *pullum*, and Peshitta עילא. Onqelos, perhaps on homiletic grounds, adopts the latter, לקרתיה, referring to Jerusalem. This is also the position of SP, albeit on completely different grounds. ST renders it as קרתיה, which functions in apposition to גפן. SAV, however, has عيره 'his foal'.

ולשריקה *walšērīqa*] MT וְלַשֹּׂרֵקָה 'to the choice vine'. Judging from ST ולריקה (var. ולריקנו), it is clear that 'emptiness' is meant. Apparently, the Samaritan tradition considers the word a compound consisting of the conjunction -ו, the preposition -ל, and the relative particle -ש, all prefixed to ריקה 'emptiness' (see Ben-Ḥayyim in *LOT* II, 598, note). Alternatively, one may attribute the translation to a homiletic perception of the word, which, reminiscent of the old ש, attributed the word to Aramaic סרק 'empty, valueless' (cf. סרקין in Targ. Jdg 9.4). The same relic occurs in the ST translation of תִשְׂטֶה (Num. 5.12) as תסטי (var. תסתטי).

בני איתנו *bēni ītǻnu*] MT בְּנִי אֲתֹנֹו 'his ass's colt'. Completely different from MT בְּנִי אֲתֹנֹו 'the colt of his she-ass', SP hints at David, the descendant of Judah, with terms of rebuke reminiscent of ראשית אוני, previously addressed to Reuben (v. 3).

**12** הכלילו *iklīlu* חכל"ל PF 3PL/N] MT חַכְלִילִי ADJ. In accordance with SP's tendency to defame Judah, or at least to limit his praise in Jacob's 'blessing', the verse opens with a verb which the ST renders עכירן, a passive participle denoting 'turbid'. MS A reads אתלפס, the Latin loanword *lippus* 'having inflamed eyes' (Kohn 1865, 170). The latter is employed in the same manuscript in the case of Noah: ואתלפס נח מן חמרה for וייקץ נח מיינו (Gen. 9.24). MT Prov. 23.29–30 mentions turbidity of the eyes in connection with drunkenness: לְמִי חַכְלִלוּת

עֵינָיִם: לֶמְאַחֲרִים עַל־הַיָּיִן, rendered by Jerome as *cui suffusio oculorum nonne his qui morantur in vino*.

**14** גרים *gīrəm* N PL גֵּר*\] MT גֶּרֶם 'bone'. SP preserves a tradition expressed in the Jewish Midrash as well: ישׁשׁכר חמור לגרים (Gen. Rab. §98.15).

המשפחתים *ammašfåtəm*] MT הַמִּשְׁפָּחֵים. Only one additional manuscript has this spelling, with an unpronounced ח (von Gall, *ad loc.*; Schorch 2021, *ad loc.*). However, ST derives the word from משפחה 'family' and renders it accordingly: כרניה 'families' (var. לשׁניה 'tongues', i.e., nations, cf. Gen. 10.20).

**17** שפפון *šåfåfon*] MT שְׁפִיפֹן. According to MT, שְׁפִיפֹן is a sort of snake (*HALOT s.v.*), equivalent to the preceding נָחָשׁ, the two phrases forming a poetic parallelism. Judging from the ST rendering מכמן (var. מלשם), SP regards the second sequence as a circumstantial clause related to נחש: 'laying in ambush on the path' (see LXX, *ad loc.*). For the meaning 'low' of שפ"ף see *DSA*, 923. See also ⇓ Num. 23.3.

ויפל *wyabbəl hif*] MT וַיִּפֹּל *qal* 'falls'. In MT, the subject of the intransitive וַיִּפֹּל is the rider. Putting the verb in the causative *hifꜥil*, SP continues the preceding verse, making the serpent the subject of the phrase.

**19** יגידנו *yaggīdinnu* נג"ד/גד"ד *hif*] MT יְגוּדֶנּוּ גו"ד *qal*. Both spelling and pronunciation attribute the verb to the *hifꜥil* of נג"ד 'tell', whence the connotation 'tidings'. Apparently, the perception of גדוד as 'novelty' (cf. جديد) contributes to this interpretation. Accordingly, the phrase is rendered in ST as גד בסור יבסרנה והוא יבסר עקב, obviously a homily on Gad's name, which also denotes 'omen' (⇓ Gen. 30.11). The later manuscript of ST, MS A, has שׁזור ישׁזרנה והוא ישׁזר עקב, based on the understanding of גד"ד as 'weaving'; cf. גדי מגבעתה for 'the lace of the headbands' (Exod. 39.28). To be sure, SAV renders the entire phrase in agreement with the Jewish perception, كردوس يتكردس وهو يتكردس الساقة, probably borrowed from Saadia's Tafsir.

**20** מאשר *måšər* INTERROG מה + PROP N] MT מֵאָשֵׁר PREP + מן PROP N. The pronunciation reflects the initial interrogative מה, with the function of an interjection of amazement: 'how!' (cf. Num. 24.7, 22; see *GSH* §6.3.15). AS renders it as the exclamatory اِنّ, while AH

ignores it altogether with אשר, which may be interpreted as exclamatory, too. As for ST מן, it is apparently a secondary Aramaic form of מה (*DSA*, 476) and has no connection with the preposition -מ in MT מֵאָשֵׁר 'out of Asher'.

שמן *šåmən* N M שֶׁמֶן*] MT שְׁמֵנָה ADJ F. In contrast with MT שְׁמֵנָה, which provides an incongruous description of the noun לַחְמוֹ, ST has a nominal phrase, in which oil symbolises richness. This is in harmony with וטבל בשמן רגלו (Deut. 33.24), pronounced *afšåmən* (the adjective שָׁמֵן is pronounced *šammən* in Exod. 29.23, etc.).

מעודני *miyyūdåni* PREP + מ N] MT מַעֲדַנֵּי N. The construction, different from the MT *maqtal* pattern of מַעֲדַנֵּי, presupposes עדן, in the sense of 'delight', as found in the liturgy: תהומה דשבתה עדן לעלם 'the space of Sabbath is a delight to the world' (*LOT* IIIb, 68). Some ST manuscripts separate the prefixed PREP -מ, e.g., MS C (Nablus 6) מן עדני (var. מן מן תעתידי, תעתיד). See *LOT* IIIa:35.

**21** שופר *šūfår*] MT שֶׁפֶר 'goodly, lovely'. In principle, SP שופר barely differs from MT שֶׁפֶר. It appears that its middle radical פ influenced the preceding vowel, which shifted to *u* (Tal 2013, §2.6.2.3), resulting in resemblance to the noun שופר 'trumpet'. This gave rise to a homiletic interpretation, based on the role of the trumpet in marking the process of redemption of land and slaves (Lev. 25.9–13), rendered in ST as פרקן 'redemption'. Cf. Gen. Rab. 98.21: אמרי שופר.

**22** בני צעירי *bēni ṣīri*] MT בָּנוֹת צָעֲדָה '(his) branches run (over the wall)'. The SP reading, supported by ST ברי זעורי and by SAV ابـني صـغيري, is related to LXX υἱός μου νεώτατος 'my youngest son', rather than to MT בָּנוֹת צָעֲדָה.

**23** ויריבהו *wyåríbẹʾu* רו"ב *hif* IMPF 3PL +PRON 3MSG] MT רב"ב וָרֹבּוּ *qal*? 'they shot at him'. SP's reading, derived from רי"ב 'quarrel', is clearer than MT וָרֹבּוּ, which is of dubious descent. The 3MSG pronominal suffix assimilates the verb to the other verbs in the verse, וימררהו and וישטמו.

חצים *iṣṣəm* = MT חִצִּים 'arrows'. In translation we disregard the rendering פלגים 'dissension, conflict', shared by all ST manuscripts and by Onqelos פלגותיה, in favour of גרים 'arrows' in

the 14th-century glossary Hammeliṣ (also attested by a later hand between the lines of MS M of ST). SAV too, has سهام, PL of سهم 'arrow'.

**24** משם *miššam*] MT מִשָּׁם 'from there'. The SP pronunciation intends to establish a parallel with the preceding מידי, in contrast with MT מִשָּׁם (whose pronunciation in SH would be *miššamma*). The ST manuscripts are divided with respect to the word. MSS A, V, C, and E render it in accordance with its pronunciation, while the rest, B, M, and J, have מתמן 'from there', in line with MT (see §3.3 and fn. 45).

**26** ברכת (twice) *bå̊rå̊kåt* PL ≈ MT בִּרְכֹת (PHON). The feminine affix *-åt* is classified in the preceding verse as singular, since as a rule it represents the singular. In the present case, however, the plural is contextually required, considering the plural verb גברו (see §4.2.1.4 and *GSH* §1.5.2.5). We have translated the word accordingly (*contra* the singular SAV ترکة, followed by the late MS A of ST ברוך, both due to attraction to v. 25).

הרי *å̊ri* SG] MT הוֹרַי PL 'my parents'. In view of the parallel singular גבעת עלם (*q.v.*), the SP reading is also to be considered singular, referring to Mount Gerizim. Obviously, SP creates a link between Joseph, father of the Samaritans, and the sacred mountain (LXX ὀρέων 'mountain'), similar to Moses's blessing of Joseph in Deut. 33.15 (*q.v.*). Both verses have גבעת עלם in the singular as an epithet for the holy site. ST is divided with respect to the meaning of הרי. Some manuscripts render the word as טורי (var. טברה) 'my mountain', others as בטוני 'my conception', in line with MT הוֹרַי (see Schorch 2004).

גבעת עולם *gå̊ˈbāt ūlå̊m* SG] MT גִּבְעֹת עוֹלָם PL. Tibat Marqe mentions גבעת עולם among the thirteen epithets of Mount Gerizim (TM II, § 50, 149).

לראש *larrēʾoš* N ABS DEF] MT לְרֹאשׁ N CSTR INDEF. Unlike MT's indefinite noun in לְרֹאשׁ, SP is definite (double *r*; see however *GSH* §6.3.1), making the word an appositive to the following Joseph: 'to the head, i.e., Joseph'. This seems to be a relatively late interpretation represented mostly in SAV, which regards the word as definite, للرئيس, indicating its metaphorical position: 'the leader'. At any rate, all ST manuscripts (save the late MS A, with לרישה) display an indefinite noun in the construct state, לריש, like MT (see, in detail, Florentin 2018).

ולקדקד *wlaqqåḏqåd* N ABS DEF] MT וּלְקָדְקֹד N CSTR INDEF. The word is treated here as a metaphor for 'leader' (*DSA*, 758; see the previous comment).

## Genesis 50

**3** מצרימה *miṣrīma*] MT מִצְרָיִם − DIREC *he* (⇓ Gen. 15.5 and fn. 2). Though the locative form occurs in very few manuscripts (von Gall, *ad loc.*; Schorch 2021, *ad loc.*), it is well rooted in pronunciation. It probably intends to change the subject, i.e., the refence is not to the Egyptians' mourning; it was the brothers who mourned in Egypt. In any case, ST renders unanimously מצראי 'the Egyptians', in line with MT מִצְרָיִם. As for SAV, AH אלמצריון goes with ST, but AS بمصر 'in Egypt' agrees with the pronunciation.

5 כרתי *kåråtti* כר"ת MT] כר"י כָּרֵיתִי. While MT כָּרֵיתִי speaks about digging a grave in the ground (כר"י means 'dig' [Gen. 26.25]), for SP the burial place is a family cave cut (כר"ת) into the stone of the hill area. This is in perfect harmony with the story of the Cave of Machpelah (Gen. 23), as recounted in Gen. 49.29–32.

כאשר השביעני] MT *minus*. SP refers to Gen. 49.29 and to the following verse.

**14** קברו *qåbåru* PF 3MPL] MT קָבְרוֹ INF +3MSG '(after) burying (his father)'. The form *qåbåru* is grammatically ambiguous. Apart from expressing the 3MPL of the perfect tense, it may also be parsed as the infinitive with a pronominal suffix (*LOT* IV, 242), just as the MT vocalisation represents it. Indeed, this is how MS A of ST renders: מקבר. However, the rest of the ST manuscripts prefer the first alternative, taking קברו as a finite verb, בתר קברו ית אביו, with MSS C and V adding the relative pronoun in order to avoid an asyndetic clause, בתר דקברו ית אבוה. Thus, the act of burial is attributed to all the brothers and not to Joseph alone.

**19** התחת *å'tåt* = MT הֲתַחַת. Initially, the pronunciation represented the preposition תחת with the prefixed interrogative *he*. However, it is rendered as such only by the early ST MS J: החליפת אלהים 'am I in God's stead'. All other manuscripts, early and late, render it as דחול 'fearing' (var. דחל), apparently because of the perception of its belonging to חתת 'fear'

pronounced *ẚtẚt*; cf. Gen. 35.5, where the word occurs in proximity to אלהים. SAV follows this path: اخايت (AH), خائف (AS).

**Exodus 1**

**1** וְאֵ֗לֶּה שְׁמוֹת֙ בְּנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל הַבָּאִ֖ים MT [ואלה שמות בני ישראל הבאים מצרימה את יעקב: איש וביתו באו מִצְרָ֑יְמָה אֵ֣ת יַעֲקֹ֔ב אִ֥ישׁ וּבֵיתֹ֖ו בָּֽאוּ. The two versions differ with respect to verse division: SP positions יעקב at the end of the first hemistich (via the disjunctive *nagad*), while MT marks מִצְרָ֑יְמָה with the disjunctive *ʾatnaḥ* (thus: 'And these are the names of the sons of Israel, who came into Egypt, every man and his household came with Jacob').

**5** ויהיו PL] MT וַֽיְהִ֗י SG. The SP verb is congruent in number with its subject (see §2.2.2.1).

**7** אתם *ētimma* PREP 'with, from'] MT אֹתָ֑ם NOTA ACC. MT has the *nota accusativi* אֵת, which with the intransitive *nifʿal* verb וַתִּמָּלֵ֥א creates somewhat awkward syntax. Note that the preposition אֵת also means מִן 'from' (⇓ Gen. 4.1). Following this reading, ST renders the word מנן (= Onqelos). The verb מלא is followed by את 'from' in Exod. 8.17 as well.

**10** תקראנו *tiqrānnu* IMPF 3FSG +PRON 1PL] MT תִּקְרֶ֙אנָה֙ IMPF 3FPL/IMPF 3FSG +PARAG *nun* 'befall'. SP with its pronominal suffix avoids the vague MT form. LXX, Vulgate, Peshitta, and Onqelos follow suit.

**11** מסכנת *maskēnət* SG] MT מִסְכְּנֹות֙ PL. Our translation 'dwelling' is based on the probably relatively late Samaritan exegesis as reflected in ST סכונ, סכונן (ש/סכ"ן) and SAV مسكونه.

**14** בחימר *bīmår* ≈ MT בְּחֹ֙מֶר֙. SP does not distinguish between the equivalents to MT חֹ֫מֶר 'clay' and חֵמָר 'tar', both translated in ST as טיאם/ן 'clay, mortar' (see *DSA*, טים).

עבדו *ʿabbēdu pi* PASS (*GSH* §2.10.9)] MT עָבְד֣וּ *qal*. SP emphasises the slavery of the Israelites. The passive verb harmonises with ויעבדו (*hif*) in v. 13; cf. the reading in Gen. 15.14.

**19** המילדות *amyallēdot* PL] MT הַֽמְיַלֶּ֔דֶת SG. The SP plural המלדות follows all the occurrences of the word in vv. 15–21, though in this case the plural form produces atypical incongruence with the preceding singular תבוא.

**20** וירבו PL] MT וַיֶּ֥רֶב SG. SP harmonises with the following ויעצמו as well as with v. 7: וירבו ויעצמו במאד מאד.

**22** לעברים] MT *minus*. SP specifies the indirect object of the verb.

תשליכון IMPF] MT תַּשְׁלִיכֻ֑הוּ IMPF + PRON 3MSG –PARAG *nun* 'you shall cast him'. SP avoids the repetition of the object 'every son' embedded in the pronominal suffix.

## Exodus 2

**3** הצפנהו *å̄ṣfinē'u*] MT הַצְּפִינוֹ. The SP suffix agrees with וַתִּצְפְּנֵהוּ in the preceding verse. For the pronominal suffix cf. comment at Gen. 27.27.

**4** לדעת] MT לְדֵעָ֔ה. SP displays the standard infinitive for I-*yod qal* verbs, while MT exhibits a rare form of יד"ע, occurring only here. See §2.2.2.1.

**6** ותפתחה ותרא] MT וַתִּפְתַּח֙ וַתִּרְאֵ֣הוּ 'and she opened and saw him'. The syntactic structure of SP is more standard in two respects: first, it presents the object of the verb ותפתחה (the ark), as opposed to MT וַתִּפְתַּח֙, which ignores the object; second, it omits the pronominal object in the verb ותרא, avoiding the double indication of the object in MT וַתִּרְאֵ֣הוּ אֶת־הַיֶּ֗לֶד (cf. comment at Exod. 1.22).

**7** מינקת *mīnqot* N *maqtalut* (*GSH* §4.2.3.11)] MT מֵינֶ֔קֶת *hif* PT 'nurse'. As pronounced, the SP word seems to be an abstract noun, which disturbs the syntactic flow of the sentence. We have therefore opted in translation for a rendering in agreement with ST מינקה, i.e., the feminine *hifʿil* participle, supported by the SAV II-form 3FSG مرضّعة 'nursing (woman)'.

**9** הלכי *å̊līki* EXCLAM *å̊-* + ל- + PRON 2FSG/EXCLAM *å̊-* + ך"יל *qal* IMV FSG] MT הֵילִ֣יכִי ך"יל *hif* IMV FSG. The SP and MT forms are both uncommon. Both traditions, as reflected in the Targumim, consider the form an imperative, rendered by ST as הלכי, and by SAV as تسلمي (AH) and اذهبي (AS), all imperatives. This rendering corresponds to the Jewish Targumim אובילי, הליכי, etc. One ST witness, MS (V), however, renders the word הא ליך 'behold, what is yours', with the interjection הא followed by the preposition -ל to which the 2FSG pronominal suffix is affixed. This corresponds to the actual pronunciation (*LOT* IV, p. 147). Incidentally, this is also the reading of Peshitta הא לכי, as well as that underlying the Babylonian Talmud dictum הי שליכי 'this is yours', which refers to our passage (R. Hama b. Hanina, b. Sota 12b).

**10** הנער] MT הַיֶּ֖לֶד. SP harmonises with v. 6.

**20** ואיה *wayye* INTERROG] MT וְאַיּוֹ INTERROG +PRON 3MSG 'where is he'. As in Gen. 3.9 (איכה), SP avoids the pronominal suffix of the interrogative אַיֵּה. However, 'where' alone in the context of the verse creates vague phraseology, and indeed, ST renders it ואהנ 'and where is he?' For the possibility that *wayye* includes the Aramaic 3MSG pronominal suffix *-e*, see *GSH* §3.2.3.5.

**21** ויאל *wyå̊ʾəl* או"ל *hif*] MT וַיּוֹאֶל *hif*. SP ויאל *wyå̊ʾəl* may represent a blend of ויואל and ויחל. Our translation 'began' follows ST ואתרשי. See comments at Gen. 8.10; 13.12, 18.

לאשה] MT *minus*. SP ויתן... לאשה follows the regular structure: 'A gave (or: took) B (a woman) to wife' (cf. Gen. 12.19; 16.3; 25.20, etc.).

**23** ויצעקו זע"ק] MT וַיִּזְעֲקוּ זע"ק. SP harmonises with the noun צעקתם, which occurs in the same context in 3.7. Note that זע"ק does not occur in SP (in Gen. 18.20 צעקת parallels MT זַעֲקַת).

**24** נקאתם *neqāttimma* נק"א] MT נַאֲקָתָם נא"ק. The SP noun is *nē̊ʾqā* (< *niqʾa*), while the MT noun is *נְאָקָה*. As to the difference between the two roots, cf. זועה in Deut. 28.25.

**Exodus 3**

**4** אלהים] MT יְהוָה. SP harmonises with אלהים in the same verse.

**6** אבותיך PL] MT אָבִיךָ SG. SP is in line with the rest of the verse, which mentions the three patriarchs.

**14** אל בני] MT לִבְנֵי. SP harmonises with the following verse.

**15** ודור] MT דֹר – וּ. The locution דור דור, without conjunctive וּ- (also MT Exod. 17.16), does not occur in SP.

**16** בני] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Exod. 4.29.

**18** נקרא *niqqāra* קר"א] MT נִקְרָה קר"י 'has met with us'. SP harmonises with Deut. 28.10: כי שם יהוה נקרא עליך 'the name of LORD is called upon you'. Accordingly, ST renders the verb מתקרי (var. אזדעק).

**21** רקים *rīqəm* PL] MT רֵיקָם ADV. While רֵיקָם is an adverb, *rīqəm* is the plural form of the adjective ריק (*GSH* §4.3), functioning as an adverb. ST presents the adjective ריקנין, SAV the adverb صفرا.

**22** ושאל איש מאת רעהו ואשה מאת רעותה] MT וְשָׁאֲלָה אִשָּׁה. SP harmonises with Exod. 11.2.

## Exodus 4

**9** יהיו IMPF] MT וְהָיוּ CONSEC PF. SP יהיו prevents the repetition of the verb והיו in the same sentence: והיו המים אשר תקח מן היאר יהיו לדם ביבשת. The form והיו serves as a *casus pendens* of the following discourse, very much like v. 16: והיה הוא יהיה לך לפה. Note also that והיו *wå̊yyu* in SP can be parsed as an infinitive (not only as the finite perfect verb). In this case, the verse means: 'and the water which you take out of the river shall **indeed** become blood upon the dry land'.

**11** שי"ם ישים] MT שׂו"ם יָשׂוּם. The relatively rare forms of שׂו"ם do not exist in SH (cf. שים versus שׂוֹם in Deut. 17.15). ⇓ Gen. 45.7

**18** יתרו] MT יֶתֶר. SP avoids the variant name יתר on harmonising grounds. Avoidance of confusion with other persons bearing this name (Judg. 8.20; 1 Kgs 2.5, 22, etc.) arguably also played a role in this choice.

**19** מצרימה] MT מִצְרָיִם – DIRECT *he* (⇓ Gen. 15.5 and fn. 2). SP שוב מצרימה is in line with v. 21 לשוב מצרימה.

**21** אחזיק *å̊zzəq* pi/hif] MT אֲחַזֵּק *pi*. Due to the loss of gutturals (*GSH* §1.1.8) and the neutralisation of the vowels *i* and *e* in post-tonic closed syllables (*GSH* §1.2.2), it is difficult in SH to distinguish between the parallels to MT *piʿel* אֲחַזֵּק and *hifʿil* אַחֲזִיק. Even the vowel contrast between *hifʿil ī* and *piʿel ē* is not stable (*GSH* §§2.2.1.2.2–4; 2.11.5). Moreover, in Biblical Hebrew החזיק means not only 'hold', but also 'strengthen'. Accordingly, ST renders the word as תקף 'strengthen'. Thus, if there is any difference at all between the two versions, it is in structure (i.e., using two different stems), not meaning.

**24** המיתו *å̊mitu* מו"ת *hif* INF +PRON = MT הֲמִיתוֹ. The SP pronunciation reflects the same meaning of the word as in MT, i.e., 'to kill him', which is confirmed by the rendering

למקטלה of several ST manuscripts. Later the attitude changed and Samaritan exegesis attributed the word to המ"י (which has the same meaning as standard המ"ם, i.e., 'to stun') in order to exclude the interpretation that God intended to kill his messenger Moses. Accordingly, a late ST manuscript renders the Hebrew infinitive המיתו by למעצמתה 'pressure' (see *DSA*, עצם, 654). In an ancient manuscript, a second hand wrote למרתתנה 'to frighten him' (see in detail, *LOT* IV:309–10). Note that in Exod. 23.27 the opposite case exists: the verb וְהַמֹּתִי 'I will stun' in MT is interpreted by the Samaritans as וְהֵמַתִּי 'I will kill'.

**25** בנה *binna* N *ban*] MT בְּנָהּ N בֵּן 'her son'. Samaritan tradition is variegated with regard to the whole passage. The idea that a woman might perform circumcision is alien to the community, as the pronunciation *wtiqqa ṣibbūrå ṣår wtikråt it ʿarillåt binna* suggests. Consequently, the basic elements of the phrase are interpreted in various ways in the Aramaic and Arabic translations. The mainstream, as reflected in most ST manuscripts (B, C, E, J, and M), renders צר *ṣår* as נאר (N נהור) 'enlightenment, insight': Sipporah was enlightened. However, a late hand in the margin of one manuscript (M) takes צר as 'distress' (cf. צרה), and offers עיוק, with which the later SAV ضائقة of Abu Saʾid agrees, as do several entries in Hammeliṣ: עיוק, ארצים, עקה (573–74). This may imply that Sipporah was in despair when she performed the act. On the other hand, the later manuscript A leaves צר 'flint' as is, which corresponds to other annotations in the margins of MS M: צנם, טינר. A different understanding is found in Ab Hisda's SAV מאצ'יא, i.e., ماضيا 'a sword' (Kazimirski 1860, 1121), in agreement with interlinear קטועי 'cutting instrument' in MS M. This seems to be the plain interpretation of the word.

The object being cut, בנה *binna*, is also a matter of dispute. The pronunciation *binna*, rendered בנואה (MSS A, B, E, M, N; *DSA*, 135), may derive from the root בנ"ן, whose meaning is 'strength, insolence' (*DSA*, 105). It expresses the idea that Sipporah cut off, i.e., abandoned, her insolence (for ערלה as metaphor for stubbornness, see Deut. 10.16 ומלתם את ערלת לבבכם; thus SAV تبنّها). Yet, בנ"ן may be a cognate of בי"ן 'understand'. Based probably on this assumption, the 12th-century Samaritan sage Munajja b. Ṣadaqa Abū l-Faraj understood the verse as '(Ṣibbura) cut off the (metaphorical) foreskin of her understanding'

(see a detailed discussion in *GSH*, 15). We believe, however, that *binna* in the sense of 'understanding' should be interpreted 'place of understanding', i.e. the heart. We base our assumption on the secondary meaning 'heart' of the words סוד 'secret' and רז 'secret' in SA, e.g., ואני אקשה את לב פרעה vs ואנא איטם ית סוד פרעה 'And I will harden Faru's heart' (Exod. 7.3); וכל יצר מחשבות לבו רק רע vs וכל רזענין סודה לחוד ביש 'and that every intent of the thoughts of his heart was only evil' (Gen. 6.5).

**28** שלחהו *šallā'ē'u*] MT שְׁלָחְ֫וֹ. SP is in line with צוהו *ṣå̄bē'u* in the same verse. For the object pronoun, cf. the comment at Gen. 27.27.

**Exodus 5**

**5** מעם] MT עַם 'the people (of the land are now many)'. SP is in line with Exod. 1.9: הן עם בני ישראל רב ועצום ממנו.

**13** אצוים *å̄ṣuwwəm* אצ"י *qal*] MT אֹ֫צֵים אוֹ"ץ *qal* 'were urgent'. The different meaning of אצוים is reflected also in the context of SP, אצוים בעם. ST renders the word as עצימין, derived from עצ"ם 'pressure' (*DSA*, עצם, 654). As a matter of fact, אצ"י is unattested elsewhere in Hebrew. A cognate of this root is the Aramaic אצ"י, which also denotes 'pressure' (*DSA*, עצי I, 653).

**14** ויכו *wyakku hif*] MT וַיֻּכּ֫וּ *hof* 'were beaten'. The SP verb is active (the Samaritan passive form contains—against the rule!—an *u* vowel, e.g., *ammukkå̄* 'who was slain', Num. 25.14). Accordingly, the officers were those who were beating the people. Indeed, several ST manuscripts render the word with explicitly active verbs, e.g., אלקו (לק"י), ומחו (מח"י). On the other hand, other manuscripts have ולקו, which is probably intransitive, in accordance with MT (the reading אלקו may well be passive too, derived from ואתלקו*). See מכים, pronounced *makkəm* (v. 16 below).

**16** מכים *makkəm hif* PT] MT מֻכִּ֫ים *hof* PT 'are beaten'. See above. Note that ST renders the word using only passive forms: מעיבים 'convicted, condemned' (*DSA*, חוב, 250), קטילים, לקים/ו.

עמך *immå̄k* PREP] MT עַמֶּ֫ךָ N 'your people'. While ST עמך is ambiguous, MS A's rendering עלוך (על PREP) is clearly in line with the pronunciation *immå̄k*.

**20** פני] MT *minus.* SP is in agreement with מאת פני פרעה (Exod. 10.11).

## Exodus 6

**2** יהוה] MT אֱלֹהִים. SP is in line with the common string וידבר יהוה אל משה (cf., e.g., vv. 10, 13, 28; Exod. 7.8, 14 [SP; MT וַיֹּאמֶר]; 13.1; 14.1; 16.11; Lev. 4.1; 5.14; Num. 1.1, 48; 3.5; Deut. 32.48, etc.). MT וַיְדַבֵּר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־מֹשֶׁה occurs only here.

**6** ובמשפטים] MT וּבִשְׁפָטִים. The noun שפטים occurs in SP only in the locution עשה שפטים 'execute judgments' (Exod. 12.12; Num. 33.4).

**20** ואת מרים אחותם] MT *minus.* SP harmonises with Num. 26.59.

**27** מארץ מצרים] MT מִמִּצְרָיִם. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

**30** ישמעני] MT יִשְׁמַע אֵלַי. SP harmonises with v. 12.

## Exodus 7

**5** כל] MT *minus.* SP harmonises with וידעו כל מצרים (Exod. 14.18).

**18a–18c** וילך משה... מן היאר] MT *minus.* The addition in SP repeats the preceding three verses.

**22** בלהטיהם *ablåṭiyyimma*] MT בְּלָטֵיהֶם. SP is in agreement with v. 11.

**29a–29d** ויבא משה... יעלו הצפרדעים] MT *minus.* The addition in SP repeats the preceding four verses.

## Exodus 8

**3** חרטמי מצרים בלהטיהם] MT הַחֲרְטֻמִּים בְּלָטֵיהֶם 'the magicians [did the same] with their enchantments'. SP harmonises with 7.22.

**5** ומעבדיך ומעמך] MT *minus.* SP harmonises with v. 7.

**17** משלח 2° *amšalla pi* ≈ MT מַשְׁלִיחַ *hif.* The rare *hif* of של"ח does not occur in SP (cf. Lev. 26.22).

הערב... הערב *ʿårəb... ʿårəb*] MT הֶעָרֹב... הֶעָרֹב 'the swarms... swarms'. The SP pronunciation *ʿårəb* is that of both עָרֹב and עוֹרֵב 'raven' (Gen. 8.7), rendered in ST equally as ערב. It

appears that what is interpreted by the Jewish tradition as the plague of swarms is understood by the Samaritans as an invasion of ravens. Note that SAV distinguishes between الخليظ 'the mixture (of peoples?)' in our case and الغراب 'the raven' in Gen. 8.7. See TM, 78 (33a), n. 5; *DSA*, ערב II, 661.

**19a–19d** האות הזה ...משה ויבא] MT *minus*. The addition in SP is a repetition of the preceding four verses.

**20** בכל] MT וּבְכָל .ו + Note that the differences בכל/וּבְכָל and ותשחת/תִּשָׁחֵת change the whole syntactic structure of the sentence, which in MT is וַיָּבֹא עָרֹב כָּבֵד בֵּיתָה פַרְעֹה וּבֵית עֲבָדָיו וּבְכָל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם תִּשָׁחֵת הָאָרֶץ מִפְּנֵי הֶעָרֹב 'There came great swarms of flies into the house of Pharaoh and into his servants' houses. Throughout all the land of Egypt the land was ruined by the swarms of flies'.

**27** ויסר *wyīsər hif* = MT וַיָּסַר *hif/qal*. SP unequivocally represents a causative action, while MT is formally ambiguous, as וַיָּסַר may reflect either *hif* (cf. Gen 8.11 with a direct object) or *qal*, which denotes intransitiveness, i.e., the 'the raven went away' (see e.g., Ibn Ezra, *ad loc.*). Interestingly enough, some ST manuscripts render the verb as transitive ואסטה with God as subject, while others are utterly intransitive, with וסטה. SAV prefers the first alternative: وازال.

## Exodus 9

**1** ואמרת] MT וְדִבַּרְתָּ 'speak'. SP harmonises with v. 13.

**4** והפלא *wåfla* פל"א ≈ MT וְהִפְלָה פל"י. SP פל"א and MT פל"י are mere byforms (see BDB and *HALOT, ad loc.*), both denoting 'separation'. Cf. ST יפרש and SAV يمير.

**5a–[5e]** הזה בארץ ...משה ויבא] MT *minus*. SP repeats the preceding five verses.

**16** הראתיך *arråttək* PF] MT הֶרְאִתִיךָ INF. The perfect tense in SP makes little sense, as the context demands an infinitive, which is how it is indeed rendered in both ST אזהותך (var. מחזאתך, מחזינך, etc.) and SAV ارشــادك. The SP reading is obviously influenced by the preceding העמדתיך.

**19a–19g** הברד ומתו ...משה ויבא] MT *minus*. SP repeats the preceding six verses.

**31** נכו *nå̄ku qal* 3PL] MT נִכָּתָה *pu* 3FSG. SP is congruent with the plural subject and harmonises with v. 32. For the form, see *GSH* §§2.5.3; 2.10.3.

**34** הברד והמטר] MT הַמָּטָר וְהַבָּרָד. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

**Exodus 10**

**2a–2d** היום הזה ...אלהיכם] MT *minus.* SP repeats the following four verses.

**3** לענות *lānot qal*] MT לֵעָנֹת *nif.* The unusual SP *qal* pronunciation is disregarded by most manuscripts of ST, which render it למתכנעה 'to humble oneself' (see BDB, ענה III), in agreement with the Jewish Targumim. This may attest to a common *Vorlage*. Only one manuscript (the late A) has לאגבותה 'to respond (to my demand)' (cf. SAV الاجابة من).

**5** עשב הארץ ואת כל פרי] MT *minus.* SP harmonises with v. 15.

**8** וישב *wyīšəb hif*] MT וַיּוּשַׁב *hof.* SP probably harmonises with the following active verb ויאמר, whose subject is Pharaoh. ST renders the verb as active, e.g., וחזר, with the exception of the Aramaic column of MS C (Nablus 6), which takes the verb as passive ואתעזר.

**11** ויגרשו PL] MT וַיְגָרֶשׁ SG. The SG form in MT has attracted the attention of interpreters throughout the generations. Since it is not plausible that the agent of the expulsion was Pharaoh, who is mentioned in the same sentence, the verb was interpreted as impersonal and translated 'and they were driven'. SP removes the difficulty by using the plural, which is more commonly denotes impersonal semantics.

**12** פרי העץ] MT *minus.* SP is in line with v. 5.

**13** ידו] MT מַטֵּהוּ 'his rod'. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

**Exodus 11**

**2** ושמלות] MT *minus.* SP harmonises with Exod. 3.22.

**Exodus 13**

**6** ששת] MT שִׁבְעַת. SP reflects the separation between חג הפסח 'Passover' and חג המצות 'the Feast of Unleavened Bread', the latter of which is celebrated on the seventh day (cf. Deut. 16.8).

**15** אדם בבני] MT בְּנֵי '(all the first-born of) my sons'. SP harmonises with v. 13.

**16** והיו לך] MT וְהָיֶה. SP harmonises with v. 9.

**20** אשר] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Num. 33.6.

**22** ימוש *yēmoš* ≈ MT יָמִישׁ. While the MT imperfect forms of this verb fluctuate between II-*waw* and II-*yod*, e.g., יָמוּשׁ (Josh. 1.8) vs יָמֵישׁ (Isa. 46.7), SH recognises the II-*waw* ימוש alone, which occurs only here and in Exod. 33.11.

**Exodus 14**

**3** סגר *sēgər* PT PASS] MT סָגַר PF 'the [wilderness] has shut [them in]'. Using the passive, SP avoids the personification of the desert (cf. ST צניק var. מצטנק).

**9** וחיליו^ PL *wīlu* (וחילו) SG] MT וְחֵילוֹ SG. The spelling is apparently influenced by the parallel passage מרכבת פרעה וחיליו in Exod. 15.4. At any rate, it is contradicted by the SG pronunciation *wīlu* (the expected pronunciation of the plural with a suffixed pronoun is *wīlo*).

**18** ובכל חילו] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with the previous verse.

**20** הענן החשך *å̊nån å̊šǝk*] MT הֶעָנָן וְהַחֹשֶׁךְ 'the cloud and the darkness'. Syntactically different from MT, SP is unclear, since its understanding depends on analysis of the ambiguous form החשך *å̊šǝk* as either (1) the noun חשך 'darkness' with the definite article, (2) a *qal* passive participle with the definite article (according to which we have translated), or (3) a *hifʿil* perfect (for the form, see *GSH* §2.2.1.2.1; for the syntactic structure, cf. e.g., ויהי השמש באה 'When the sun had set' Gen. 15.17). Most Samaritan Aramaic and Arabic sources interpret it as a passive form; thus ST חשיד, מחשך and SAV يظلم. These renderings may also suggest the translation 'and the cloud was darkening and lightening the night'.

**25** ויאסר את אפן מרכבתו [MT וַיָּסַר אֶת אֹפַן מַרְכְּבֹתָיו 'And he caused their chariot wheels to come off'. The Samaritan tradition takes אפן as 'first', whence 'ruler' (see Ben-Ḥayyim 1993, 103–5). In accordance with the pronunciation *markabtu* (SG), the older ST manuscripts render אפן as a singular, probably collective, noun: ואסר ית קמאי מרכבתה ודחקה. The later MS A renders it as a plural: קמאי מרכבתה ודחקנון.

הנלחם [MT נִלְחָם. Cf. והוא הנלחם במלך מואב הראשון 'it is he who had fought against the former king of Moab' (Num. 21.26); כי יהוה אלהיכם הוא הנלחם לכם 'for it is Shema your God, who fights for you' (Deut. 3.22). For further on cleft sentences, ⇓ Deut. 31.3.

**Exodus 15**

**1** אשירו *å̊šīru hif* IMV PL] MT אָשִׁירָה *qal* LENG IMPF 1SG 'I will sing'. SP harmonises with the imperative form שירו in v. 21.

גוי *guwwi* N] MT גָּאֹה *qal* INF ABS 'for he (God) has triumphed gloriously'. Preferring the noun גוי 'nation', SP avoids the infinitive absolute גָּאֹה (see §2.2.2.2) and situates גוי, i.e., the Egyptians, in the position of object of the phrase: 'He [Shema] has thrown into the sea a powerful nation, [its] horse and its rider'. This interpretation is in line with ST אתגבר (MS B) and with SAV اقتـدر الشـعب علـى, which render גאה. However, most ST manuscripts interpret גאה as an adjective meaning 'powerful' (יכלה). MSS A and C render it with a relative clause, i.e., דאגחי, אאגיח, respectively (cf. Hammeliṣ, 441: דאגיח), which seems to attribute the word to גו"ח 'to battle': 'The nation who fought'.

**2** וזמרתיה *wzimrå̊ti* N *zimrå* +PRON 1SG] MT וְזִמְרָת יָהּ 'Yah is (my strength) and my praise (or 'might')'. Though several SP manuscripts have וזמרתיה, others have two words וזמרת יה = MT, along with additional attempts to reproduce the difficult word(s) (see von Gall *ad loc.*), ST unequivocally displays nouns with the pronominal suffix, e.g., גלגי 'my praise', תקופי 'my strength'. For a discussion of the semantic value of זמ"ר see *HALOT s.v.*; for the uncommon form see Talmon (1954, 206–8). To be sure, according to the earlier Ab Isda, SAV renders the word(s?) (ופח'רתי אללה i.e., وفخرتي الله) 'and my glory is God', presupposing a Masoretic-like *Vorlage*, while the later Abu Saʿid skips الله, considering the pronunciation alone.

**8** נזלים *nå̊zēləm* אז"ל *nif*] MT נֹזְלִים נז"ל *qal*. ST interprets נזלים *nå̊zēləm* in two different ways: (1) 'going down', as reflected in ST MSS A, C, E, and V, which render it נחותיה (DEF *qal* PL PART) 'descending', and likewise in Hammeliṣ (531) מדיביה (DEF *afʿel* PART of דו"ב) and אזליה (= Onqelos!) 'going' (on the connection between אז"ל and נז"ל see Ben-Ḥayyim (1978, 282)—thus our rendering; (2) 'being high', as reflected in ST MS B תלילין 'high' and *TM* אלילים רמים 'high mountains' (*TM* 83a, 135, referring to our verse). For אז"ל/נז"ל see also ⇓ Deut. 32.2.

**11** נאדרי] MT נֶאְדָּר. SP harmonises with v. 6.

**13** זה] MT זוּ. SH does not attest the archaic relative pronoun זוּ. ST renders it דן 'this'.

נחלת *nå̊ʾiltå* נח"ל *pi* B] MT נֵחֲלָתָּ נה"ל *pi*. SP *nå̊ʾiltå* may also be derived from נה"ל, as in MT. Yet ST renders it ס(א)חנת, i.e., 'you have assigned'.

**17** תביאמו ותטעמו בהר נחלתך, מכון לשבתך. פעלת יהוה מקדש, כוננו ידך] MT תְּבִאֵמוֹ וְתִטָּעֵמוֹ בְּהַר נַחֲלָתְךָ מָכוֹן לְשִׁבְתְּךָ פָּעַלְתָּ יְהוָה מִקְּדָשׁ אֲדֹנָי כּוֹנְנוּ יָדֶיךָ 'You will bring them in and plant them on your own mountain, the place, O LORD, which you have made for your abode, the sanctuary, O Lord, which your hands have established'. Since SP ידך 'your hand' is singular (cf. MT יָדֶיךָ 'your hands'), it cannot be the subject of the verb כוננו. Accordingly, the ST manuscripts render it with an imperative with object suffix, e.g., כוננה 'establish it!'. This syntactic structure lacks the preposition -ב 'with'. MS B solved the problem by adding it, i.e., כוננה באדך 'establish it with your hand', probably following SAV يدك (var. بقدرتك).

**22** ויוציאהו *hif* IMPF +PRON 3MPL] MT וַיֵּצְאוּ *qal* IMPF 'and they went'. SP attributes the action to Moses, who is also the subject of the preceding verb ויסע.

דרך] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Exod. 3.18, etc.

**24** וילן SG] MT וַיִּלֹּנוּ PL. SP harmonises with Exod. 16.2.

**Exodus 16**

**14** ככופר *kå̊kūfår* ≈ MT כַּכְּפֹר. SP does not distinguish between the form of this word and that of כֹּפֶר 'ransom' (e.g., Exod. 21.30).

**21** לפי] MT כְּפִי. SP harmonises with v. 18.

וחמה *wåmå* חמ"י PF 3FSG] MT וְחַם חמ"ם PF 3MSG. The pronunciation *wåmå* attests the adaptation of the geminate root to a III-*yod* root. Note that in Rabbinic Hebrew, 'defective' roots are rather nomadic (see Segal, 1908, 700–1), especially in the perfect and participle. The present form assumes masculine gender for שמש, as in Gen. 19.23; 32.32; etc. (see *HALOT s.v.*). Actually, the verb is rendered by ST in the masculine as וארתע שמשה according to MSS E, J, and N, as well as by Hammeliṣ (461). MSS B and V, however, have the feminine verb וארתעת, as does MS A, with וחמאת, apparently with the alternative feminine gender of שמש in mind (cf. *LOT* IV, חום).

**31** גד *gid*] MT גַּד 'coriander' (?). Apparently, גד *gid* differs from MT גַּד only in pronunciation, not meaning. Yet it was understood by ST as an adjective modifying the preceding זרע 'seed', namely קליף 'peeled' (probably construed as a passive participle of גד"ד). However, the denotation 'coriander' is rather old, as it is found already in LXX, Vulgate, Peshitta, and the Jewish Targumim. This interpretation is shared by Saʿadya's אלכזבר and SAV الكزبرة.

**32** בהוצאי *būṣå̊ʾi* INF ≈ MT בְּהוֹצִיאִי INF. SP distinguishes between two *hifʿil* infinitive forms of יצ"א, one characterised by an *a* theme vowel referring to God, the other by an *i* theme vowel (as in MT) referring to human beings (see Florentin 1995; 1996).

**36** עשרית^ (= MT עֶשְׂרִית) *ēšīråt* (עשירת)] For evidence concerning the antiquity of the pronunciation *ēšīrət*, see *GSH* §0.19. Note that a spelling corresponding to the pronunciation actually occurs in our manuscript in Num. 28.5 (var. ועשירת).

**Exodus 17**

**12** בא *bå* qal INF/PF 3MSG] MT בָּא qal INF. The SH counterparts of the Tiberian infinitive בֹּא and perfect בָּא are both pronounced *bå*. We have opted for the latter analysis on account of SH's tendency to use finite verbs rather than infinitives (see §§2.2.2.1; 4.1.3.2.3), as well as ST's rendering of the word with finite verbs (על אתת, 'came').

**14** בספר *basfår*] MT בַּסֵּפֶר + DEF. It is possible that the difference in use of the definite article here is purely grammatical, having nothing to do with the text or its understanding (see §4.1.3.2.5). Yet, perhaps SP's indefinite noun alludes to the non-specificity of the

book in question, while MT refers to a specific book, as Ibn Ezra wrote: "this is the Book of the Torah or another book which they possessed."

**15** נסי *nå̄si* = MT נִסִּי. Almost all ST manuscripts have an interpretative rendering of the word, such as נצועה (נצ"ח) 'victor', which refers to God's victory over Amaleq, narrated in the preceding verses. SAV علمي 'my banner' is probably influenced by Num. 21.8–9, where נס is perceived as a 'standard' according to ST MSS C, E, and N סכי, var. סימתה (MS J has נטלה 'pole'). Naturally, SAV also renders this נס as العلـــــم. Indeed, the Samaritan pronunciation does not distinguish between our נסי and נס in Num. 21.8–9. To be sure, in SH the two words belong to the same root.

## Exodus 18

**7** למשה] MT *minus.* According to MT, it was Moses who bowed down.

**13** את *at* PREP 'with'] MT אֶת NOTA ACC 'judge the people'. In SP the verb שפט is followed by the preposition את 'with' (*GSH* §7.3, 1; cf. Exod. 18.22, 26; Lev. 19.15; Deut. 16.18).

**18** עשותו] MT עֲשֹׂהוּ. SP avoids the irregular infinitive form עֲשֹׂה attested in MT.

**22** יביאון] MT יָבִיאוּ –PARAG *nun.* SP harmonises with v. 22.

**26** הגדול] MT הַקָּשֶׁה 'hard'. SP harmonises with v. 22.

## Exodus 19

**13** ירא יראה *yårå yårå̊ʾi* ≈ MT יָרֹה יִיָּרֶה. In SP, both the infinitive ירא and the finite verb יראה are vague. The forms should be parsed as passive *qal* or *hifʿil* of רא"י (see *GSH* §§2.4.13; 2.10.7), whose literal meaning is 'he shall surely be seen' (parallel to MT *qal* passive יֵרָאֶה*). Accordingly, ST renders it as חזו יחזי, which hardly fits the context (unless אזו יאזי, *hifʿil* of נז"י 'to spatter', is intended?). Is it possible that this rare use of רא"י is connected to the use of ראה ב- 'to gloat over the downfall of one's enemy' (*HALOT*, Ps. 22.18, etc.). Yet, in our translation we have opted for the expected and simpler interpretation 'shall be shot' attested in both ST יתנשב (MS V; see *DSA*) and SAV رشقا يُرشق.

**19** בקול *baqqol* DEF] MT בְּקוֹל INDEF. It is possible that the definite article in SP is not essential (see Exod. 17.14, above). However, it may have been intended to hint that the voice in which God spoke with Moses is the voice of the trumpet mentioned at the beginning of the verse.

**22** בם *bimma*] MT בָּהֶם. SP harmonises with v. 24. Note that SP discerns both in spelling and pronunciation between בם *bimma* and בהם *bēmma* (*GSH* §§1.5.3.4; 3.2.6).

**24** והעם. [והכהנים MT וְהַכֹּהֲנִים וְהָעָם 'and the priests and the people'. The pause in the Samaritan reading changes the content of the verse, i.e., the priests should accompany Moses.

**25** מן ההר] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 14.

## Exodus 20

**7** שמור] MT זָכוֹר. SP harmonises with Deut. 5.12 (see §2.2.1.2).

**13** שדהו עבדו] MT וְעַבְדּוֹ. SP harmonises with SP Deut. 5.17.

האלהים] MT אֱלֹהִים. SP is in accordance with vv. 16–17.

**19** תעשו] MT תַּעֲשׂוּן + PARAG *nun*. SP harmonises with תעשו in the same verse.

מצאנך ומבקרך] MT אֶת־צֹאנְךָ וְאֶת־בְּקָרֶךָ. SP harmonises with Deut. 12.21.

**22** במעלות *båmålot* מע״ל/על״י] MT בְּמַעֲלֹת 'by steps'. Both SP *båmålot* and MT בְּמַעֲלֹת (the singular of both being מַעֲלָה = *mållа*) can be parsed as if deriving from either על״י, i.e., 'by steps', or from מע״ל, i.e., 'deceitfully'. We have opted in our translation for the latter, following ST בשקרין and Hammeliṣ בשקרות (505). The metaphorical use of the verb תעלה, i.e., 'you shall not offer (or 'sacrifice')' is probably hinted at by the reading *tā:la* (versus the expected *tēlli*; see *GSH* §2.8.12, n. 97). This position is shared by SAV تمراق ,تغدر.

## Exodus 21

**10** וענתה *wånåtå*] MT וְעֹנָתָהּ. Though the SP reading attests a noun equivalent to MT עוֹנָה, several SP manuscripts have וענותה, which corresponds to the rendering ולבטה ,ואתלבטתה in some ST manuscripts (לב״ט 'affliction, distress'; see *DSA*, 423, 647). Apparently, they

understood וענתה *wånåtå* 'her affliction' in the sense of 'sexual intercourse'. Cf. MT וַיִּשְׁכַּב אֹתָהּ וַיְעַנֶּהָ (Gen. 34.2), where וַיְעַנֶּהָ parallels וַיִּשְׁכַּב. It is therefore quite possible that *wånåtå*, with singleton *n*, is a variant of \**wannåtå*, with geminated *n* (see Ben–Ḥayyim, 1973–1974, 55).

**22** בפללים *båfēlåləm* ≈ בִּפְלִלִים. ST renders בפללים as בשדלין (var. בצלואן), which attributes the word to פל"ל 'entreat, pray', apparently referring to a class of mediators, who, by virtue of their holy status, have authority to decide the amount of compensation (note the plural). Interestingly, the Arabic column of MS J reads באנצאף (i.e., بانصاف; see *GSH* §4.1.3.10, n. 13), arguably meaning 'giving fairly'. This may be the idea behind LXX δώσει μετὰ ἀξιώματος and Vulgate *arbitri*. Peshitta and the Jewish Targumim render the word as 'by judges', probably dependent on cases such as אִם־יֶחֱטָא אִישׁ לְאִישׁ וּפִלְלוֹ אֱלֹהִים (1 Sam. 2.25), understood as 'If one sins against another, God may judge him' (KJV). So, too, SAV بالحكم. In translation we have followed the ST rendering בשדלין, ⇓ Deut. 32.31.

### Exodus 22

**8** שמלה] MT שַׂלְמָה. The lexical variant שלמה is not attested in SP.

**17** תחיה *tiyya qal*] MT תְחַיֶּה *pi* 'You shall (not) permit (a sorceress) to live'. ST properly follows the intransitive pronunciation, rendering the verb as תתוחי (var. תתקים) '(she) shall (not) live'. MS A, with תוחי, follows the reading of MT.

**22** תענו PL] MT תְעַנֶּה SG. The plural in SP is in line with the verbs in the adjacent verses.

### Exodus 23

**7** ונקיא [מדבר שקר תרחק MT מִדְּבַר־שֶׁקֶר תִּרְחָק וְנָקִי וְצַדִּיק אַל־תַּהֲרֹג 'Keep far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay you not'. SP separates ונקיא from the following וצדיק, creating a separate sentence. Consequently, ונקיא (synonym of וצדיק in MT), has the status of a final clause, as expressed in ST by the verbal form וברי (MS J, more explicit in M, S, B, C, and V ותתברי). This is supported by SAV فتبا (var. لتبرى).

הצדיק *aṣdəq hif* IMPF 1SG] MT אַצְדִּיק (ORTH). The SP reading does not differ from MT. However, the spelling הצדיק is understood in most ST manuscripts as a noun, e.g., זכאי, זכה. Some of them take the initial -ה as the definite article, e.g., זכאה. MS J is an exception, rendering the word as אזכי 'I will justify', in line with the reading reflected in our translation.

**8** עיני] MT *minus*. SP is in agreement with Deut. 16.19: השחד יעור עיני חכמים.

**17** את *at* PREP 'with, from'] MT אֶל. SP harmonises with Exod. 34.23.

^הארון *åron*] MT הָאָדָן 'the Lord'. Several SP manuscripts have the indefinite noun ארון, which is in line with the pronunciation (the definite noun הארון is pronounced *å̊ron*).

**19a** שכח *šå̊ka qal* INF] MT *minus*. The meaning of the whole addition with an emphasis on the words זבח שכח ועברה is dicussed in detail in Florentin (2023).

ועברה *wå̊bå̊rå* N F] עֶבְרָה/*עֶבְרָה] MT *minus*. See the previous note.

**20** מלאכי N +PRON 1 SG] MT מַלְאָךְ N 'an angel'. SP harmonises with v. 23.

**21** תמרי *timri* מר"י *qal* ≈ MT מר"ר תַּמֵּר *hif*. SP is more transparent than MT תַּמֵּר, which, though derived from מר"ר 'be bitter', has the same meaning as SP, i.e., 'rebel, provoke'.

**28** הצרעה ≈ MT הַצִּרְעָה. The SP pronunciation *ṣå̊ʾrā* is in accordance with MT. However, the pronunciation of the noun צָרָה *ṣå̊rra* 'trouble' is similar, although different in terms of stress (ultima vs penultima) and simple vs geminated *r*. Therefore, the word is rendered in ST manuscripts as צריתה (צר"י) and עקתה (עו"ק), both meaning 'trouble, sorrow'. Cf. Gen. 42.21.

את הכנעני ואת האמרי... ואת היבוסי] MT MT אֶת־הַחִוִּי אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְאֶת־הַחִתִּי. In contrast with MT, SP is in line with v. 23.

## Exodus 24

**1** אמר *ēmər qal* PF PASS] MT אָמַֹר *qal* PF ACT 'he said'. SP commonly uses passive forms to denote an impersonal action (cf. Gen. 18.60).

**10** לטהור *laṭṭå̊ʾor qatol*] MT לְטֹהַר –DET *qotel*. The preposition -ל in this case seemingly means 'with regard to, in respect of' (see BDB, ל). Since this -ל is preceded by a noun, one must

assume that *ṭå̄ʾor* is not an adjective of the pattern *qatol*, but rather an abstract noun of the original *qutl* pattern (like the MT טֹהַר), which is sometimes replaced with the *qətol* pattern (cf. חֵלֶם vs חֲלוֹם 'dream' in Aramaic and Hebrew, respectively; MT בֹּהֶן vs SP בהון *bå̄ʾon* in Exod. 29.20 (⇓ Exod. 24.10).

**11** אצלי *ēṣīli*] MT אֲצִילֵי. MT distinguishes between the noun אָצִיל and the preposition אֵצֶל, and the Jewish tradition interprets אָצִיל as 'noble' (Onqelos, LXX) or 'lad' (the Jerusalem Targum). SP does not distinguish between the two words, both pronounced *ēṣəl*, with which ST is in line with the rendering אס(צ)טר 'side, end'. The meaning 'side, end' is clearly attested in Isa. 41.9: אֲשֶׁר הֶחֱזַקְתִּ֙יךָ֙ מִקְצ֣וֹת הָאָ֔רֶץ וּמֵאֲצִילֶ֖יהָ קְרָאתִ֑יךָ 'you whom I have taken hold of from the ends of the earth, and called from the corners thereof'.

**12** האבנים PL] MT הָאֶבֶן SG. MT uses the sequence לֻחֹת (הָ)אֶבֶ(ן) only twice, here and in 31.18, as against ten occurrences of לֻ(ו)חֹ(ו)ת (הָ)אֲבָנִים in the Pentateuch. SP is consistent in using only לוחת (ה)אבנים.

## Exodus 25

**5** תחשים = MT תְּחָשִׁים. Alongside the common interpretation 'a kind of animal' (whose identity is unclear), the Samaritan translations into Aramaic (אכ"ם, מח/עכמין) and Arabic (دارش דארש; likewise Saadia, see Blau 2006, 211) point to the interpretation 'black', and thus we have chosen to present in our translation.

**11** לו] MT עָלָיו. SP harmonises with v. 24.

**18** יעשו *iyyāššu nif* IMPF 3MPL] MT וְעָשֵׂה *qal* IMV MSG. While MT וְעָשֵׂה opens a new sentence (v. 19), SP passive יעשו *iyyāššu* is added to v. 18 as the predicate of שני כרובים.

**20** אחד אל אחד] MT אִישׁ אֶל־אָחִיו. SP uses the expression איש אל אחיו (and אשה אל אחתה) only in reference to human beings (cf. Exod. 26.3, 37.9, on the one hand, and Num. 14.4, on the other).

**37** חבר PREP *ēbår* ≈ MT עֵבֶר PREP (PHON). The difference is merely orthographic. Accordingly, the word is rendered in ST as למקבל, לקבל 'against'. Yet, two manuscripts (E, V) follow the orthographic tradition with חבר, e.g., לגו דבוק. Cf. Exod. 28.26; 39.19.

**Exodus 26**

**4** בקצה *afqiṣṣå*] MT מִקָּצֶה 'from the selvedge'. SP does not discern between the nouns קָצֶה and קָצָה.

**25** לקרש האחד « » שני אדנים « »] MT שְׁנֵי אֲדָנִ֜ים תַּ֤חַת הַקֶּ֙רֶשׁ֙ הָֽאֶחָ֔ד וּשְׁנֵ֣י אֲדָנִ֗ים תַּ֛חַת הַקֶּ֥רֶשׁ הָאֶחָֽד. SP harmonises with Exod. 36.30.

**35** ירך] MT צֵלַע. SP harmonises with Exod. 40.22.

**Exodus 27**

**5** אתו PRON m] MT אֹתָהּ PRON F. While the pronominal suffix attached to the *nota accusativi* in MT refers to the 'net' (רֶשֶׁת F) in v. 4, in SP it refers to the 'grating' (מִכְבָּר M).

**20** נר *nor*] MT נֵר 'lamp'. SP discerns between the singular נר *nor*, which occurs only twice (here and Lev. 24.2), both in the locution נר תמיד, and the plural נרות *nīrot* 'lamps'. Our translation is thus based on the pronunciation of the word, which in Aramaic means 'fire'. It seems that this interpretation is in line with Rashi's מדליק עד שתהא שלהבת עולה מעליה 'he lights (the lamp) until the flame burns by itself'. Yet, ST does not discern between the two, rendering both בוצין 'lamps'.

**Exodus 28**

**7** יחבר *iyyåbår nif* IMPF] MT וְחֻבָּ֑ר *pu* PF. The different verbal forms reflect distinct verse divisions: SP שתי כתפות חברות יהיה לו // על שתי קצותיו יחובר 'It shall have two joined shoulder-pieces // on its two ends may it be joined together'; MT שתי כתפות חברות יהיה לו אל שתי קצותיו // וחובר 'It shall have two shoulder-pieces joined to its two ends // that it may be joined together'.

**12** כתפתיו] MT כְּתֵפָ֖יו 'his shoulders'. SP harmonises with v. 12.

**20** מוסבות משבצות] MT מְשֻׁבָּצִ֥ים. SP harmonises with Exod. 39.13.

**26** חבר *ʿåbår*] MT עֵ֖בֶר. According to SP, the rings are positioned on the edge of the breastplate, which is *linked* to the Ephod, as expressed by ST על דבוק. According to MT,

they are situated on the *side* of the Ephod (the corresponding SH pronunciation for Tiberian עֵבֶר is *ēbår*).

## Exodus 29

**10** יהוה פתח] MT *minus*. SP is in line with the following verse.

**15** וסמך SG] MT וְסָמְכוּ PL. SP is in line with v. 10.

**26** מאשר] MT אֲשֶׁר. SP harmonises with the following verse.

**43** ונדרשתי] MT וְנֹעַדְתֵּי 'I will meet with'. For this meaning of דרש cf. נִדְרַשְׁתִּיֹ לְלֹוא שָׁאָלוּ 'I responded to those who did not ask for me' (Isa. 65.1). Cf. also AS استجيب.

ונקדש ^(= MT וְנִקְדַּשׁ)] *wniqqåddāšu* (ונקדשו). These two traditions are explicitly reflected both in ST (J ואקדש vs A ויתקדשון) and SAV (AH ويتقـدس vs AS ويتقدسـون). In translation we opted for the tradition reflected in MS Nablus 6 (C) and the written evidence which confirms it.

## Exodus 30

**21** ירחצו IMPF] MT וְרָחֲצוּ CONSEC PF. The SP imperfect shows that the verb is part of the previous sentence, producing a clear syntactic structure, whereas MT starts a new, general directive (see Rashi, Ibn Ezra, etc.).

**35** אתו *ūtu* PRON M] MT אֹתָהּ PRON F. The SP masculine pronominal suffix refers to the masculine noun (משחת קדש) שמן 'oil (for holy anointing)' mentioned in v. 31. The feminine suffix in MT אֹתָהּ refers to the feminine noun קְטֹרֶת 'incense'.

ממלחת *mam'lēt hif* PT PASS] MT מְמֻלָּח *pu* PT. SP and MT differ only in form, both meaning 'mixed'. The SP feminine ממלחת *mam'lēt* refers to קטרת 'incense', while the masculine MT מְמֻלָּח refers to שֶׁמֶן 'oil' (see above). All modern translations render the MT מְמֻלָּח as 'seasoned with salt'. However, both classical Jewish and Samaritan interpreters and translators understood it as 'mixed' (Onqelos מערב; Vulgate *mixtum*; LXX μεμιγμένον). Probably based on context, ST renders ממלחת as מדוכה, a noun or passive participle derived from דו"ך 'grind' (see *DSA*, 172).

**Exodus 32**

**4** בחרט *bǻraṭ*] MT בַּחֶ֫רֶט. The SP reading 'with a graving tool' corresponds to that of MT. However, the weakening of the guttural *ḥ* in SH results in the pronunciation *bǻraṭ*, equivalent to בְּרַהְט* 'in a trough' (cf. Gen. 30.38; Exod. 2.17; see *DSA*, י"רכ, 835), perceived as 'in a mold' (definite בָּרַהְט would have been pronounced *bǻ'rāṭ*, the ultima stress alone dstinguishing the two words). ST, consequently, renders the word במרכי (cf. MS Neophiti בטופסא), in agreement with the following מסכה 'molten'. This is the perception of SAV في قالب, too.

**10** ובאהרן... עד אהרן] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Deut. 9.20 (see §2.2.1.2).

**11** ויחל *wyǻʾəl* חל"ל *hif* ≈ MT חל"ל וַיְחַל *pi*. ST renders ויחל *wyǻʾəl* as ושרה 'began' (שר"י; see *DSA*, 931), ואתרשי (רש"י II; see *DSA*, 854; cf. Gen. 8.10), apparently a mechanical translation. See, however, SAV وابتهل 'entreated'.

**13** הרבה *arbi* INF] MT *minus* (cf. Gen. 22.17).

**17** ברעה *bar'rā* PREP -ב + DET N רְעָה*] MT בְּרֵעֹה PREP -ב + רו"ע *hif* INF + PRON 3MSG 'as they shouted' (lit 'in its shouting'). For the Jewish interpretative tradition, see, e.g., Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Ibn Janah, *ad loc.*, who explain בְּרֵעֹה as בַּהֲרִיעוֹ 'as they shouted'. SP is supported by ST בביש, var. בבישו (בא"ש) 'bad').

**18** ענות (twice) *'ānot* חנ"י/ענ"י? *qal* INF] MT עֲנוֹת...עֲנֹת *qal* INF. Due to the loss of gutturals in SH (*GSH* §1.1.8), the roots ענ"י 'answer' (or 'sing') and חנ"י 'encamp' merged in several forms of their inflection, e.g., ויחנו *wyǻnnu* 'and they encamped' (Exod. 13.20)/ויענו *wyānnu* 'and they answered' (Gen. 23.5). ST interprets the word as if derived from חנ"י 'encamp', whence the rendering סיעה 'group, company'.

גברה *gēbēra qal* PT] MT גְּבוּרֹה N. The SP participle גברה *gēbēra* is rendered in ST as participles derived from גב"ר and נצ"ח, namely מגברה (var. מתגברה) and מנצעה, respectively. Thus, סיעה מתגברה or סיעה מנצחה mean 'overpowering group', a meaning which may also fit SP ענות גברה *'ānot gēbēra*.

חלושה *ă̊lūša qal* PT PASS] MT חֲלוּשָׁה N ABSTR. The SP reading may be interpreted as an abstract noun meaning 'weakness, defeat', as in MT (so analysed in *LOT* IV:100). However, the context and the fact that ST manuscripts unanimously render the word as the (passive) *itpəʿel* participle מתנצחה (נצ"ח) indicate that SP ענות חלושה means 'defeated company' (see also Exod. 17.13 (ויחלש יהושע).

**22** פרוע] MT בְרָע '[set] on evil'. SP harmonises with v. 25.

**25** לשמצו *alšammēṣu* INF + PRON 3MSG] MT לְשִׁמְצָה. SP is more explicit than MT, using the pronominal suffix which refers to העם. Most Jewish commentators interpret לְשִׁמְצָה as 'contempt, derision', e.g., Nachmanides 'to diminish them', ascribing the word to שמץ (Job 4.12; 26.14). The interpretation 'contempt' is probably reflected in ST למשתפתה (see *LOT* II:601; *DSA*, שפ"י II, 921). ST (MS V) renders it למרברבתה, apparently from רב"ב 'to quarrel' (*DSA*, 808).

בקומיהם *afqūmīyyima* INF *qūm*] MT בְּקָמֵיהֶם N קָם 'among their enemies'. While the grammatical parsing of SP is unequivocal, in the given context its exact meaning is questionable. Since קו"ם means, inter alia, 'rise up, rebel' (cf. Exod. 15.7; Deut. 33.11), בקומיהם *afqūmīyyima*—in the greater context—may mean 'Aaron had let them loose *to detract them because they rebelled.* However, בקומיהם 'when they rose up' may refer to v. 6 ויקמו לצחק 'and they rose up to play'.

## Exodus 33

**22** בנקירות *banqīrot* N SG] MT *בְּנִקְרַת N SG נִקְרָה. SP נקירות may represent the plural (נְקִירוֹת). However, ST בנקירות (not נקירת) attests the singular.

## Exodus 34

**7** ונקה לו ינקה *wnå̊qå lū yēnaqqi*] MT וְנַקֵּה לֹא יְנַקֶּה 'but he will by no means acquit [the guilty]'. SP *nå̊qå*, parsed as a *qal* infinitive (*LOT* IV:186), is understood as a noun, parallel to Tiberian נָקִי 'clean, innocent'. Accordingly, ST renders the word as a noun in וזכאה 'and the innocent' (var. וזכאי, ונקה). The late MS A has דמזדכי 'the purified'. As for לו (vs MT לֹא), it is unclear whether it expresses the accusative, i.e., 'and the innocent—He will clear him', or a

preposition with object suffix (SAV له) referring to God 'and the innocent towards Him, He will clear'. In translation we have opted for the former approach.

**10** עמך *immåk* PREP *am* עִם] MT עַמְּךָ 'your people'. Both the preposition עם *am* and the pause (*paseq*) after כל create syntax substantially different from that of MT: 'before your people I will do marvels…'. On pauses in SP, see *GSH* §7.7.

**12** עליו PRON M] MT עָלֶיהָ PRON F. While the pronominal suffix in MT עָלֶיהָ refers to the modifying *nomen rectum* הָאָרֶץ 'the land', in SP the pronominal suffix of עליו refers to the *nomen regens* יושב 'dweller'.

**19** תזכיר *tazkər hif* IMPF 2MSG] MT תִּזָּכָר *nif* IMPF 2MSG. Judging from the ancient translations, such as LXX ἀρσενικά, Vulgate *generis masculini,* and Jewish Targumim דכרייה, the best interpretation of this unique verb is as a denominative derived from the noun זכר 'male'. ST renders the word as תדכר, which though not contradicting the Targumim, does not explicitly support them either. SAV apparently has another interpretative reading in تزكي 'you shall purify'. Yet, SP might seem clearer than MT if one considers it as a result of harmonisation with Deut. 15.19 כל הבכור אשר יולד בבקרך ובצאנך הזכר תקדיש ליהוה. Note that Onqelos interprets וכל בעירך תקדיש דכרין, similar to his rendering in Deut. 15.19 (דכרין תקדש).

**20** אדם בבניך] MT בְּנֶיךָ. SP harmonises with Exod. 13.13.

**24** רבים] MT *minus*. SP גוים רבים is in line with several verses, e.g., Deut. 7.1; 15.6.

בהעלותך *bållūtåk qal/hif* INF ≈ MT בַּעֲלֹתְךָ *qal* INF. The SP reading fits both *qal* and *hifʿil* (cf. *lāːlot*, the pronunciation of both לעלות in Exod. 19.23 and להעלות in Exod. 27.20). ST renders בהעלותך as ב(א)סקותך, obviously *hifʿil* (which may be homiletic). SAV, on the other hand, has عند صعودك 'your ascension'.

## Exodus 35

**3** תבעירו *tåbīru hif* ≈ MT תְבַעֲרוּ *pi*. While for the sense of 'burn, kindle fire' MT uses *piʿel* along with *hifʿil* (Exod. 22.5), SP is consistent in using only the latter.

**17** ואת עמודיה] MT אֶת־עַמֻּדֶיו וּ–. SP harmonises with Exod. 39.40.

**25** טוה *ṭuwwå* N *\*tū: +PRON 3FSG*] MT טָוֶוּ *qal* PF 3PL. The SP noun has a parallel in MH טוי (Tosefta, Bava Qamma 11.12; see also Hammeliṣ, 477). The analysis of a pronominal suffix (attached to the masculine noun) is supported both by MS J of ST עזלה (see *DSA*, עזל, 630) and טוה(מ) in the same verse, in which the pronominal suffix is plausible.

מטוה *miṭṭuwwå* PREP -מ + N *\*tū: +PRON 3FSG*] MT מַטְוֶה N. ST מן עזלה is ambiguous with regard to the final vowel, whether it represents the definite article or the 3FS possessive pronoun. SAV, according to AH, prefers the former alternative מן אלעׄזל (i.e., من الغزل), while Abu Saʿid, with مــن غــزلها, adopts the latter one. So does the Arabic column of Hammeliṣ (477), and we, too, have chosen this option in our translation. For further discussion on the noun, see *GSH* §1.5.3.3b, and n. 129.

**35** וחשבי *wåšåbi* N *åšåb* חֵשֶׁב *\*PL CSTR*] MT וְחֹשְׁבֵי PT PL CSTR. MT עֹשֵׂי כָל־מְלָאכָה וְחֹשְׁבֵי מַחֲשָׁבֹת means 'those who do any workmanship and those who devise skilful works', referring to all the workers who did the crafts mentioned in the verse. By contrast, SP עשו כל מלאכה וחשבי מחשבות is an independent sentence, the 3CPL subject (implicit in עשו) of which refers to those mentioned in v. 34. This is reflected not only in the syntax, but also in the pronunciation of וחשבי *wåšåbi*, the plural construct of *åšåb* 'work', which is distinct from the *nomen agentis* ʿ*aššåb*.

## Exodus 36

**2** לקרב *liqråb* *qal* INF ≈ MT לְקָרְבָה *qal* INF F. SP prefers the regular masculine form of the infinitive construct.

**5** מדי *mådi* CONJ מה + *di*] MT מִדֵּי 'more than enough'. MT מִדֵּי denotes 'more than enough (for the service of the work)' (cf. Rashi יותר מדי צורך העבודה). According to the SP pronunciation, מדי *mådi* means 'enough'. Most ST manuscripts render מדי as משחה 'measure', probably because of מדה 'measure' (e.g., Exod. 26.2), pronounced *måddå* (מד"ד). It is therefore possible that the pronunciation *mådi* reflects its perception as a derivative of מו"ד (variant of מד"ד; see *GSH* §§4.1.1.1; 4.1.2.8 [note]). In any case, ST משחה reflects the Samaritan interpretation 'by measure'. SP *mådi* is apparently parallel to RH כְּדֵי, e.g., המוציא

יין כדי מזיגת הכוס, חלב כדי גמיעה 'he who takes out wine enough to mix a cup, milk enough for a gulp' (Shabbat 8.1).

**7** דים *dem* ADV *di* דִּי PL] MT דְיֵם N +PRON 3MPL. On the plural form in דים *dem*, see *GSH* §4.1.1.1. Note that along with adverbs ending in -*am*, such as חִנָּם 'for nothing', SH has adverbs with the ending -*im*, e.g., *rīqəm* (for *rīqåm*; see *GSH* §4.3.9). דים *dem* (< *\*diim*) is one of these (see the note above). All ST manuscripts attest an adverb; none render it as a form with a pronominal suffix: תותרו (see *DSA*, יתר, 37), ספקה (*DSA*, ספק I, 606).

**8** בעשאי *bå̊šå̊ʾi* -ב + INF *qətal* (*GSH* §2.14.9)] MT בְּעֹשֵׂי PT PL. SP *bå̊šå̊ʾi* presupposes עֲשִׂי\*, a presumptive masculine form of the verbal noun עֲשִׂיָּה. Accordingly, ST renders the word as a noun, i.e., בעובדי ,בעבדאי, etc. 'doings'.

**11** בקצה] MT מִקְצֵה. SP harmonises with Exod. 26.4 (*q.v.*).

וכן] MT כֵן –ו. SP harmonises with Exod. 26.4.

**34** טבעתיהם ≈ MT טַבְּעֹתָ. Alongside the common 3MPL pronominal suffix -*imma* attached to the plural -*ot* ending (spelled תם-, e.g., אבותם *å̊būtimma* Exod. 4.5), SP also less frequently displays -*īyyimma* (spelled תיהם-), e.g., למשפחתיהם *almašfūttīyyimma* (Gen. 8.19), סביבתיהם *så̊bībūtīyyimma* (Gen. 35.5; Num. 16.34; 35.2), מכרתיהם *makrētīyyimma* (Gen. 49.5), מצבתיהם *må̊ṣṣibūtīyyimma* (Exod. 23.24; 34.13 [MT מַצֵּבֹתָם]; Deut. 7.5 [MT מַצֵּבֹתָם]; 12.2 [MT מַצֵּבֹתָם]), טבעתיהם *ṭå̊bbēʾūtīyyimma* (Exod. 26.29; 36.34 [MT טַבְּעֹתָם]), מזבחתיהם *mazbāʾūtīyyimma* (Exod. 34.13 [MT מִזְבְּחֹתָם]; Deut. 7.5; 12.3 [MT מִזְבְּחֹתָם]), ובחקתיהם *wbaqqūttīyyimma* (Lev. 18.3), תחתיהם *tå̊ttīyyimma* (Num. 16.31; Deut. 2.12 [MT תַּחְתָּם], 21 [MT תַּחְתָּם], 22 [MT תַּחְתָּם], 23 [MT תַּחְתָּם]) ועצמתיהם *wå̊ṣå̊mūttīyyimma* (Num. 24.8), בנתיהם *bå̊nūttīyyimma* (Deut. 12.31). For this phenomenon in BH and other Hebrew texts see Bar-Asher (2004).

## Exodus 38

**8** הצבאות *aṣṣå̊bā̊ʾot* PT = MT הַצֹּבְאֹת. The Samaritan pronunciation *ṣå̊baʾot* does not discern between the participle צובא 'ministering, serving', and the noun צבא 'host' (though ST חיליה,

var. חיוליה, seem to render the noun). Therefore, neither the pronunciation nor ST clearly attests a distinction similar to that found in MT.

**10** ועמודיו] MT עַמּוּדֵיהֶם ו– 'their pillars'. SP harmonises with Exod. 27.10. In both verses עמודיו 'its pillars' probably refers to חצר המשכן 'the court of the tabernacle', mentioned in the preceding verse.

**Exodus 39**

**24** ושש] MT *minus*. SP ושש משזר corresponds to all the other 20 occurrences of this locution, shared by MT.

**26** זהב (twice)] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Exod. 28.34.

**32** המשכן] MT מִשְׁכַּן –DEF. The phrase משכן אהל מועד occurs in MT three more times (Exod. 40.2, 6, 28), whereas SP consistently displays המשכן אהל מועד. By using the definite article in המשכן, SP puts אהל מועד in apposition to משכן, apparently because they are synonyms.

**Leviticus 1**

**6** והפשיטו PL] MT וְהִפְשִׁיט SG. With the plural verb והפשיטו, and further with ונתחו, SP assigns the sons of Aaron a central position in the process of offering sacrifices, equal to that of their father (see v. 12). In this respect, MT is consistent in assigning the principal actions to the high priest alone, while the sons are employed only in secondary activities.

**7** הכהנים PL] MT הַכֹּהֵן SG. SP harmonises with v. 8.

**9** הוא א] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 13.

אל פתח אהל מועד יקריב אתו] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 3.

**12** יעריך *yårrək hif* IMPF] MT וְעָרַךְ *qal* CONV PF. According to SP's syntax, the clause ends after לנתחיו, the word being marked by a *paseq* in most manuscripts. Thus, the sons of the high priest are those who perform the slaughtering, in conformity with v. 6.

**16** מרתו *martu* N *mirra* מְרָה* (*GSH* §4.1.5.4)] MT מֶרְאָתוֹ N מֶרְאָה 'bird's crop'. The Samaritan pronunciation *martu* (< \**marratu*) identifies the word with מרה 'gall-bladder'; cf. SAV مراره (var. لقاطته). MT מֶרְאָתוֹ is perceived in Jewish halakha as 'bird's crop' (Sifra, Nedava 5.2).

**Leviticus 2**

**1** מנחה היא א] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 15.

**Leviticus 3**

**5** אשר על המזבח] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Lev. 1.8, 12.

**Leviticus 4**

**7** המזבח^ *mazba* (מזבח)] MT מִזְבַּח. The definite form disturbs the chain of construct forms. The frequent המזבח (Exod. 29.12; Lev. 4.18; 8.18; 9.9; 16.18) may have been the source of this aberration. Note that this reading is common to many other manuscripts (von Gall, *ad loc.*), though two of them have a *punctum occultans* over the ה-. See also v. 18.

**8** את 2°] MT עַל. SP is in accordance with the regular string החלב המכסה את הקרב 'The fat that covers the entrails' (Exod. 29.13; Lev. 3.3, 9, 14; 7.3).

**28** נקבה תמימה] MT תְּמִימֶה נְקֵבָ֑ה. SP harmonises with v. 32.

**29** אשר ישחטו את] MT *minus.* SP harmonises with v. 33; 7.1; 14.13; etc.

**35** אשה *ēši* PL ≈ MT אִשֵּׁי. This is one of the three cases (cf. Lev. 5.12; 7.30) in which the spelling אשה in MS C (Nablus 6) denotes the plural (usually אשי). The pronunciation *ēši* does not distinguish between singular and plural. However, ST קרבני attests the latter; see Num. 28.2.

**Leviticus 5**

**2** כי] MT אֲשֶׁר. SP is consistent in using כי after ונפש/או נפש (cf. vv. 1, 4, 15).

**5** את] MT *minus.* SP is consistent in using כי after התודה (cf. Lev. 16.21; 26.40; Num. 5.7).

**7** תשיג] MT תַגִּיע. The sequence of the *hifʿil* השיג 'reach, obtain' and the noun יד 'hand' is the regular way of expressing possession of the wealth necessary for a person to offer an animal as sacrifice (Lev. 5.11; 14.22, 30–31; 25.26, 47, 49; 27.8; Num. 6.21). It is MT that deviates in the present case, using the synonymous verb הגיע 'reach, arrive'.

**11** יצק] MT יָשִׂים 'put'. Only here does MT use the verb שים 'put' with שמן 'oil' as object; elsewhere יצק 'pour' is used (Gen. 28.8; 35.14; Lev. 2.1, 6; 8.12; 14.15, 26; 21.10; Num. 5.15). By using יצק in the present verse, SP makes matters uniform.

**17** אחת] MT כִּי. SP has אחת in similar circumstances (Lev. 4.27; Num. 15.27).

**23** הגזל] MT הַגְּזֵלָה. SP harmonises with v. 21.

הפקיד אתו *hif*] MT הָפְקַד אִתּ֖וֹ *hof*. The MT passive has the fraud as object: 'the deposit that was entrusted to him (אתו)'. SP takes the victim of the fraud as the subject of the phrase, i.e., the deposit that **he** entrusted in the hands of the felon, with the following preposition אתו related to the felon. ST, however, supports the vocalisation in MT: עמה 'with him'.

**24** וחמשתו *wēmīšå̊tu* SG] MT וַחֲמִשְׁתָיו PL] SP harmonises with Lev. 27.31.

**Leviticus 6**

**7** הקריבו *hif* IMV MPL/PF 3PL] MT הַקְרֵב *hif* INF ABS. The ambiguous הקריבו is variously interpreted in Samaritan sources. Unfortunately, ST הקרבו is also indecisive, as it denotes

both IMV PL and PF 3PL, very much like SP. SAV in AS adopts the imperative, adding a supporting vocative: الهديه قربوها يا بني هرون. On the other hand, AH's earlier translation takes הקריבו as the perfect positioned in a relative clause referring to the meal offering: אלהדיה (الهدية التي يقربوها بني هرون ,.i.e) אלתי יקרבוהא בני הרון). In translation we have opted for the latter.

**8** המזבחה *ammaz'bå*] MT הַמִּזְבֵּ֔חַ. SP harmonises with all other occurrences of the verb הקטיר 'burn' with המזבחה (e.g., Lev. 7.5, 31; 8.16, 21; 9.10, 14, etc.).

**13** המשיח *ammå̊ši qal* PT PASS (*GSH* §2.14.12, 6.)] MT הִמָּשַׁ֖ח *nif* INF CSTR. SP *ammå̊ši* denotes '(the day) he is anointed' (cf. v. 15). The initial -ה plays the role of the relative pronoun and the following אתו of the demonstrative, rather frequent in Mishnaic Hebrew. It occupies here the position of the subject (⇓ Lev. 20.14; *GSH* §3.3.1.3).

למנחה] MT מִנְחָ֑ה. SP harmonises with Num. 28.5.

**15** תקטיר *tēqå̊ṭər pi* B PASS/ACT (*GSH* §2.10.9) ≈ MT תָּקְטָ֑ר *hof*. MS J of ST renders the verbal form in the passive, תתועד 'shall be burnt', and so does SAV, تُقتَّـر (vocalisation according to Abu Saʿid). The rest of ST manuscripts regard it as active, related to Moses as subject, in agreement with תביאנה and תקריב in the preceding verse.

**20** יזה (twice) *yazze hif*] MT יִזֶּ֧ה *qal*. SP *hif* has the priest as subject of the phrase (MT *qal* presupposes an unspecified subject). ST is divided concerning the conjugation. Some manuscripts render both verbs דידי, which corresponds with the *hif* pronunciation. Others use the passive *hitpeʿel*, די(א)דית, which is in line with MT. The ancient versions are divided, too. The first case in LXX is in the passive, while it is in the active in Onqelos and the Peshitta (*paʿʿel*). So, too, is the second case, except in the Peshitta, which agrees with LXX.

**21** בשלה *baššēla* = בֻּשְּׁלָ֑ה *pu*, ומרק *wmå̊råq* = MT וּמֹרַ֣ק *pu*, ושטף *wšå̊ṭåf* = MT וְשֻׁטַּ֖ף *pu*. Given SH's preference for the active, formally all three verbs may be in the active voice (*GSH* §2.10.3; 2.10.9). Indeed, MS J of ST renders them by active conjugations: בשלת... וימרק... וישטף. However, the rest of the manuscripts have passive forms: אתבשלת... ויתמרק... ויצטבע. Our translation follows this latter approach.

**Leviticus 7**

**3** ואת כל החלב אשר על הקרב] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Lev. 3.14, 8.25 etc.

**19** הבשר] MT וְהַבָּשָׂר +ו. SP puts the word at the end of the phrase, making it the subject of the previous verb. This is marked in the manuscript by the disjunctive *paseq*, which separates the word from what follows. The syntax differs from MT, which puts והבשר in the position of *casus pendens* at the head of the following phrase: 'And as for the (other) flesh...'.

**21** שרץ] MT שֶׁקֶץ 'abomination'. SP uses the locution שרץ טמא in Lev. 5.2; 22.5 (SP), while שקץ טמא occurs in MT only in this verse.

**Leviticus 8**

**14** ויסמכו PL] MT וַיִּסְמֹךְ SG. SP harmonises with v. 18.

**18** ויגיש] MT וַיַּקְרֵב 'presented'. SP harmonises with v. 14.

**31** במקום ^הקדש (במקום קדוש) *bål̊måqom qådoš*] MT *minus*. במקום הקדש is in line with Lev. 10.17.

**Leviticus 10**

**3** בקריבי *afqarrībi* SG N *qattīl*] MT בִּקְרֹבַי PL N *qatōl*. The singular of SP is well attested by SAV بالقـريب مـني. Neither the pronunciation nor ST בקריבי (var. בגבאי) distinguish between singular and plural.

**18** את *it* NOTA ACC = MT אֶת. ST is ambiguous regarding the rendering of את: while MSS J and A display the *nota accusativi* ית in accordance with the pronunciation, the rest render it as מן, reflecting construal as the Hebrew PREP את *at*.

**Leviticus 11**

**5** הפריס] MT יַפְרִיס. SP harmonises with v. 6.

**10** במים 1°] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with vv. 9, 12.

**13** תאכלו *tåʾūkēlu qal* IMPF 2MPL] MT יֵאָכְלוּ *nif* IMPF 3MPL 'shall (not) be eaten'. SP *tåʾūkēlu* is a direct address to the audience in harmony with the preceding verses. By contrast, יֵאָכְלוּ makes the following animals the subject of the verb.

**18** הרחמה] MT הָרָחָם. While MT has both the masculine רחם and the feminine רחמה (Deut. 14.17), SP only has the latter.

**22** למינה F] MT לְמִינֵהוּ M. SP apparently takes the preceding חרגל as feminine.

**37** זרע זרע *zēra zēra* ≈ MT זֶרַע זֵרוּעַ. The sequence pronounced *zēra zēra* has various renderings in ST. MSS C, E, and N read זרע זרע, which, in absence of vocalisation offers no clarification. MSS A, B, M, and V read זרע זרעה, which may be interpreted as a construct state functioning as a hendiadys. MS J is the only one that renders the sequence as זרע זריע, presenting the phrase as a noun followed by its definer (PASS PART of *qal*). In doing so it is close to MT זֶרַע זֵרוּעַ 'sown seed'.

**40** והאכל *wåkkəl pi* PT] MT וְהָאֹכֵל *qal* PT. Rendering the word as ודגרף, ST excludes the possibility that a carcass could be eaten, and diverts the verb to a less abominable meaning: 'to skin'. This is also the intention of its attribution to an uncommon conjugation, as far as the root אכ"ל is concerned. One ST manuscript translates it as תגר 'to sell, handle', having in mind Deut. 14.21 ומכרה.

## Leviticus 12

**3** ימול *yēmol qal*] MT יִמּוֹל *nif*. SP is active and is, therefore, followed by the *nota accusativi*, which governs the object בשר ערלתו. Obviously, the syntax is deficient: ערלתו refers to the newborn, while ימול has no explicit subject. ST mends this deficiency by using the passive יתגזר, or, alternatively, the targumist may have had before him a Masoretic-like *Vorlage*. The accusative marker is absent from MT, since יִמּוֹל is passive with בשר ערלתו functioning as its subject.

**8** לחטאת] MT לְעֹלָה 'for a burnt offering'. SP shows the common string אחד לחטאת ואחד לעלה (Lev. 5.7; Num. 6.11), while אחד לעלה ואחד לחטאת occurs only here in MT.

**Leviticus 13**

**6** « » ] MT אֹתוֹ. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

**34** וטהרו] MT וְטִהַר אֹתוֹ. SP harmonises with Lev. 13.6, 23, 28.

**45** שפם = MT שָׂפָם. In spite of the pronunciation *ašfåm*, ST renders this word as the plural ספואן 'lips', probably based on the pronunciation \**ašfəm*. SAV, however, reads الشارب 'moustache'.

וטמא טמא יקרא = MT וְטָמֵא ׀ טָמֵא יִקְרָא. In spite of the pronunciation *wṭēmi* (noun), ST treats the first טמא as an intransitive verb (\**wṭēma*) and renders it as such: ויסתב 'and he will be unclean'. Thus, the word is separated from what follows and is attached to the preceding ועל שפם יעטא ויסתב 'and he will cover lips and be unclean'. Indeed, many manuscripts of SP have a disjunctive *paseq* after וטמא (von Gall, *ad loc.*). ST renders the following טמא יקרא as a separate phrase מסב יתקרי, as if the verb were in the *nifʿal* conjugation: \**yiqqåri* 'he shall be called unclean'. This contrasts with the SP transitive pronunciation *yiqra*, whose subject is the leper, in accordance with MT יִקְרָא.

**51** ממראת *måmrˈrēt* מר"א *hif* PT (*GSH* §2.12.2)] MT מַמְאֶרֶת מא"ר *hif* PT 'painful, malignant'. Unlike MT, which derives מַמְאֶרֶת from מא"ר 'pain, malignancy', SP ממרת belongs to מר"א, a cognate of מר"י 'rebellion, obstinacy', cf. ממרים Deut. 9.7, etc. (see Hammeliṣ, p. 507). The word is rendered by ST as ממריה.

**56** הכבסו *akbēsu hif* INF + PRON 3MSG/PF 3MPL] MT הֻכַּבֵּס *hot* INF. Actually, הכבסו may also be taken as the 3PL PF *hif* 'they washed', having an impersonal subject. This is the interpretation of most manuscripts of ST: דרעו (var. דאתרחו), albeit with the addition of a relative pronoun. However, MS J has the neutral רעו (asyndetic perfect or infinitive?). SAV treats the word as an infinitive with a possessive suffixed pronoun: غسله 'its washing'.

**58** תכבס *tikkåbbås nif* B] MT תְּכֻבֵּס *pi*. The active MT is impersonal, albeit in the style of a 2MS commandment: '(that) you shall wash'. SP has the verb in the passive, impersonal as well, in the feminine, which MSS A, E and M render accordingly as דתתרע. MS J renders it freely in the masculine, דיתרע, in harmony with the following וירע.

וכבס *wkabbəs pi*] MT וְכֻבַּס *pu*. ST render as passive *ad sensum* in MS N ויתרע, which is similar to SAV تُغسل according to Abu Saʿid.

## Leviticus 14

**42** וטחו PL] MT וְטָח SG. The action is perceived by the manuscripts of ST in different ways. MS E renders it as ויטעשון, which is similar to Pseudo-Jonathan ויתטש 'and he will plaster', with which Onqelos agrees, albeit with the synonymous verb וישוע. On the other hand, MSS A, B, J, and M translate the verb as וישטפון 'they shall cleanse'. This rendering is possibly based on a pronunciation *wåṭåʾu*, representing וחטאו* (see the following verse), which may have arisen due to the influence of the sequence ולקחו לחטא 'they took to cleanse' (v. 49).

**43** הטח *ʿåṭṭå* טח"ח/חט"א INF *nif/hif* (*GSH* §2.14.15, 3) ≈ MT הָטוֹחַ טו"ח *nif* INF ABS. MT displays the INF ABS *nif* הָטוֹחַ of טו"ח. Apparently, this is also the SP reading, meaning 'to plaster', albeit with a different grammatical character. However, judging by the pronunciation *ʿåṭṭå*, הטח is of a completely different nature. The initial ʿ shows that the word should be attributed to חט"א, which in certain passages denotes 'cleansing, purging' (Lev. 8.15; Num. 19.9). ST accordingly renders the verb as אשתטף 'cleansed'. This is also how certain manuscripts of ST render וטחו in the preceding verse: וישטפון. Ben-Ḥayyim supposed that the attribution of the word to חטא was a later development (*GSH* §2.14.15, 3). Note that MSS C and E have אטעש 'plastering'.

**44** פרח פר"ח *qal*] MT פָּשָׂה פשׂ"י *qal* 'spread'. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

**50** ^וٔשחטו PL] *wšåṭ* (= MT וְשָׁחַט) SG. The unique plural ושחטו, followed by its Aramaic and Arabic columns (ויכסו, ويـذبحو), is attracted by v. 5, where the plural is shared by all SP manuscripts.

**51** שני התולעת ואת האזוב] MT הָאֵזֹב וְאֵת ׀ שְׁנִי הַתּוֹלָעַת. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

## Leviticus 15

**3** או בשרו זוב ימי כל חתום בשרו מזובו טמא הוא כל ימי זוב בשרו או] MT *minus*. כל ימי זוב בשרו harmonises with v. 25: כל ימי זוב טמאתה.

**Leviticus 17**

**7** לשערים *laššārəm* N (שַׁעַר*)] MT לַשְּׂעִירִֽם 'to the he–goats' N שָׂעִיר. The MT לַשְּׂעִירִֽם is traditionally understood as the cult of demons, and rendered as such in the Targumim and versions: Onqelos לשידין, Vulgate *daemonibus*, Peshitta לשאדא, LXX ματαίοις 'useless things', etc. It is probably connected with the previous chapter, where שעיר לעזאזל is treated. SP apparently differs. Its pronunciation *laššārəm* 'to the gates' implies an 'external' cult, as MS J of the ST puts it: לתעריה. On the other hand, the rest or the ST manuscripts read לתרועין (MSS A, C, and M), var. לתרועים (MS B), displaying the *nomen agentis* of the Aramaic root תר"ע, which denotes 'breaking', from which 'corruption, lawlessness' (cf. פריץ שפך דם 'lawbreaker, shedder of blood' in Ezek. 18.10). It is not impossible that MS J has a similar rendering, though its letters are differently disposed because of the loss of gutturals. SAV similarly renders للاوثان 'to the idols'. Two valuable manuscripts of SP have a small stroke over the letter עין, intended to highlight the special denotation of this שער, as against its usual meaning 'gate' (see *DSA*, 965–66).

**10** אשר יגור] MT הַגֵּר. SP harmonises with v. 8.

**Leviticus 18**

**21** להעביד] MT לְהַעֲבִיר 'to pass'. According to MT לְהַעֲבִיר לַמֹּלֶךְ is an elliptical phrase for להעביר באש למלך 'to pass over the fire to Moloch', a reference to child sacrifice, attested in 2 Kgs 3.27, and particularly in 2 Kgs 16.3. Such sacrifice is unknown to SP, which speaks about unspecified idolatrous worship, in the terms of Exod. 20.5; Deut. 7.4; 12.30, etc.

**Leviticus 19**

**18** תטור *tiṭṭor* טו"ר (< נט"ר) *qal* ≈ MT תִּטֹּר טו"ר *qal*. J, the main ST manuscript, renders תטור as תסדר, an elliptic for סדר קרבא, the usual translation of ערך מלחמה 'set array for battle' (*GSH* §2.6.13; see also Hammeliṣ 477). Nevertheless, we have followed in translation the reading of MSS B, C, E, M, and N תנטר, which is supported by SAV تحقد. Significantly, a marginal note in MS M reads תרצד '(you shall not) ambush'.

**20** חפשי *ifši*] MT חָפְשָׁה. SP is in harmony with Exod. 21.2, 26.27; Deut. 15.12, 13, 18. MT חָפְשָׁה is a *hapax*.

**25** להאסיף *līsəf* סו"ף/יס"ף ≈ MT לְהוֹסִיף. The pronunciation *līsəf* represents the infinitive of סו"ף (*GSH* §2.3.4), which in certain cases denotes 'increase' and mingles with אס"ף in MT, too, e.g., אָסֹף אָסֵף 'I shall consume' (Zeph 1.2), etc. (see *GSH* §2.14.13). In the present verse, two different meanings are attributed to the word. One is represented by the ST למכנשה 'to gather', the other by SAV لیضاـــف 'to double'. The latter involves the pronunciation *līsəf*, which implies that the one who keeps the commandment of the ערלה will have his trees yield a greater crop in the fifth year. Apparently, this is an old interpretative tradition, not different from MT לְהוֹסִיף.

## Leviticus 20

**14** ישרפו *yiššå̄rēfu nif*] MT יִשְׂרְפוּ *qal*. MT יִשְׂרְפוּ has אֹתוֹ and וְאֶתְהֶן as direct objects, the subject being indeterminate. SP has a different structure, as אתו and אתיהן play the role of the subject of the passive *nifʿal*. Obviously, both function as demonstratives, after the model of Lev. 26.39, *q.v.* (see *GSH* §3.3.1.3).

**19** שאר הערוה] MT שְׁאֵרוֹ הֶעֱרָה 'he has made naked his near kin'. This phrase has produced much confusion among the Samaritan translators. Due to the merger of *š* and *ś*, שְׁאֵר 'kin' and שְׂאֹר 'leaven' have fused, both being pronounced *šår*. As a result, ST ascribes שאר to שְׂאֹר 'leaven' and renders the word as עמיר, i.e., חמיר (Exod. 12.15, etc.), probably for the sake of euphemism. This makes the entire phrase appositional to the subject of the verse: the nakedness. This transformation makes the preceding כי redundant and positions the accusative את in front of the subject. Only SAV اقارب reflects a tradition that regards the word's meaning as 'relatives', adducing a solution which seemingly departs from the Hebrew source: یتحملـون فان اقالـرب السـوه اوزارهـم 'for the relatives of the nakedness shall bear their iniquity'.

## Leviticus 21

**8** מקדשם PT + PRON 3MPL] MT מְקַדִּשְׁכֶם PT + PRON 2MPL. SP harmonises with vv. 23; 22.9.

**18** ערום *ʿārom* ≈ MT חָרֻם (PHON). Actually, there is no essential difference between the ערום reading and MT חָרֻם, as the pronunciation *ʿārom* fits both. ST's reading סטיר confuses חרום 'deformed' with the homophone ערום 'villain' in Gen. 3.1. So does Hammeliṣ (471, 544), which renders the two words identically. As in Syriac, סטר means 'perversion, treachery' (Sokoloff 2009, 997b), and renders perfectly the serpent's character in Gen. 3.1. Apparently, ST applies this word to the present reading. SAV, conversely, makes a clear distinction between اخـبث 'villain' when referring to the serpent and مـؤوف 'deformed' in reference to the present case.

## Leviticus 22

**25** משחיתים *måšå̊ttəm* (משחתים) N PL *muqtal*] MT מָשְׁחָתָם N *muqtal* + PRON 3MPL 'their corruption'. MT מָשְׁחָתָם aroused doubt as to its root and meaning, whether it is a derivative of מש"ח or שח"ת (Ibn Ezra). In any case, the word is an attribute of the offering, parallel to the following מום בם. The spelling משחיתים in SP represents the participle, clearly attributed to the בן נכר 'foreigner' suspected of offering a blemished offer. ST מחבלין confirms this perception of the word. However, the pronunciation *måšå̊ttəm* (PL of משחת) reveals a different understanding, namely that of a noun meaning 'blemish', as the SAV فساد understands it, too (cf. Saadia, *ad loc.*).

## Leviticus 23

**21** עבידה *ēbīda* ≈ MT עֲבֹדָה. *ēbīda* is the regular SP form parallel to MT עֲבֹדָה, spelled *plene* only here (elsewhere: עבדה).

**32** תשביתו *tåšbītu hif* ≈ MT תִּשְׁבְּתוּ *qal*. SP *hif* functions here as intransitive (see above, comments on Lev. 12.2). In this respect, it does not differ from MT *qal* תִּשְׁבְּתוּ. Alternatively, understanding the *hifʿil* as transitive 'to put an end to' would put the following שבתכם in the position of its direct object, which would distort the meaning of the phrase. However, in all other cases, the *hifʿil* of שב"ת is transitive, and has a direct object (Exod. 5.5; 12.5; Lev. 2.13; 26.6; Deut. 32.26).

**Leviticus 24**

**12** וינחהו SG] MT וַיַּנִּיחֻהוּ PL 'they put him'. Neither spelling (וינחהו) nor pronunciation (*wyanniyēʾu*) unambiguously indicate whether the subject is 'they' or 'he' (see *LOT* IV, *s.v.* נוח). However, the ST ואנחה and SAV واقره (only AH and two other manuscripts show ואקרוה) unequivocally attest the singular, i.e., Moses.

**Leviticus 25**

**5** ספיחי PL] MT סְפִיחַ SG. SP harmonises with v. 11.

נזיריך^ PL] *nēzīråk* SG (= MT נְזִירֶךָ). The pronunciation is supported by many manuscripts of SP that have the word spelled נזירך, as well as by some manuscripts of ST which render it כלילך, in contrast with others, which have the plurals באהריך, בחוריך, כליליך (i.e., choicest, בח"ר). SAV has the singular, too, albeit with a different meaning: AH תנסכך, AS تجنبك 'your ascetic'.

**15** ימכר *yimmakkår nif B*] MT יִמָּכֵר *qal*. The pronunciation *yimmakkår* makes ממכר of v. 14 the subject of the verb. No translation supports this arrangement. MT יִמָּכֵר assigns the position of subject to עֲמִיתֶךָ.

**16** תרבה *tirbi qal* INTRANS] MT תַּרְבֶּה *hif* TRANS. The subject of the MT transitive *hifʿil* תַּרְבֶּה is the 'buyer' of the field. By contrast, the pronunciation *tirbi* (*qal* intransitive) assigns to מקנתו the role of the sentence subject. This arrangement does not hold for the following תמעיט, which is transitive, and therefore has the 'buyer' as subject. Obviously, this disturbs the parallelism of the two verbs and the harmony of the two clauses, unless תמעיט is understood as intransitive. For the capability of *hifʿil* to function as intransitive, see comments at Lev. 12.2. This is how we chose to translate תמעיט.

**22** התבואתה] MT הַתְּבוּאָה 'the crop'. The irregular article prefixed to the declined noun produced a long controversy among Samaritan grammarians (see *GSH* §7.1, p. 325).

**34** ימכרו *yēmakkēru pi*] MT יִמָּכֵר *nif* 'may not be sold'. The MT יִמָּכֵר has the singular וְשָׂדֶה as subject. By contrast, SP takes it *ad sensum* as plural, in agreement with its *nomen rectum*,

which is manifestly plural: עריהם. Therefore, ST reads יזבנון, and SAV ييبعون. Notably, MS J of ST puts the *nomen regens* in the plural, ועקלת, in order to resolve the difficulty.

היא] MT הֻוא. The feminine pronoun היא in SP refers to the immediate feminine noun אחזת (עולם), while MT is directed at the remote וְשָׂדֶה.

**37 ובתרבית**] MT וּבְמַרְבִּית. SP harmonises with v. 36.

**44 תקננהו** *tiqnāʾēʾu* IMPF 2MSG +PRON 3MSG] MT תִּקְנוּ IMPF 2MPL. MT's plural תִּקְנוּ is problematic, as most references in the rest of the verse are singular—לֶךָ, וַאֲמָתְךָ, וְעַבְדְךָ—with only סְבִיבֹתֵיכֶם in the plural. In an effort to create reasonable congruence, SP vocalises the verb as singular with the suffixed object pronoun: *tiqnāʾēʾu* 'you shall buy him'. Cf. ויקנהו *wyiqnāʾēʾu* (Gen. 39.1). On the other hand, the pronunciation *tiqnāʾēʾu* may well represent an expanded plural form, a result of the vowel shift *ūʾu > ēʾu* (*GSH* §1.5.3.2b), still with the affixed object pronoun, which makes the following עבד ואמה an appositive of the object pronominal suffix. This is arguably how ST perceives the form, albeit ignoring the (fossilised?) pronoun: תזבנון 'you shall buy'. This is in line with MT, as in SAV تشترون, which we followed in translation (see *GSH* §2.2.2.3.2, fn. 49).

## Leviticus 26

**20 השדה**] MT הָאָרֶץ '(the trees of) the land'. וְעֵץ הָאָרֶץ in MT is a *hapax*, while SP עץ השדה occurs also in Exod. 9.25; Lev. 26.4; Deut. 20.19.

**25 נקמת** *niqmåt* N CSTR F (נקמת*)] MT נֹקֶמֶת *qal* PT F. The pronunciation creates the rather strange construct chain חרב נקמת נקם, to which ברית is added (as an intensifying element?). ST remains faithful to syntax similar to that found in MT: חרב גבי פרית קיאם 'a sword that punishes the violation of the covenant'. Similarly, SAV reads سـيفا يقتـصّ ثأر العهـد. In translation we opted for this reading.

**26 והשיב** SG] MT וְהֵשִׁיבוּ PL. MT וְהֵשִׁיבוּ has the ten women as subject, while the SP singular presupposes the oven as subject.

**34 אשמה** *åšåmå* שמ"ס *hif* INF ≈ MT שמ"ס הֻשַׁמָּה *hof* INF CSTR. The absence of a geminated מ in SP may lead to the erroneous attribution of the word to אש"ם 'guilt'. The spelling אשמה

may be influenced by such cases as Lev. 5.26; 22.15. In fact, gemination is rather frequently dropped in such cases (see *GSH* §2.7.4).

**39** אתם *ūtimma* NOTA ACC] MT אָתָם PREP 'with them'. The *nota accusativi* plays the role of the demonstrative pronoun (see above, Lev. 20.14). Indeed, MSS A and J render the word as אנון 'you', in the position of the subject. Cf. ST ית הלא שטיתי 'since you acted foolishly' (Num. 5.20). See *GSH* §3.3.1.3.

**43** תעזב *tåzzåb qal* ≈ MT תֵּעָזֵב *nif* 'shall be left'. The SP *qal* pronunciation *tåzzåb* is hardly justified because it assumes that the following מהם is its direct object: 'the land shall leave them'. Such an arrangement is impossible even if the initial מ is partitive. The MT *nifʿal* תֵּעָזֵב is preferable and is supported by the ST passive תשתבק in most of its manuscripts (MSS B, C, E, J, M, and V). The reading תשבק in MSS A and N does not contradict the passive, as the assimilation of ת in the passive/reflexive conjugations is regular in Western Aramaic (*LOT* IIIb: 54). SAV supports ST, exhibiting the intransitive تخلو 'will be empty'. On the possibility that SH may use the *qal* as intransitive see *GSH* §§2.15.7.

## Leviticus 27

**7** עשרת CSTR] MT עֲשָׂרֶה ABS. SP harmonises with v. 5.

**22** את *at* PREP 'with, from'] MT אֶת. ST is ambiguous with regard to the rendering of את: while all manuscripts, except MS J, follow the pronunciation by displaying מן, the latter renders it as the *nota accusativi* ית (⇓ Gen. 4.1; Lev. 10.18).

**Numbers 1**

**3** תפקד SG] MT תִּפְקְדוּ PL. SP harmonises with Num. 4.23.

**17** בשמות *baššēmot* DEF] MT בְּשֵׁמוֹת INDEF. The definite SP noun suggests that the names mentioned in the preceding verses are implied.

**20** כל זכר לגלגלתם [MT לְגֻלְגְּלֹתָם כָּל־זָכָר. SP harmonises with v. 2.

**22** פקדיהם PRON PL] MT פְּקֻדָיו PRON SG. SP prefers the plural suffix, consistent with the pronoun found in the preceding and following verses.

**42** לבני] MT בְּנֵי. SP prefers the prefixed preposition, consistent with the preceding and following verses.

**52** ידו] MT דִּגְלוֹ 'his troop'. For יד in the meaning 'place' see *DSA*, *s.v.* אתר.

**Numbers 2**

**4** ופקדיו PRON SG] MT וּפְקֻדֵיהֶם PRON PL 'and those that were numbered'. SP is consistent in using the locution וצבאו ופקדיו.

**14** דעואל // MT רְעוּאֵל. SP harmonises with Num. 1.14; 7.42, 47; 10.20. The Vulgate, with *Duhel,* follows the same pattern.

**Numbers 3**

**4** « » ] MT לִפְנֵי יְהֹוָה. SP harmonises with Num. 26.61.

**12** פדוייהם *fidwīyyimma* N *fidˈwīm*] MT *minus*. In contrast with MT (cf. vv. 46, 48, 49, 51), the SP spelling פדוים does not refer to the passive participle פָּדוּי\*, but rather to the *plurale tantum* noun *fidˈwīm* (*GSH* §§4.3.9; 4.5.9).

**38** שמרי משמרת הקדש [MT שֹׁמְרִים מִשְׁמֶרֶת הַמִּקְדָּשׁ. SP harmonises with v. 28.

**Numbers 4**

**8** « » ] MT אֶת. SP harmonises with v. 6, while MT is in line with v. 11.

**12** השרת^ (=MT [הַשָּׁרֵת]) *aššå̊rət* (השרד). There is confusion in the use of שרת *aššå̊rət* and שרד *aššå̊rəd* resulting from the pronunciation of the two words, which differs in the last consonant alone: *t* versus *d*. Since these consonants undergo neutralisation in final position, they were copied promiscuously by scribes, as shown by the critical apparatus of von Gall's edition in Exod. 31.10; 39.41. This may be the cause of the difference in spelling and pronunciation here. Yet, meaning is also a factor in this process. שרד occurs four times in the Pentateuch (Exod. 31.10; 35.19; 39.1, 41), always as part of the locution בגדי שרד, referring to the vestments of the priest during ministry, which is expressed by לשרת in Exod. 35.19. In our verse, the object of packing, כלי השרת, initially 'the utensils of the ministry', was attributed by the oral tradition to the 'vestments of ministry', by force of the meaning 'garments' of כלי in Deut. 22.4, frequent in MH, e.g., כלי לבן 'white garments' (m. Shabbat 1.9); כלים תפורים 'sewn garments' (m. Beṣa 1.10), etc. Notably, both שרד and שרת are rendered in most ST manuscripts as תשמיש 'service'.

**19** «   »] MT אֶיש. MT harmonises with v. 49.

## Numbers 5

**13** ונעלמה] MT וְנֶעְלָם. MT וְנֶעְלָם refers to the event, while SP refers to the woman and, therefore, agrees with the other verbs in the verse: ונסתרה ,נטמאה, and נתפשה.

**18** המארים המארים *ammarrəm ammå̊rå̊rəm*] MT הַמָּרִים הַמְאָרֲרִים 'the water of bitterness that brings the curse'. In comparison with MT מֵי הַמָּרִים הַמְאָרֲרִים 'the water of bitterness that causes the curse', SP is rather obscure. On the one hand, both words may be attributed either to מר"ר 'bitterness' or to אר"ר 'curse'. In both cases, the passage remains vague. It is ST that reveals the way these verbs were understood. Arguably, המארים is perceived by the Samaritan interpretational tradition as cognate with the following המארים, the latter being assigned to the *palpel* conjugation of ער"ר, namely ערער 'inquire'. Accordingly, *ammå̊rå̊rəm* is the phonetic realisation of המערעים (*LOT* IIIa, 74; cf. IIIb, 141, n. to l. 86; *GSH* §2.12.15, d). This is expressed by ST rendering both verbs identically: מי בחורה דמבארים (var. מי בחורה דבחרין) 'the water ordeal that tests'. Obviously, דמבארין is a spelling of דמבחרין, with בח"ר

functioning in the sense of 'test' (*DSA*, 91). It is noteworthy that in vv. 19 and 24 המארים is rendered by MS J alone as מרירה 'the bitter (water)', in agreement with MT. In all these cases SAV renders both words as ماحقة and محـق 'curse' (semantic development from the meaning 'to be devoid of God's blessing'; see Blau 2006, 651).

**20** ואת *wit* NOTA ACC] MT וְאַתְּ PRON 'and you (F)'. The *nota accusativi* in SP functions—as in post-biblical Hebrew and Palestinian Aramaic—as a demonstrative pronoun (*GSH* §3.3.1.3). This tradition is supported by all ST manuscripts, which render the Hebrew ואת by the Aramaic *nota accusativi* וית. See also Lev. 20.14; 26.39. Our translation follows SAV according to Ab Hisda: ואד קד תעדיתי, i.e., .واذ قد تعدّيتي

**26** והרים] MT וְקָמַץ 'scoop'. SP harmonises with Lev. 2.9.

**27** והשקה PF] MT וְהִשְׁקָה PF +PRON 3FSG 'he made her drink'. SP harmonises with the same verbal form in v. 24.

והיה M] MT וְהָיְתֶה F. SP is consistent in using the masculine in the opening formulae of conditional sentences—e.g., Gen. 38.9; Exod. 4.8, 9; Num. 15.24; 21.9; Deut. 8.19—a total of 14 times. MT deviates only here, probably under the influence of the following feminine נטמאה.

## Numbers 6

**3** משארת *måšåråt* שא"ר ≈ MT שר"י מְשֹׁרֶת 'soaked grapes'. Apart from the secondary gemination of the *š* and the *mater lectionis* א, SP actually exhibits the same lexeme and meaning as MT. The graphic resemblance to משארת 'kneading trough', pronounced *måšåråt* (Exod. 12;34, Deut. 28.5, etc. [Geiger 1857, 382]), led some manuscripts of ST to attribute the word to שא"ר rendering it as מן עמירת (see *DSA, s.v.* חמר). Other manuscripts, however, render it as מורשורת (*DSA*, 458), pointing to a Masoretic-like understanding (not very different from SAV ما يتنتّج من العنب 'that which is poured out from grapes' [A. Barthélemy 1935, 814]), which we have preferred. The verb שרי is abundantly present in MH (e.g., m. Shabbat 1.5). Significantly, Luther's Bible translates: 'das aus Weinbeeren gemacht wird'.

**5** גדל *gēdəl* PT PASS] MT גַּדֵּל INF ABS. For MT גַדֵּל, the subject of the verb is the nazirite: 'he shall let grow (the locks of his hair)'. Onqelos renders it accordingly as ירבי; cf. Ibn Ezra יגדל. SP considers the hair the subject and puts the verb in the passive, followed by SAV alone: مجـدولا. ST unanimously renders גדל as מרבי, which is active, supporting MT (unless an assimilated ת is to be supposed: מתרבי).

**12** טמא *ṭåmma pi* PF] MT טָמֵא *qal* PF. SP harmonises with v. 9, where the nazirite is the subject. SAV نجّــس renders the word in the same spirit. ST, however, takes נזרו 'his consecration' as subject of the verb אסתב (var. סיב) 'was defiled', understanding the SP *ṭåmma* as intransitive.

### Numbers 7

**89** מדבר *amdabbər pi* PT] MT מִדַּבֵּר *hitp* PT. The unusual MT passive led Rashi to interpret "(God) speaks to himself, and Moses hears incidentally" (מדבר בינו לבין עצמו ומשה שומע מאליו). Less sensitive to anthropomorphic representations of God (see §2.2.1.3), SP has a regular active form, which tells the reader that God actually spoke with Moses. SP *amdabbər* is supported by the active ממלל attested in ST.

### Numbers 8

**12** ועשה *wåša* PF] MT וַעֲשֵׂה IMV. The perfect form in SP functions as a modal verb whose subject is Aaron mentioned in the preceding verse. Several LXX manuscripts attest to ויעשה as *Vorlage*. As the imperative form in MT is not clear, Ibn Ezra explains: "the imperative is used since it was Aaron who sacrificed" (בציווי כי אהרן היה המקריב).

**15** עבדת] MT *minus*. SP is in line with Num. 7.5 and elsewhere.

**16** כל בכור פטר רחם בבני] MT פִּטְרַת כָּל־רֶחֶם בְּכוֹר כֹּל מִבְּנֵי. SP harmonises with Num. 3.12.

### Numbers 9

**15** הוקם *uwwåqåm hif* PASS PF] MT הֵקִים INF CST. For finite verbs in SP vs MT infinitives, see introduction §2.2.2.2. For the use of the *nota accusativi* את before the subject, see comment at Gen. 7.23 (וימח). For the possibility that *uwwåqåm* is an infinitive, see *GSH* §2.14.15, 4.

**Numbers 10**

**18** בני] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with vv. 14, 15, etc.

**Numbers 11**

**8** ודכו] MT אֹו דָכוֹ. SP accords with the sequence of the *waw conjunctivum* in the verse.

**15** אתה] MT אַתְּ. On the tendency of SP to use common forms see §2.2.2.1.

ואם] MT אִם –וֹ. SP explicitly separates the following hemistich by means of the *waw conjunctivum* (preceded by the cessation marker *paseq*), making the following phrase a conditional clause of the subsequent sentence אִם־מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ ואל אראה ברעתי. In MT, refers to the previous phrase: 'And if you deal thus with me, kill me, I pray you, out of hand, if I have found favour in your sight; and let me not see my wretchedness'.

**17** והצלתי *wå̊ṣṣilti* [נצ"ל MT אצ"ל וְאָצַלְתִּי 'I will draw, take'. The verb אצל occurs two additional times in MT, in v. 25 below and in Gen. 27.36. In all these instances, SP associates it with נצ"ל, which has the sense 'take away', e.g., ויצל יהוה את מקנה אביכן 'Thus Shema has taken away the cattle of your father' (SP Gen. 31.9).

**22** הצאן *aṣṣēʾon* INTERROG *he* ≈ MT הֲצֹאן INTERROG *he*. The gemination following the initial ה- does not necessarily indicate determination. It is, rather, secondary, occurring elsewhere, too (*GSH* §6.3.3). Both *aṣṣēʾon* and *wabbå̊qår* open rhetorical interrogative sentences, presupposing a negative answer. ST עאנה ותוריה does not indicate their character (or failed to detect their nuance) and renders the words with the article appended. SAV, however, opens the second sentence with the particle ام, clearly treating them as interrogative sentences.

והבקר *wabbå̊qår* ≈ MT וּבָקָר – DEF (see above).

ומצא *wmå̊ṣi* (twice) *qal* PT PASS] MT וּמָצָא *qal* CONSEC PF. As mentioned in §2.2.2.2, SH tends to substitute passive forms for intransitive ones.

**23** היקראך *å̊yiqˈrāk* קר"א ≈ MT הֲיִקְרְךָ קר"י. Though derived from קר"א 'call', as clearly attested both in spelling and reading, SP היקראך does not differ in meaning from MT הֲיִקְרְךָ

'happen'. This meaning is well reflected in ST הירענך (ער"ע, *DSA*, 665; cf. comment at Exod. 3.18; Gen. 42.4). Note that only קר"א is attested in SP, where 'happen' is expressed by the *qal* imperfect. For the use of קר"א in the *qal* perfect in the same meaning, see comment at Gen. 44.29. For the blending of קר"א and קר"י in MT, see e.g., Joüon-Muraoka 1996, §78k; Blau 1976, §37, fn. 1.

**25** יאספו *iyyå̊så̊fu* אס"ף *nif* PF] MT יָסֵפוּ *qal* IMPF 'but they did not continue'. The reading ולא יספו means that the seventy elders prophesied only once (Rashi, Ibn Ezra; but Onqelos לא פסקין probably reflects parsing of the verb as ספ"י). SP aligns itself with אספה (v. 16) and ויאסף (v. 24), rendered by ST as אתכנשו.

**32** שחוטה שח"ט PT PASS (*GSH* §2.14.4, fn. 180)] MT שָׁטוֹחַ שט"ח INF ABS. Though a passive participle in form, שחוטה stands for an abstract noun that strengthens the action expressed by the finite verb: ST ונכסו להון נכיסה; cf. Gen. 15.10 (SP): ויבתר אתם בתור.

## Numbers 12

**1** הכשית *akkå̊šət*] MT הַכֻּשִׁית 'the Kushite'. The Samaritan interpretation of the word, based on the conception that Moses's wife could not be black, is reflected in both reading and translations. ST renders the word כשירתה 'beautiful', cf. SAV חסנא. The fact that the place name כוש is pronounced *koš* versus הכשית *akkå̊šət* shows that the Samaritans did not connect the two. For a detailed discussion, see *LSH* 289.

**3** ענו *ʿānu* PT PASS ≈ MT *ketiv* ענו, *qere* עָנָיו 'humble'. The Samaritan tradition is divided in its interpretation of ענו. Some ST manuscripts render the word חיול 'strong' (MSS A, B, and M, corroborated by Hammeliṣ); others, in contrast, render (ע)כני, עני 'humble', which corresponds to SAV متواضع. Noteworthy, ענו מאד is rendered by ST MS J רבה שריר 'became very great', apparently by association with Isaac (Gen. 26.13).

**Numbers 13**

**18** הרפה *arfi*] MT הֲרָפֶּה +INTERROG *he*. Unlike MT, SP's initial ‑ה does not indicate the interrogative *he* (the *a* in *arfi* is a prosthetic vowel). Some ST manuscripts display a disjunctive particle: MS V או רפי, MSS B and M אי חלש.

**19** המבחנים *åmåbåˀnəm* N מִבְחָן*] MT הַבְּמְחַנִּים N מַחֲנֶה N. MT is clear: מַחֲנִים '(open) camps' versus מִבְצָרִים 'strongholds'. SP מבחן is probably related to MT בַּחַן 'watch-tower' (Isa. 32.14). Accordingly, ST renders the word as כבישן, i.e., '(cities surrounded by walls of) trodden (earth)'. See *DSA*, 376. Cf. SAV احصون.

**22** ענק *ēnåq* PROP N ? ≈ MT הָעֲנָק +DEF. The absence of the definite article in SP supports the assumption that ענק is to be considered a proper noun. It is accordingly rendered as the very same word, ענק, in ST. SAV العلوج and גבאר in the Arabic column of Hammeliṣ show that it was (later?) interpreted as the common noun 'giant'.

**Numbers 14**

**3** לנפל *alnibbål* IMPF 1CPL] MT לִנְפֹּל INF. Though the SP form is unambiguous, it should be noted that the appending of the preposition *l‑* to a finite verb is uncommon (*GSH* §2.14.10). Accordingly, most ST manuscripts render it with the infinitive למפל, in line with MT. The rendering לנפל in MS J probably follows the pronunciation.

**6** האתורים *å:tūrəm* את"ר *qal* PT *qåtōl*] MT הַתָּרִים תו"ר *qal* PT. The meaning in SP is reflected both in ST גשושיה and SAV الجواسـيس. את"ר is probably a cognate of Arabic اثـر (*GSH* §2.12.11).

**11** ינאצני *yēnāʔēṣinni* SG] MT יְנַאֲצֻנִי PL. In SP, the verb agrees in number with its (singular) subject, העם הזה.

**18** ואמת] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Exod. 34.6.

וחטאה] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Exod. 34.7.

ונקה לו ינקה *wnåqå lū yēnaqqi*] MT וְנַקֵּה לֹא יְנַקֶּה 'and who will by no means clear [the guilty]'. SP harmonises with Exod. 34.7; see note *ad loc*.

**19** אנה *ǻna*] MT הֵנָּה. SP does not have the parallel MT adverb הֵנָּה. In its stead, the adverb אָנָא *ǻna* is used.

**23** לתת להם] MT *minus*. SP is in line with the common phraseology נשבע(תי) לאבותם לתת להם (תי)נשבע, e.g., Deut. 10.11.

**29** הלנתם *allentimma* לנ"ן *hif* ≈ MT הֲלִינֹתֶם (PHON). Only the type הלנתם, הקמתי, rather than הקימותי, הלינותם, exists in SH (*GSH* §2.6.7).

## Numbers 15

**6** בלול M] MT בְּלוּלָה F. SP is in line with the locution סלת...עשרנים בלול בשמן (vv. 4, 9).

## Numbers 16

**5** יקריב IMPF] MT וְהִקְרִיב *waw* +PF. SP differs from MT in verse division. While MT has the verse divider (ʾ*atnaḥ*) after the first אֵלָיו, SP puts the *caesura* after לו, as pointed out by the traditional *paseq*, making ואת הקדוש לו the second object of the verb ויודיע. The following ואת אשר יבחר, etc., thus, constitutes an appositional sentence.

**14** תנקר *tinnåqqår nif B* (*GSH* §2.1.4.6) IMPF 3FSG] MT תְּנַקֵּר *pi* IMPF 2MSG 'will you put out?'. According to the SP pronunciation, the subject עיני 'eyes' does not agree in number with the singular predicate תנקר, a phenomenon well attested, mainly with a dual subject (*GSH* §7.4). Yet, the pronunciation *tinnåqqår* is not supported by ST, all manuscripts of which render the word תנקר using active verbs (e.g., תנקר). It is only the later SAV which renders it by the passive قلعت.

## Numbers 17

**3** צפואי *ṣǻbuwwi* ≈ MT צְפֻּי. On the splitting of the diphthong (MT *uy*) into two syllables, see *GSH*, §1.4.4.

**11** מהר *mǻʾår*] MT מְהֵרָה. The adverb מהרה does not exist in SH. SP מהר is also the common adverb in MH, מהרה being used only in liturgy.

**28** הקרוב *aqqārob* N *qatol*] MT הַקָּרֵב *qal* PT 'who comes near'. The meaning 'kindred who comes near' of הקרוב הקרב (a *nomen agentis* followed by a participle) fits the context which establishes the Aaronide prerogative, excluding any other person from approaching the tabernacle. It is fully supported by ST קריבה דקרב, as well as by SAV القريب الداني.

**Numbers 18**

**9** יאשימו] MT יָשִׁיבוּ 'they render'. Unlike the regular *qal* conjugation (e.g., Num. 5.6, etc.) which denotes 'be guilty, transgress the law', the present unique SP *hifʿil* is a denominative of אש"ם, meaning 'to offer a guilt offering'. Notably, MT יָשִׁיבוּ also refers to the offering, in accordance with Num. 7–8, which couples אשם with השיב. ST, however, understands the verb as the regular אשם, referring to the members of the community who offer the offering, rendering it דיתחיבון 'who transgress', as did SAV with the translation ياثمون التي.

**16** בערכך *bā̊rkåk* = MT בְּעֶרְכְּךָ. On this case of fossilised pronominal suffix, see *GSH* §3.2.2.2 fn. 6 and §3.2.3.4.

**Numbers 19**

**5** ישרף *yiššå̊rəf nif*] MT יִשְׂרֹף 'he shall burn'. The passive, supported by ST יתוקד, puts the preceding עורה, בשרה, דמה, and פרשה in the position of the subject, albeit preceded by את, which otherwise marks the accusative (⇓ Gen. 9.25). On the other hand, one may consider the *caesura* marked by the *paseq* placed after דמה in a 14th-century manuscript (von Gall, *ad loc.*). The copyist followed a different tradition, which detaches ישרף from the rest of the verse, as a kind of recapitulation. In that case, all the mentioned nouns are in fact direct objects: 'And one shall burn the heifer in his sight. Her skin, and her flesh, and her blood with her dung, (all) *shall be burnt*'. In translation we have opted for the latter.

**Numbers 20**

**3** ולוי *wlēbi*] MT וְלוּ. The SP form is cognate with MH לְוִי, unattested in MT.

**Numbers 21**

**3** בידו] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

**11** מזרח] MT מִמִּזְרָח. The locution 'toward the sunrise' is always expressed in SP by מזרח השמש, while MT exhibits inconsistency: מִמִּזְרַח הַשָּׁמֶשׁ (Num. 21.11), מִזְרְחָה שָׁמֶשׁ (Deut. 4.41), מִזְרַח שָׁמֶשׁ (Deut. 4.47).

**14** את והב בסופה ואת הנחלים ארנן = MT. The English translation of this obscure verse reflects its understanding among the existing versions (with slight differences, see NRSV), which take והב as a proper noun. However, ST reflects a totally different, midrashic, attitude. It takes *wåʾəb* as 'love' (seemingly derived from אה"ב) and הנחלים as active participle of נה"ל 'lead on, walk' (note that ואתנהלה 'I will lead on, walk' in Gen. 33.14 is written in our manuscript ואתנחלה): עם רחמה בסופה ועם געוזי ארנן 'with (God's) love in Sufa, and with those who pass the Arnon'. Accordingly, the first hemistich refers to the crossing of the Red Sea, ים סוף (SAV القلــزم), when Israel escaped Pharaoh and his army, the second refers to the entrance to the promised land.

**16** לי] MT *minus*. אספה לי is in line with the same locution in Num. 16.

**17** ענו *ānu* IMV/PF ≈ MT עֱנוּ IMV. For the possibility that ענו *ānu* is an imperative, despite the first vowel, see *GSH* §2.11.12.

**20** הנשקף PT M] MT וְנִשְׁקֲפָה PT F. SP harmonises with Num. 23.28.

**21** דברי שלום] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Deut. 2.26.

**29** האמרי DEF] MT אֱמֹרִי – DEF. Only here does MT lack the definite article in the common locution מֶלֶךְ הָאֱמֹרִי.

**30** ונירם *wnīråm* IMPF] MT וַנִּירָם IMPF +PRON 3MPL. This cryptic passage has produced a multitude of translations. Considering ונירם a verb derived from יר"ם, a cognate of יר"י or רמ"י 'to shoot, throw' (*GSH* §2.4.9, n. 58; cf. Ibn Ezra, *ad loc.*), with אבדה as its object, the phrase denotes 'we have cast desolation' over the referred places. Our translation is based on this understanding.

For SAV according to AH, the final ם functions as an object pronoun: ורקשאנהם (for ורשקאנהם, i.e., ورشـقانهم) 'we have shot them' (presupposing יר"י). Introducing a preposition, AH reveals the extent of the destruction אלי הלאלכ 'to annihilation' (i.e., الى هـلالك), with Heshbon and Madaba (sic!) as its goal. Most ST manuscripts render ונירם as וחרמנן 'we destroyed' (*DSA*, 295). This implies that the following אבדה is the 'inner' object of the preceding verb. For the late ST MS A, however, ונירם is a proper name, the subject of the following verb מאבדה, probably inspired by SAV according to AS ونيرم هلكت 'Niram has been destroyed'.

הנפח // MT נֹּפַח. Some ST manuscripts take הנפה as a verb preceded by the relative, i.e., דנפח, followed by אש, i.e., עד דנפח אש. This apparently reveals a homiletic approach. Cf. b. Bava Batra, fol. 79a: שתבוא אש שאינה צריכה ניפוח '[we have laid waste] until there comes a fire which requires no fanning' (see *LOT* III/a, 176).

אש] MT אֲשֶׁר 'which'. Some Masoretic manuscripts have a dot over the final ר, apparently a *punctum occultans,* which may attest to a reading similar to SP and the Septuagint (Biblia Rabbinica, Venice 1524–25, *ad loc.*; see E. Tov 2012, 51).

**34** ישב *yåšåb* PF] MT יוֹשֵׁב PT. SP uses the perfect to stress the fact that the Amorite king was not dwelling in Heshbon at the time of narration.

**35** « » ] MT וְאֶת־בָּנָיו. SP harmonises with Deut. 3.3.

## Numbers 22

**1** יריחו // MT יְרֵחוֹ. Note that in the entire MT Pentateuch only יְרֵחוֹ is attested.

**5** פתרה *fåtårå* N *qatal* DEF] MT פְּתוֹרָה DIREC *he* (⇓ Gen. 15.5 and n. 1). ST פשורה, פתורה, פתורה, and חרשה are in line with SP in both form and meaning (displaying definite nouns). This interpretation is also known outside Samaritan circles, such as Pseudo-Jonathan, who says about Balaam's place היא פתור על שמיה פתיר חלמיה 'that is Pator after the name of the dream's interpreter', and the Vulgate *ariolum.* The Samaritan interpretation stems from the fact that sometimes the directional *he* was understood as the definite article (*GSH* §7.2; *LOT* I, 159; cf. comment at Deut. 23.5).

**22** לשטן *lištån* INF] MT לְשָׂטָן N. SP has an infinitive in v. 32 as well: לשטנך versus לִשְׂטָן.

**25** ותלחץ 1° *wtēlaꞌəṣ pi* B] MT וַתִּלְחַץ *nif* 'pressed herself'. In line with MT, ST MSS J, A, and B render the verb with passive ואתלחצת. The rest of the ST manuscripts follow the current reading, rendering the Hebrew verb with the active ולחצת. SAV is ambiguous: some manuscripts have the active وزدحمت, while others the passive وازدحمت.

**30** הסכן] MT הַהַסְכֵּן +INTERROG *he.* הסכן opens an unmarked rhetorical question indicated in the extant manuscripts by the interrogative sign שיאלה.

**33** הכיתי] MT הָרַגְתִּי. SP harmonises with the preceding verses, in which the verb הכה 'smite' occurs.

**35** תשמר לדבר] MT תְדַבֵּר. SP harmonises with Num. 23.12.

**38** אשמר לדבר] MT אֲדַבֵּר. SP harmonises with Num. 23.12.

**Numbers 23**

**3** ודבר *wdabbər pi* PF 3MSG] MT וּדְבַר N דְּבָר. This difference changes the syntax of the verse, making the following מה a relative pronoun (as against the correlative particle in MT וּדְבַר מַה; *GSH* §3.3.3.2).

שפי *ašfi* N/*qal* PT PASS] MT שְׁפִי N 'bare height'(?)/'alone'(?). While SP is not morphologically unequivocal (for similar forms of the passive participle of ל"י verbs, see *GSH* §2.13.2), the meaning 'hiding' of שפי is reflected in both the ST manuscripts (מכמן, מתשגב) and SAV متخفيا. Cf. comment to Gen. 49.17.

**9** אשורנו *åšūrinnu* [שי"ר/שו"ר MT שׁו"ר אֲשׁוּרֶנּוּ 'I behold him'. The roots שי"ר and שׁו"ר merged in the Samaritan tradition, which attributes to them the meaning 'sing, praise' (אשירו ⇓ Exod. 15.1; Num. 24.17). It is normally rendered by ST as שבח. The meaning 'see' of שׁו"ר (= MT), however, is attested in late liturgy, e.g., ועמי לא ישורנו 'and one who sees cannot see him' (Cowley, 213). Moreover, SAV translates the word المحه 'I behold him', which may attest to a tradition not different from the MT perception.

**10** מעפר *mī ʿå̊får*/מי מנה עפר] MT מִי מָנָה עֲפַר. According to von Gall's edition, only one manuscript displays the sequence מי מנה עפר 'who can count the dust' (=MT). In six manuscripts, *puncta occultantes* over the letters of מנה call for the word's deletion, leaving the sequence מי עפר. One manuscript has just the sequence מי עפר, in line with the present pronunciation *mī ʿå̊får*. One manuscript has a *punctum occultans* over the *yod* of the preceding מי to achieve מעפר, associating the reading with two manuscripts that read מעפר. No fewer than 16 manuscripts read מעפר, which corresponds to our spelling. However, the scribe of Shechem 6 displayed hesitations: he wrote the initial מ, then another letter, which he thoroughly erased and replaced with ע, finishing with פר. Unsatisfied with the result and having in mind the spelling מעפר, he put a dot in the wrong place, resulting in מעפר. MS Shechem 3 has מי מנה עפר with מנה deleted by erasure, while in its translation מן יספר קטם in the Aramaic column יספר remains. Its twin manuscript, in the private possession of Zebulon, reads מי עפר יעקב, but the Aramaic column has the equivalent תנה for the absent מנה. The same ambiguity is manifest in SAV, which has يعـد for מנה only in some of its manuscripts. It should be noted that the present reading *mī ʿå̊får* excludes the spelling מעפר, for the ʿayin at the beginning of the word ʿå̊får can only occur in initial position. In fact, the form מעפר present in the majority of manuscripts would have been pronounced *miyyå̊får* according to the grammatical rules of SH. The ST manuscripts are divided in their translation. Two of them, Nablus 6 (C) included, have מן מני עפר (var. יספר), which represents the reading of the minority. Four manuscripts skip מני. No targum renders the reading of the majority: מעפר. Interestingly, the late Samaritan sage Israel Sedaqa reported: "Nowadays the members of the community read *mī må̊ni ʿå̊får*, because they found it written in ancient books. Some decades ago the accepted reading was *mī ʿå̊får*, to which some people still stick." This is why *må̊ni* is absent from Ben-Ḥayyim's transcription.

**21** עון] MT אָוֶן 'wickedness'. The noun און is not attested in SP.

**23** נחש *nā̊ʾəš* PT נֹוחֶש*] MT נַחַשׁ N 'enchantment'.

קסם *qåssåm* N *qattål* קַסָּם*\] MT קֶסֶם 'divination'. Cf. Rashi and Sifra (be-Huqqotay, 2.4): והכרתי את חמניכם—אילו הנחשים והקסמים שבישראל 'and I will cut down your sun-images, that is the augurs and those who practice divination in Israel'.

**26** האלהים\] MT יְהוָה. SP harmonises with the following verse.

## Numbers 24

**4** עין SG\] MT עֵינָיִם PL. SP harmonises with v. 3.

**6** נטוים *nåṭuwwi* נט"י *qal* PT PASS\] MT נְטָיוּ נט"י *nif* PF 3MPL. The singular reading corresponds to the spelling נטוי attested in many manuscripts, others displaying the plural נטוים (von Gall, *ad loc.*). The latter tradition is followed by ST, which treats the word as plural: נציבים, אנתים (part. of נת"ח, see *DSA*, 553). SAV has كالاودية المبسوطة.

כאהלים *kå̊ūləm* N *å̊ol* (אֱהֹל* = אֹהֶל)\] MT כַּאֲהָלִים N אֹהֶל* 'as aloes'. The Samaritan pronunciation ignores the MT *hapax* and takes כאהלים as plural of the ordinary אהל *å̊ol* 'tent' (e.g., Gen. 4.20), neatly rendered by ST as משכנים and by SAV as مضارب.

נטה *nåṭå* נט"י\] MT נָטַע נט"ע 'has planted'. The loss of gutturals facilitated the use of the verb נטה, initially 'spread out, pitch a tent' (e.g., Gen. 12.8), in the sense of נטע 'to plant'. ST has here קבע (var. נצב) 'to pitch'.

**7** מגוג *må̊gog* INTERROG מה + PROP N 'Gog'\] MT מֵאֲגַג 'than Agag'. The SP pronunciation is rather puzzling, as the presence of the interrogative (interjectional?) מה makes little sense in its context (but see מאשר, Gen. 49.20). One may consider the position of ST MS J מן עוג, which, albeit midrashically, attributes the name to the subdued king עוג (Num. 21.33; 32.33, etc.), thereby testifying to a *Vorlage* that contains the preposition -מ, not different from that found in MT מֵאֲגַג (the variant ST readings מגוג, מגיג, and מגוה are inconclusive). This is also the way SAV understood the word, rendering it עֶן אעׂאעׄ, i.e., عن اغاغ (AH) and عن اجوج (AS). LXX displays a similar approach: καὶ ὑψωθήσεται ἢ Γωγ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ 'and his kingdom shall be increased beyond Gog'; this interpretation is accentuated by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion: ὑπερ Γωγ (Field, *ad loc.*). All these attest to a *Vorlage* \**miggog*,

involving the legendary גוג of Ezek. 38.2–3, etc.; cf. Rev. 20.8, etc. Possibly, the gemination of \**miggog* was lost at a certain point as a result of phonological changes (cf. *GSH* §1.5.3.3).

**8** נחהו *ná̊ʾē̊ʾu* נח"י *qal* PF 3MSG +PRON 3MSG] MT מוֹצִיאֽוֹ יצ"א *hif* PT MSG +PRON 3MSG 'brings him out'. Though מוציאם occurs in Num. 23.22 in the very same context, SP prefers a verb derived from נח"י, which is used in a similar context in Exod. 13.17, 21; 15.13; 32.34; Deut. 32.12.

**22** מה אשור^] *má̊šor* (מאשור)] MT מֶה אַשּׁוּר '(till) when Asshur'. Different traditions collide here. The prefixed interrogative מה (see *GSH* §6.3.15), though shared by most manuscripts, is ignored by ST, which supposes a *Vorlage* מאשור, and, taking the prefix מ- as the preposition 'from', renders the word מן אשור. This is shared by SAV, which renders it مـن الموصـل. The only exception is MS Or. Vat. 2 מהאשור, rendered in its Aramaic column as מה משבחה 'how praised (is your dwelling)'. It probably refers to the enthusiastic description of the Kenite in v. 21. At any rate, we have translated the sequence by taking its last word, תושבך, in the sense adopted by most manuscripts of ST: תתובתך, var. חזרותך, though some manuscripts have מדרך, var. תותבתך 'your dwelling' (see discussion in *LOT* IIIa, 85–86).

**23** אי מי יהיה משמו א̊וֹי מִי יִחְיֶה מִשֻּׂמֽוֹ אֶל הי"י *uwwi mī yē̊yyi* (אוי מי יְחְיֶה מִשֻּׂמֽוֹ) *qal*) *miššēmu* [MT 'Alas, who shall live when God does this'. SP has the *caesura* after משמו, establishing a different content, supported by ST בילה מן יהי משמה, i.e., 'Woe to him who will be counted with his name (the Kenite)'.

## Numbers 26

**10** לנוס *alnos* ≈ MT לְנֵס. The phonetic character of the word caused its merger with the infinitive *qal* of נוס 'to flee', which occurs six times in the Pentateuch (Gen 19.20; Num. 35.6, 15, 32; Deut. 4.42; 19.3). This led ST to the mechanical rendering לערוק 'for flight'. However, SAV put it correctly as علمًا 'as a sign'. A similar process occurred in connection with the bi-consonantal MT למס, for which SP has למוס 'as tribute' (Gen 49.15; Deut. 20.11).

**55** יחלק *yēllåq qal*] MT יֵחָלֵק *nif*. The pronunciation of יחלק in both verses, 55 and 56, adopts the *qal* active conjugation in order to define the subject of the action as impersonal.

יתנחלו *yitnå̊lu hitp*] MT יִנְחָלוּ *qal*. SP harmonises with Num. 33.54.

**59** ילדה *yå̊lå̊da* PASS] MT יָלְדָה ACT. Avoiding passive forms with the vowel *u* (*GSH* §2.10.6) such as יֻלַּד (Gen. 4.26) and יֻלְּדָה (Gen. 24.15), SP introduces other passive patterns—*yå̊lǝd* and *yå̊lå̊da*, respectively. Using the passive *yå̊lå̊da* (identical in form to the active) and the following אתה as a demonstrative (functioning as a subject; see the following note), SP clarifies a verse whose vague Masoretic form embarrassed Jewish exegetes (some supposing an elided subject, others suggesting that אֹתָהּ was the name of Jochebed's mother!). The Samaritan approach is followed by two ST manuscripts, MS V (דילידה) and MS B (דאתילדת), while the rest have דילדה. Ignoring the apparent *nota accusativi* אתה, SAV goes the same direction with التي ولدت للاوي.

## Numbers 27

**4** אחזת נחלה] MT אֲחֻזָּה 'possession'. SP harmonises with v. 7.

**8** ונתתם] MT וְהַעֲבַרְתֶּם 'you shall transfer'. SP harmonises with the following verses.

**21** פיהו (twice) ≈ MT פִּיו. SP discerns between פיו and פיהו. פיו *fiyyu* functions as a noun meaning 'his mouth', while פיהו *fiyyēʾu* occurs only as a part of the compound preposition על פיהו 'at his word' (cf. Exod. 4.15; see *GSH* §3.2.3.2, n. 9).

**23** ידו SG] MT יָדָיו PL. SP harmonises with the common locution וסמך את ידו (e.g., Lev. 3.20).

## Numbers 28

**2** לאשה *lēši* SG] MT לְאִשַּׁי PL +PRON 1CSG 'my offerings'. The SP reading itself does not reveal the number (⇓ Lev. 4.35). Yet, the rendering of the majority of ST manuscripts, לקרבן, attests to the singular. One manuscript alone (MS C [Nablus 6]) has plural לקרבני.

**14** האחד (twice)] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with vv. 12, 13

**Numbers 29**

**4** עשרון] MT אֶחָד 'one'. SP is in line with the common locution ועשרון עשרון while MT וְעִשָּׂרֹון אֶחָד occurs only here.

**5** לחטאת] MT חַטָּאת. SP is consistent in using the locution שעיר עזים אחד לחטאת, while MT omits the preposition -ל in four verses, all of them in this chapter (also vv. 11, 19, 25): (ו)שְׂעִיר־עִזִּים אֶחָד חַטָּאת.

**13** לכם] MT *minus*. SP is in line with v. 9.

**33** כמשפט] MT כְּמִשְׁפָּטָם +PRON 3MPL. SP is in line with the common phrase repeated throughout the chapter (vv. 18, 21, 24, 27, 30, 37): במספרם כמשפט.

**Numbers 30**

**3** השבע *aššāba qal* PT *הַשֹּׁובֵעַ (GSH* §2.14.12, 6)] MT הִשָּׁבַע *nif* INF ABS. The *qal* of שב"ע is not attested elsewhere in Hebrew. ST renders the word as אשתבע 'he swore' (parallel to the common נשבע), as if the translator had in mind the pronunciation *iššāba* (*nif'al*).

יקומו PL] MT יָקֻום SG. The SP verb is congruent with the multiple subjects כל נדריה ואסריה.

**8** כל] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 5.

**12** יקומו PL] MT יָקֻום SG. SP harmonises with the same wording in the preceding verses (e.g., vv. 5, 8).

**13** יקומו PL] MT יָקֻום SG. SP harmonises with v. 8.

**Numbers 31**

**3** החליצו *ắ:līṣu hif* ≈ MT הֵחָלְצֻו *nif* 'arm'. Our translation follows ST זינו and SAV جردوا, which correspond to all the ancient translations, including the Aramaic Targumim, the Peshitta, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate. Obviously, it is a translation *ad sensum* of a verb, basically denoting 'withdraw, draw off' (*HALOT s.v.*). It probably implies pulling out a sword.

**5** וימסרו *wyimmå̄så̄ru nif* = MT וַיִּמָּסְרוּ. Our translation follows ST ואתבחרו (with several phonetic variants derived from בח"ר). In fact, the verb may also be translated as 'they were counted' (see Ben-Ḥayyim 1992b, 405–16).

**26** השבי *aššēbi qal* PT PASS] MT הַשְּׁבִי N 'the captured (booty)'. Judging by the following *caesura* marked by a *paseq*, השבי is not the attribute of the preceding המלקח, in contrast to MT's construct state מַלְקוֹחַ הַשְּׁבִי. It rather opens the subsequent specification: men and beast. Cf. SAV السبي من النسا والبهايم.

**28** מכל הבהמה^ *wmikkal abīmma* (ומכל הבהמה)] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 30.

**29** תקח *tiqqa* SG] MT תִּקֵּחוּ PL. SP harmonises with the following verse.

**43** מחצית *må̄ʾēṣat* N] MT מֶחֱצָת N *מַחֲצִית. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

## Numbers 32

**5** יתן *yittən qal* ACT] MT יֻתַּן *qal* PASS 'shall be given'. In SP, Moses is the subject of the verb, with the subsequent הארץ as direct object. The active verb is therefore consistent with the following תעבירנו. By contrast, the passive in MT has הָאָרֶץ as subject, uncommonly governed by the *nota accusativi*. Remarkably, ST variants have the passive rendering תתיהב (versus active יתן, יהב in most of the manuscripts).

**15** להניחו *lånniyyu* [נו"ע/נו"ח] MT לְהַנִּיחוֹ נו"ח 'abandon, leave'. Given the destabilisation of the ancient guttural consonants, it is doubtful whether SP aims at נו"ע 'move', rendered as למטעתה 'to make him wander' by ST MSS C and E, or at נו"ח 'abandon', as understood by MS J. SAV opts for the former alternative, as we have in our translation.

**19** לירדן] MT הַיַּרְדֵּן. SP harmonises with מעבר לירדן in the same verse, and elsewhere (v. 32; Num. 22.1; 34.15; 35.14). In fact, the preposition מֵעֵבֶר is followed by the definite article only in this MT verse.

**22** תשובון] MT תָּשֻׁבוּ –PARAG *nun*. SP harmonises with תעשון in the following verse.

**24** לצאנכם *alṣēʾonkimma* (צאן)] MT לְצֹנַאֲכֶם (*צֹנֶה). SP avoids the rare Masoretic form צֹנֶה.

תעשון] MT תַּעֲשׂוּ. SP harmonises with the previous verse.

**35** ויגבהה *wyigbāʾuwˈwa* גב"ה *qal* IMPF 3MPL + PRON 3FSG] MT וַיְגַבֵּהֶ PROP N. The unequivocal SP pronunciation is supported by both ST ויגבחוה (MS J, *afʿel* of גב"ה; see *DSA*, *s.v.* גבה), var. ורוממותה and SAV وعلــوها, which all mean 'and they elevated it', i.e., 'they expanded (or fortified) Jazer'. This attitude is shared by LXX ὕψωσαν αὐτάς and Onqelos ורמתא 'the higland'.

**41** חותים *uwwå̄təm* PROP N] MT חַוֺּתֵיהֶם N חַוָּה + PRON 3MPL 'their villages'. SP has the suffix ים- (*ayim* in MT) which is common in place names, e.g., קריתים קרנים (Gen. 14.5).

**Numbers 33**

**7** על = MT עַל. Though identical in form, the meaning of the preposition in the two versions is different: following וישבו 'they settled' in SP it means 'at, by', while following MT וַיָּשָׁב 'they turned back' it means 'to'.

**8** מפי החירת *miffi å̊ʾīråt* // MT מִפְּנֵי הַחִירֹת 'from before Hahiroth'. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

**32** בהר הגדגדה] MT בְּחֹר הַגִּדְגָּד. While in MT the place name has several versions—הגדגדה, חר הגדגד—in SP only הגדגדה is attested.

**54** תרבה *tirbi* SG] MT תַּרְבּוּ PL. SP is in agreement with the verb תַּמְעִיט in the same verse.

**Numbers 34**

**4** עצמונה PROP N עַצְמֹוֹנָה* // MT עַצְמֹנָה PROP N עַצְמֹון + DIREC *he* (⇓ Gen. 15.5 and n. 1). SP עצמונה does not regard the final ה- as the MT directional *he,* as proven by מעצמונה in the next verse.

**6** יהיה *yēyyi* IMPF] MT וְהָיָה PF.

יגבל *yigbal* IMPF] MT וּגְבוּל N. In translation we have followed the Samaritan punctuation mark *arkanu* (marking a command), with the first occurrence of לכם, and *paseq* (*caesura*) with the verb יגבל.

**Numbers 35**

**25** המכה *ammakki*] MT הָרֹצֵחַ 'the manslayer'. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

**30** יענה *iyyāne nif*] MT יַעֲנֶה *qal* 'shall testify'. Literally יענה *iyyāne* denotes 'shall be answered', which is indeed rendered by ST as יתעני (var. גו"ב יתגב). SAV is explicit in its rendering يستشهد 'shall (not) bear evidence'. Our translation follows the context 'shall (not) be accepted' (see *HALOT s.v.*).

**32** הגדול] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 25.

**33** ישבים] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 34.

**Numbers 36**

**3** ונוספה *wnūsīfa* F] MT וְנוֹסַף M. SP agrees in gender with its subject and harmonises with the following verse.

## Deuteronomy 1

**5** באר *bayyår* INF] MT בְּאֵר. For the form see *LOT* IIIa, 90; for the meaning *DSA*, *s.v.* באר².

**7** שכיניו^ PL (= MT שְׁכֵנָיו֯)] *šēkīnu* (שכנו) SG. Most manuscripts of SP have the PL SUFF שכיניו (*\*šēkīno*) 'his neighbours' (see *LOT* IIIa, 90, and von Gall *ad loc.*), which is supported by ST משרויו (PL PRON).

**22** ויחפדו *wyåfådu* [חפ"ד MT חפ"ר] וְיַחְפְּרוּ. For the metaphorical MT 'that they may search', SP has a midrashic interpretation. It departs from חפ"ר, which elsewhere denotes 'dig', by changing one letter, obtaining the meaningless חפ"ד. This is rendered by ST as וישעדון, an alternative spelling of ישחדון, which denotes 'that they make (the land) beloved (upon us)' (see *LOT* II, 472, and *DSA*, 885). In translation we have opted for this interpretation. However, ST MS J renders the word as ויגשן 'that they search', in line with MT. Notably, SAV is divided as well. The old AH translates with MS J ויגסוא (i.e., ويجسوا) while the later AS says ويروموا 'that they make desirable'.

**28** ורב *wråb*] MT וָרָם֯ 'and tall'. SP harmonises with Deut. 2.10.

**32** והבדבר *wåbaddēbår* EXCLAM *å* + DEF N] MT וּבַדָּבָר 'yet for this thing'. SP has a contracted interjection (= הא), which stresses the contrast between God's grace and Israel's behaviour. MT indicates the same contrast by the -ו conjunctive alone. Remarkably, only one manuscript of ST (MS V) explicitly supports SP והא בממללה 'and behold, for this thing'. The rest apparently go with MT ובממללה.

**33** באש (לילה) *baš* CSTR] MT בָּאֵשׁ ABS 'in fire (by night)'. SP differentiates between באש *bēš* (= MT בָּאֵשׁ, e.g., Deut. 4.11) and באש *baš* (= MT בְּאֵשׁ). Accordingly, *baš līla* is a construct phrase: 'by fire of night'. Yet, in light of the use of the definite article in SP (see §4.1.3.2.5), *baš līla* may well mean 'by fire by night', thus translated.

**44** העמלקי והכנעני] MT הָאֱמֹרִי 'the Emorite'. SP is in accordance with Num. 14.43.

## Deuteronomy 2

**9** « בו »] MT בֶּם מִלְחָמֶה '(contend) with them in battle'. By using the singular suffix, SP shows congruence with the singular מואב and with the suffix of the following ארצו. As for

the MT מלחמה, SP follows v. 19.

**12** החרי *ā̊ri*] MT הַחֹרִיﬞם. SP harmonises with v. 22.

וישמידם יהוה] MT וַיַּשְׁמִידוּﬦ 'and they destroyed them'. SP harmonises with v. 21.

ויירשום] MT *minus.* SP harmonises with v. 21.

תחתיהם *tåttīyyimma* PL] MT תַּחְתָּם SG. Note that SH is consistent in attaching the pronoun to the vowel-final base *tåttī-* (= MT תַּחְתֵּי-), while MT has תַּחְתָּם in this verse (also in Deut. 2.21, 22, 23) versus תַּחְתֵּיהֶם in Num. 16.31.

**13** סעו] MT *minus.* SP is in accordance with v. 24.

**25** החל *ā̊ʾəl* IMV] MT אָחֵﬥ IMPF 'I will begin'. Though similar in pronunciation to the 1CSG imperfect, *ā̊ʾəl* is arguably an imperative, as reflected in ST שרי (not אשרי).

**29** אעברה LENG IMPF] MT אֶעֱבֹﬧ IMPF. SP harmonises with vv. 27, 28.

**31** מלך חשבן האמרי] MT *minus.* SP harmonises with v. 24.

**34** השאירנו *ā̊šīrinnu hif* INF PRON 3MSG] MT הִשְׁאַרְנוּ *hif* PF 1CPL 'we left'. The SP infinitive with suffixed direct object pronoun attested by the pronunciation is unique in the sense that elsewhere the verb governs an indirect object expressed by the preposition ל- (Num. 21.35; Deut. 3.3; 28.51, 55). ST renders the verb as שיארן and SAV as نبقـي, both in line with MT. This apparently suggests a later development in the pronunciation. In translation we have preferred the oral tradition.

**37** קרבת *qå̊rå̊båt* 3FSG] MT קָרָבְתָּ 2MSG '(Only to the land of the children of Ammon) you did not draw near'. Contrary to MT, where Israel is the subject of the verb, in SP the subject is כל יד, which is separated from the rest of the verse by a *paseq* (*GSH* §7.7). For the infrequent occurrence of -*at* as the 3FSG perfect ending, see *GSH* §§2.2.2.1.2, n. 46, and 2.2.3.1.4.

**Deuteronomy 3**

**4** הארגב +DEF] MT אַרְגֹּב −DEF. SP harmonises with v. 13.

**7** בזזנו *bå̊zåznu* בז"ז *qal* ≈ MT בַּזֹּונוּ בז"ז *qal*. SP follows the Rabbinic Hebrew tendency of inflecting geminated roots like sound roots, especially in the *qal* perfect and participle (see Segal 1908, 700).

**12** שפת] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Deut. 4.48.

**14** הארגב +DEF] אַרְגֹּב −DEF. SP harmonises with v. 13.

**17** מכנרת *amkinå̊rət* PROP N] MT מִכִּנֶּרֶת [*מְכנֶרֶת PREP מן + PROP N. כִּנֶּרֶת ST מגנסר (not גנסר; מן גנסר cf. כנרת ים rendered as ים מגנסר in Num. 34.11) and LXX Μαχαναρεθ support the SP pronunciation (see *LOT* III, 1, 97). SAV جنسر (not مـن جنسـر) both lacks a preposition and ignores the initial -מ.

**19** טפכם ונשיכם] MT נְשֵׁיכֶם וְטַפְּכֶם. SP harmonises with Deut. 29.10.

**22** תיראם *tirā'umma* PL ≈ MT תִּירָאוּם (ORTH). For the alternative singular pronunciation *tirā'imma*, see *LOT* IIIa, 98.

**Deuteronomy 4**

**6** חכום *'åkom* ≈ MT חָכָם. חכום (*qatol*) occurs in SP only in the locution חכום ונבון. Elsewhere חכם *'åkəm* is used (e.g., Exod. 31: 6; see *LOT* IIIa, 98).

**18** דגי *dēgi* PL CSTR] MT דְּגֵה FSG ABS. On nouns in the construct state governing a relative clause, see Joüon-Muraoka 1996, §129q.

**33** חיים *'ayyəm*] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Deut. 5.22.

**34** ובמראים *wbå̊mårå̊'əm* רא"י N מוֹרָא N יר"א ובמוֹרָאִים [*מַרְאֶה MT 'deeds of terror'. See *GSH* §4.2.3.3, n. 46. Cf. SP המראה הגדול versus MT הַמּוֹרָא הַגָּדֹל (Deut. 34.12). ובמראה גדול versus MT וּבְמֹרֶא גָּדֹל (Deut. 26.8); SP המראה הגדול versus MT הַמּוֹרָא הַגָּדֹל (Deut. 34.12).

**49** ים המלח] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Deut. 3.17.

**Deuteronomy 5**

**18** חשך] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Deut. 4.11.

**23** ואתה *wåttå*] MT וְאַתְּ. SP avoids the rare personal masculine pronoun את (*GSH* §3.1.2). See §2.2.2.1.

## Deuteronomy 6

**2** היום] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with vv. 6; 7.11; 8.1, 11, etc.

## Deuteronomy 7

**10** על 1°, 2°] MT אֶל. It seems that SP על פניו, as opposed to MT אל פניו, is not rooted merely in the common interchange of על/אל (Gen. 22.12; 24.11, 20 [twice]; 30.39; 34.3; 37.35; 38.12; 40.11; 42.25, 28; 43.30, 33; 50.16, 21; Exod. 9.14, 21; 12.22 [twice]; 14.5, 24; 18.23; 19.11; 20.22; 26.12, 13; 24; 28.7, 24, 26, 30; 30.16; 32.33; 39.19; Lev. 1.15; 4.12; 5.9; 8.8; 9.22; 14.51, 52; 16.2, 14; 18.18; Num. 4.19; 11.12, 31; 13.30; 25.8; 32.14; 33.54; 34.11; Deut. 7.10 [twice]; 20.10, 19; 21.2; 31.15; 33.28). The compound preposition על פני is recorded in Biblical Hebrew in verses such as וַיָּמָת הָרָן עַל־פְּנֵי תֶּרַח אָבִיו 'And Haran died in the presence of his father Terah' (i.e., while his father was still alive) (Gen. 11.28).

It seems therefore that at least SP (and probably MT as well) means that the punishment is inflicted on the sinner immediately, while he is still alive. Note that the second appearance of על פניו in the verse specifies the words לא יאחר 'He will not be delay'.

Such an understanding is clearly expressed in the Vulgate, *et reddens odientibus se statim ita ut disperdat eos et ultra non differat protinus eis restituens quod merentur* 'and repaying forthwith them that hate him, so as to destroy them, without further delay immediately rendering to them what they deserve'.

This view emerges from the *targumim* as well, e.g. Onqelos ומשלם לסנאוהי טבן די אנון עבדין קדמוהי בחייהון 'and repays those who hate him for the good deeds that they perform before him during their life'. The Samaritan translations into Aramaic and Arabic are of no use at this point since they are literal (באפיו, קדמיו in ST and بخدﮫ in SAV).

## Deuteronomy 8

**7** ורחבה] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Exod. 3.8.

**13** ירבון *yirbon*] MT יִרְבְּיֻן. SP avoids the rare form that retains consonantal *yod.*

**18** ולמען] MT לְמַעַן – ו. SP harmonises with Deut. 9.5.

### Deuteronomy 9

**22** את *at* PREP 'with'] MT אֵת NOTA ACC. ST renders עם in agreement with SP. Note that in vv. 7, 8 the same verb—*hifʿil* הקציף—is used with the *nota accusativi* את *it* (which ST renders ית).

**28** מבלתי] MT מִבְּלִי. SP harmonises with Num. 14.16.

**29** ממצרים] MT *minus*. Whenever the verb הוציא occurs in reference to Egypt, מצרים is explicitly mentioned. SP is in line with this use.

### Deuteronomy 11

**6** ואת כל האדם אשר לקרח] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Num. 16.32.

**15** ואכלת *wǻkålåt* 3FSG] MT וְאָכַלְתֶּ 2MSG 'and you shall eat'.

ושבעת *wšåʾbåt* 3FSG] MT וְשָׂבָעְתָּ 2MSG 'and you shall be sated'. On the 3FSG perfect ending *-at,* see comment to Deut. 2.37.

### Deuteronomy 12

**5** לשכינו *alšĕkīnu* N שָׁכֵן* +PRON 3MSG] MT לְשִׁכְנוֹ INF +PRON 3MSG. ST למשרואה and SAV لسكانه are in accordance with SP. For Hebrew parallels in Jewish texts see *LOT* IIIa, 117.

**21** לשכן את] MT לְשׂוּם. SP harmonises with Deut. 14.23, 24; 16.2, 6, 11; 26.2, all regarding the chosen place: אשר בחר ה' לשכן את שמו שם.

**28** הישר והטוב] MT הַטּוֹב וְהַיָּשָׁר. SP harmonises with Deut. 6.18, 13.19.

### Deuteronomy 13

**12** עוד] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Deut. 19.20.

**19** הישר והטוב] MT הַיָּשָׁר. SP harmonises with Deut. 6.18; 12.28.

**Deuteronomy 14**

**8** ושסע פרסה הוא והוא גרה לא יגור MT] וְלֹא גֵרָ֔ה. SP harmonises with Lev. 11.7.

**21** ואכלה *wåkēla* PF 3MSG +PRON 3FSG] MT וַאֲכָלֹ֑ה PF 3MSG +PRON 3FSG 'he may eat it'. Our translation 'skin' (⇓ Lev. 11.40) is based on the rendering ואשלעה in ST MSS C and E (supported by Hammeliṣ 562). The special meaning of the verb is hinted at by the uncommon vowel of *wåkēla* (usually *åkål*), mentioned in *GSH* §2.2.1.1.2.

**22** בשנה MT] שָׁנֶ֑ה. שָׁנֶה שָׁנֶה occurs in MT only in this verse. SP harmonises with Lev. 25.53; Deut. 15.20.

**Deuteronomy 15**

**5** ולעשות MT] לַעֲשׂוֹת֙ –ו. SP harmonises with Deut. 28.1, 13; 32.46.

**7** באחת *bāt* F] MT בְּאַחַד M. SP is congruent with the following שער, which in the sense of 'town' is feminine in SP (Deut. 16.5; 17.2; 18.6; 23.17).

תכפץ *tikfåṣ*] MT תִקְפֹּץ֙. כפ"ץ in SP is due to dissimilation of the emphatic *q* near *ṣ* (see *LOT* IIIa, 124).

**Deuteronomy 16**

**6** במקום MT] אֶל־הַמָּק֖וֹם. SP harmonises with all verses that include the string במקום אשר בחר/יבחר. The preposition אל is used in this context only to denote a destination, e.g., ועלית אל המקום אשר בחר יהוה אליך (Deut. 17.8).

**8** חג MT] עֲצֶ֫רֶת֙ 'a solemn assembly'. SP harmonises with Exod. 13.6.

כל מלאכת עבדה MT] מְלָאכֶ֑ה. The phrase לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה מְלָאכֶה occurs in MT only in this verse. SP is in line with the common phrase כל מלאכת עבדה, e.g., Lev. 23.7, 8, 21, 25; Num. 28.25.

**Deuteronomy 17**

**4** והגידו *hif* PF 3MPL] MT וְהֻגַּד *hof* PF 3MSG 'it is told'. SP harmonises with v. 9. On SP active forms versus MT passive forms, see *GSH* §2.10.3.

**20** כסא MT] *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 18.

### Deuteronomy 18

**8** ^ייאכלון *yāʾūkəl* (ויאכל)[ MT יֹאכֵלוּ. Many SP manuscripts recorded in von Gall's apparatus display the singular ויאכל, in harmony with the preceding verses. Some have the plural ending erased. ST oscillates between ויאכלון and ויאכל, as does SAV, which oscillates between ياكل and ياكلوك.

**15** [מקרב אחיך MT מִקִּרְבְּךָ מֵאַחֶיךָ. SP harmonises with v. 18.

### Deuteronomy 19

**5** ונדח *wnådå qal* PF 3MSG] MT וְנִדְחָה *nif* PF 3FSG. In SP, the wood cutter is the subject of the phrase, with ידו as object, while in MT the hand is the subject of a passive verb. Two SAV manuscripts support SP with فطاح, فيطوح. ST renders the verb וטעיה, and both AH and AS render فطاحت 'strayed', all of them in the feminine, congruent in gender with ידו.

**9** ^וללכת (= MT וְלָלֶכֶת)[ *lallēkət* (ללכת) ו–. The pronunciation represents the majority of SP manuscripts, though von Gall's apparatus displays a number of manuscripts which have the conjunction. The earlier ST manuscript reads למהכה, while the latest one has ולמהכה. All SAV sources lack the conjunction, except for one, which reads وللسلوك.

**11** [האלה MT הָאֵל ⇓ Gen. 19.8. SP harmonises with v. 5.

**15** [חטא MT חַטָּאת. SP harmonises with the following חטא.

**17** ולפני *alfåni* (לפני)[ MT לִפְנֵי. Two ST manuscripts support the conjunction—ולקודם—while two reject it—לקדם (see von Gall, *ad loc.*).

### Deuteronomy 20

**6** חללו *ʿallēlu pi* PF 3MSG +PRON 3MSG = MT חִלְּלוֹ. According to the law that forbids consumption of a tree's fruit in the first three years after its planting, during which time the fruit are considered 'holy' (see Lev. 19.23–25), חלל is understood as 'desacralise, render suitable for common use'. Cf. SAV يسبذله.

**10** [על MT אֶל. There is no practical difference between על and the Masoretic אֶל in this case. Cf. SAV الى.

**Deuteronomy 21**

**3** משכה *måšå̊ka* PF 3MSG +PRON 3FSG] MT מָשְׁכָה PF 3FSG 'has (not) drawn'. Following the Samaritan oral tradition, SAV renders משכה as يجذبها 'draws her'. ST translates this with the feminine passive participle נגידה, taking the last vowel as the regular feminine marker: '(she is not) drawn'. The latter follows the passive of the preceding עבד *ʿābəd* (*GSH* §2.10.6). The interpretation is ambiguous, as some ST manuscripts read משכה as a 3FSG in the active voice: נגדת in agreement with MT *qal* 3FSG perfect מָשְׁכָה.

בעל *bāl*] MT בְּעֹל 'a yoke'. The pronunciation *bāl* is rendered by ST מסחן 'owner', which reflects בַּעַל. SAV renders it يجذبها فحل 'a male'; see *GSH* §0.16, b.

**11** בשביו *afšibyu* N M *שְׁבִי +PRON 3MSG] MT בַּשִּׁבְיָה N F 'in the captivity'. SP harmonises with v. 10.

ולקחתה *wlēqqāttå* PF 2MSG +PRON 3FSG] MT וְלָקַחְתָּ PF 2MSG 'and you would take'. The object pronoun is in harmony with והבאתה in the following verse. It is supported by ST ותסבנה and SAV وتاخذها.

**15** לשנואה *laššå̊nuwˈwā* PT *qatūl*] MT לִשְׂנִיאָה PT *qatīl*. SP harmonises with the standard passive participle שנואה that occurs earlier in the verse.

**23** תלאי^] *tå̊lo* (תלוי) *qal* PT PASS (= MT תְּלֻוִי). The spelling תלאי probably follows the pronunciation *\*tå̊luwwi*, which reflects another form of the diphtong's reduction (cf. נטוי *nå̊ṭuwwi* Num. 24.6*; GSH* §1.4.4, 2c).

**Deuteronomy 22**

**19** שלחה] MT לְשַׁלְּחָהּ. SP harmonises with v. 29.

**21** את *at* PREP] MT *minus*. The pronunciation *at* is that of the preposition 'with, from', i.e., she played harlotry while being in her father's house. This is supported by two ST manuscripts that render את as מן 'from'. However, three other manuscripts render it as ית, which, coupled with the preceding causative להזנות, offers the translation 'to desecrate her fathers's house'.

## Deuteronomy 23

**2 שפכת** *ašfikot* N SG שְׁפִיכוּת] MT *\*שָׁפְכָה N SG. The ending *-ot* probably denotes the singular of the *nomina abstracta* category with the ending *-ut* in Masoretic Hebrew (*LOT* IIIa, 137).

**18 תחיה... יחיה** *tiyya… yiyya* חי"י *qal* 'live'] MT *qal* תִּחְיֶה...יִחְיֶה הי"י 'be'. Obviously, this is not a graphic variation resulting from the loss of gutturals (*GSH* §1.1.8–1.1.82), but a real variant with its own meaning, as the oral tradition attests, corroborated by ST תתוחי (var. תוחי) (the relevant SP imperfect forms of הי"י are pronounced *tēyyi… yēyyi*, respectively). The reading may be inspired by Exod. 22.17.

**25 כליך** *kīlək* PL] MT כֶּלְיְךָ SG. SP represents the plural as well as the singular (*GSH* §4.1.3.2). The translation follows ST מניך and SAV اوعيتك, both plural.

## Deuteronomy 24

**1 ובא אליה**] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with Deut. 22.13.

**14 מגריך**^ PL] *miggīråk* SG (= MT מִגֵּרְךָ). The singular of the pronunciation contradicts the plural of the written tradition, which is supported by most SP manuscripts (von Gall *ad loc.*), as well as the ST evidence, which renders it מן תותביך and מן גיוריך, and of SAV, which renders it من جيرانك.

**20 זיתך** *zītək* PL] MT זֵיתְךָ SG. The plural expressed by the pronunciation is supported by some manuscripts, which have זיתיך (von Gall, *ad loc.*). ST and SAV maintain the collective زيتونك and זיתך.

## Deuteronomy 25

**5 אליה** *iliyya*] MT עָלֶיהָ. SP harmonises with 22.13. Note that the corresponding Samaritan pronunciation of MT עָלֶיהָ is *ʿāliyya*, e.g., Deut. 22.14.

**11 בבשרו**] MT בִּמְבֻשָׁיו. For the denotation 'genitals' of בשר see Lev. 15.2, 7, 19.

**18 אשר**^ (= MT אֲשֶׁר)] *wēšår* (ואשר) +ו. The conjunction occurs in some SP manuscripts (von Gall, *ad loc.*), as well as in three out of six ST manuscripts.

**Deuteronomy 26**

**5** אבד *abbəd* pi PF 'oppressed'? ≈ MT אָבֵד *qal* PT. Despite the grammatical difference between SP and MT, the two traditions know the interpretation 'the Aramean oppressed my father'. The Samaritan exposition is represented by SAV, which renders it الارمي اهلك ابي 'the Aramean destroyed my father'. Note that the definite الارمــي may allude to Laban as oppressor of Jacob. A Jewish interpretation, too, considers Laban the subject of the verb. It is first manifested in the 3rd-century composition *Sifre* to parasha *Ki Tavo* (Finkelstein [ed.] 1939, 319), followed by the medieval interpreter Rashi. This tradition is also reflected in the Vulgate *Syrus persequebatur patrem meum,* etc. Naturally, there are other interpretations too, which take the intransitive verb אֹבֵד אֲרַמִּי as the predicate of אָבִֽי: 'my father is a wandering Aramean' (RSV, JPS, Luther's Bible, etc., as well as the Jewish interpreters Ibn Ezra and Qimḥi *ad loc.*). In fact, there is nothing in either SP or MT to categorically support or reject either interpretation, since in SP, as well as in Rabbinic Hebrew, the *piˁˁel* conjugation may well express intransitivity, just as *qal* does (see *GSH* §2.15.5).

**12** ונתתו *wnåttåttu* PF + PRON 3MSG] MT וְנָתַתָּה PF 'and you shall give'. SP harmonises with v. 13.

**14** באוני *būni* = MT בְּאֹנִי. The variety of interpretations stems from the ambiguity of the word און. The earliest ST manuscript, followed by MSS C and E, render it במסכינותי 'in my poverty', identifying it as עוני, as the guttural consonants were no longer pronounced in SH. MSS B and V ascribed באוני to און 'vigour' (cf. Gen. 49.3), rendering the word חילי. Our translation follows SAV في حزني 'in my mourning' (Lane 1865, 502). It probably evokes the avoidance of mourner impurity (cf. Ibn Ezra, *ad loc.*) in agreement with the following ולא נתתי ממנו למת, which suggests a ceremony of offerings to the dead.

**Deuteronomy 27**

**10** חקתיו *aqqūto* N FPL חֻקָּה*[ ] MT חֻקָּיו N MPL חֹק. SP harmonises with Deut. 28.45, etc.

**12** וייהודה^ (= MT וִיהוּדָֽה)[ *yēʾūda* (יהודה) –ו. The conjunction is supported by some manuscripts (von Gall, *ad loc.*) and by SAV ويهوذه.

## Deuteronomy 28

**1** ולעשות] MT לַעֲשׂוֹת −ו. SP ולעשות harmonises with v. 13.

**7** הקאמים *aqqāʾēməm* קו"ם *qal* PT PL ≈ MT הַקָּמִים (MORPH). The longer form of the participle follows the Aramaic pattern קָאֵם (Dan. 2.31). It occurs in parallel with the shorter one, e.g., קמיו pronounced *qāmo* (Deut. 33.11). See *GSH* §1.5.3.4, 3.

**12** לברך^] *walbarək* (= MT וּלְבָרֵךְ) +ו. The conjunction is shared by many manuscripts: ולברך (von Gall, *ad loc.*).

**14** מצוך] MT מְצַוֶּה אֶתְכֶם. SP harmonises with v. 13.

**18** ופרי בהמתך] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 4.

**20** השמידך *ašmīdåk hif* INF] MT הִשָּׁמֶדְךָ *nif* INF. SP harmonises with v. 48. In SP, God is the subject of the verb, while MT ascribes this syntactic status to Israel.

**25** לזועה *alzuwˈwa*] MT לְזַעֲוָה. MT has the *qere* זַעֲוָה for the *qetiv* זועה in Jer 15.4; 24.9; 28.18; 34.17 (see Bergsträsser 1918–1929, I:20d; *GSH* §4.4.3).

**29** רק] MT אַךְ. SP harmonises with v. 33 אַךְ. רק is in line with Rabbinic Hebrew, in which this adverb is dominant, while its biblical parallel אַךְ is extinct (except for biblical quotations).

**30** ישכב עמה] MT *ketiv* ישגלנה, *qere* יִשְׁכָּבֶנָּה. SP harmonises with 22.22, 23; 25, etc.

**34** משגע *amšaggi* שג"י *pi* PT PASS (*GSH* §2.12.16) ≈ MT מְשֻׁגָּע שג"ע *pu* PT 'mad'. Due to the loss of guttural consonants, the roots שג"ע 'go mad' and שג"י 'err' merged into שג"י. As a result, the passive *amšaggi* belongs to the same root that in 27.18 is an active participle *amšaggi* (*q.v.*).

**37** ולשנאינה *walšåˈnāʾīna* שנ"א (< שנא, *GSH* §4.3.6)] MT וְלִשְׁנִינָה. The merger of שׂ and שׁ in SH led to derivation of the word from שנ"א 'hatred', the way LXX perceived the same word in a similar environment in Jer 24.9: εἰς μῖσος. Accordingly, ST renders ולשנאינה as ולסנה and SAV as بغضة.

**40** תסך *tissåk* נס"ך *qal* ≈ MT תָּסֻ֖ךְ סו"ך *qal* 'anoint'. SP ascribes the verb to נס"ך, which occurs also in Exod. 25.29 and 37.16, expressing the act of pouring liquids for worship. MT תָּסֻךְ 'anoint' has no specific religious connotation (BDB *s.v., HALOT s.v.*).

ישעל *yēšāʾəl* שח"ל *pi* B] MT יִשֶּׁל נש"ל *qal*. SP שח"ל is common in Mishnaic Hebrew in this sense (see *LOT* IIIa, 148, further developed in Ben-Ḥayyim, 1968, 170).

**52** חומתך *ūmåtåk* SG] MT חֹמֹתֶ֑יךָ PL. Apparently, the SP singular is a collective noun. ST and SAV render it with plurals. שוריך and لسوارك, respectively.

**56** הציגה *aṣṣīga hif* INF F] MT הַצֵּג *hif* INF M. SP displays a rare infinitive with feminine ending of the type *haqtila*, which occurs in Mishnaic Hebrew, too (*GSH* §§2.14.4, n. 180, 2.14.12). ST renders it accordingly, as קעמה (var. הקעמת, etc.). Some of its manuscripts, however, interpret the final vowel as the feminine object suffix, e.g., מקמתה, as does SAV بوقوفها.

**68** באוניות^ *banyot* (באניות) = MT בָּאֳנִיּ֔וֹת. The written text and its pronunciation represent two distinct traditions. באוניות, which equates to MT בָּאֳנִיּוֹת 'in ships', is supported by the earliest manuscripts of the ST, with באספינון (var. בספינואן), as well as by SAV في السفن. Two ST manuscripts render the word as בלבוטין 'in afflictions', which relies on the pronunciation *banyot*, allegedly related to אנ"י (or perhaps ענ"י). A fierce debate over this passage is found in Jewish exegesis. For a full discussion see Florentin (2003/4, 11–24).

**Deuteronomy 29**

**7** ונתנה *wnētīna qal* PF PASS 3FSG] MT וַנִּתְּנָהּ *qal* CONVER IMPF 1CPL +PRON 3FSG 'and we gave it'. SP resorts to the passive in order to avoid the idea expressed in MT וַנִּתְּנָהּ 'and we gave it', and to attribute the act of giving the land to God, according to 27.2, 3, etc.

**12** למען^ (= MT לְמַעַן)] *walˈmān* (ולמען) +ו. The conjunction is supported by several SP manuscripts (von Gall, *ad loc.*).

**18** הרואה *arrēˈbå* רו"י *qal* PT F 'the watered'/רו"ח *qal* PT *qatel* F *רְוֵחָה 'comfortable'] MT רו"י הָרָוֶה. ST רויה and SAV الرَّيّان unequivocally assign the word to רו"י, in negative parallel with the following הצמאה 'the dry'. However, the actual pronunciation *arrēˈbå* leaves room for

attributing the word to רו"ח, feminine *qal qatel* participle: רְוֵחָה\* 'comfortable'. Cf. Gen. 3.8 (see *GSH* §§2.12.11e, 2.12.16e).

**19** יחר] MT יֶעְשַׁן 'will smoke'. SP prefers the recurrent collocation חרה אף to express anger, which appears 26 times in the Pentateuch, e.g., Gen. 30.2; 39.19; Deut. 11.17, etc. MT יֶעְשַׁן is unique in this respect.

**20** הכתובים^] *akkåtūba* (= MT הַכְּתוּבָה). The singular pronunciation actually reflects the *secunda manu*, which overwrote a ה on the plural ending ים- (as shown by many SP manuscripts; see von Gall, *ad loc.*).

**21** וראה SG] MT וְרָאוּ PL 'they see'. SP is attracted by its immediate constituent הנכרי.

**24** עמהם *immimma* ≈ MT עִמָּם. Both spellings, עמהם (Num. 22.12; Deut. 29.16) and עמם (Gen. 18.16; 29.9; Lev. 26.41), differently vocalised in MT, are equally pronounced in SP *immimma*.

## Deuteronomy 30

**3** את שובתך ...ושב *wšab... at šūbåtåk*] MT וְשָׁב... אֶת־שְׁבוּתְךָ 'and... will return your captivity'. With שְׁבוּתְךָ in the sense of 'captivity' (derived from שב"י) in the accusative, MT uncommonly employs the intransitive verb וְשָׁב as transitive. This provoked unease in Jewish exegesis, best expressed by Rashi: היה לו לכתוב והשיב 'he should have written והשיב', i.e., the causative conjugation. SP has a different pattern of the noun, namely a derivative of שו"ב, originally 'to return'. As for the preceding את, its pronunciation *at* attests to the preposition 'with'. This puts the verse in line with those preceding it, viz., God's return to Israel is conditional on Israel's repentance. This is also how ST ויעזר יהוה אלהך עם עזרותך and ويعود الله الهك مع عودتك SAV render the phrase.

## Deuteronomy 31

**2** האמר^] *åmår* (= MT אָמַר). The redundant ה was apparently attracted by העבר in the following verse. At any rate, it occurs in several manuscripts (von Gall, *ad loc.*), as well as in ST. Consequently, the initial ה may represent the interjection *å*.

**3** העבר^ (twice)] *ảbår* (= MT עֲבֵר) – DEF. The definite (written) form creates a sort of cleft sentence, after the model of Deut. 3.22; 8.18; 9.3, etc., all related to God. See also Gen. 2.11, 13, 14, etc.

**11** יקרא 3MSG] MT תִּקְרָא 2MSG 'you will read'. SP probably intends to charge the priest with the reading, while MT תִּקְרָא refers to Joshua (or to the priests).

**12** אליהכם^ (= MT אֱלֵהֶם)] *ēluwwīyyimma* (אליהם). The pronunciation is supported by many SP manuscripts, though some manuscripts have אליהכם. This discrepancy is manifest in ST אלהכון in the early manuscripts versus אלהון in one late manuscript. SAV manuscripts are also divided between אלהכם and אלההם. Note, however, the undisputed occurrence of אליהם in the following verse.

**13** ישמעו^ (= MT יִשְׁמְעוֹ)] *wyišmāʾu* (וישמעו) +ו. The conjunction is not supported by any manuscript, nor by the translations. ST has ישמעון, SAV يسمعوا.

**20** לתת להם] MT *minus*. SP harmonises with v. 7.

**21** האדמה] MT הָאָרֶץ 'the land'. SP harmonises with the preceding verse.

לאבתיו] MT *minus*. SP is consistent in having the indirect object (להם, לאבתיך, etc.), which elsewhere follows the string אשר נשבעתי.

**Deuteronomy 32**

**2** וכרבבים... כשערים *kaššīrəm... wkarrēbībəm* = MT וְכִרְבִיבִים...כִּשְׂעִירֶם 'as the small rain... and as the showers'. Translated as 'goads' and 'deers', respectively, according to the Samaritan understanding, as reflected in ST: וכטביים ...כצפירים. SAV, however, has كالطش and كالرخيخ, respectively, both denoting 'light rain'. In this SAV corresponds to the Jewish interpretation as expressed by the Targumim: כרוחי מטרא... וכרסיסי מלקושא 'like the winds of the rain... and like the drops of the late rain'. In the same spirit are LXX ὄμβρος... νιφετὸς (Deut. 32.2) and Vulgate *imber… stilla*.

**3** בשם *afšam*] MT שֵׁם. SP harmonises with other similar locutions, where ב- precedes שם (Gen. 4.26; 12.8; 21.33; 26.5; Exod. 33.19; 34.5).

**4** הצור = MT הַצּוּר. The word is used here in the sense of 'creator', as attested by ST צעורה, cf. צעור גויאתה 'creator of the bodies' in a poem by the 4th-century Amram Dare (*LOT* IIIb, 93). In what follows (vv. 15, 18), צור 'Rock' is a metaphorical representation of God.

**5** <span style="color:red">שחתו לא לו בני מום</span>] MT שִׁחֵת לוֹ לֹא בָּנָיו מוּמֶם. MT is difficult to understand and has led to a multitude of attempts at explanation (see *BHQ Deuteronomy*, 93, 141*). SP is by no means easier. It is followed literally by ST חבלו לא לה בני מום, which hardly clarifies the text. A late manuscript says טבלו לאלה ברי ערברב 'the sons of rabble (cf. Exod. 12.38) immersed themselves to god' (perhaps an anti-Christian homily). Apparently, SP intends to say that those who acted corruptly are not God's sons, viz., are expelled from the community. Note that the word order לא לו is shared by both the Peshitta and Onqelos.

**7** דור ודור^ (= MT דּוֹר־וָדֹור] *dar wdor* (דר ודור). The Samaritan pronunciation of the first member of this collocation is always *dar* (also Exod. 3.15; 17.16). The matter is discussed in *GSH* §1.5.2.7.

**9** <span style="color:red">עמו יעקב</span>] MT עַמֹּו יַעֲקֹב. SP differs from MT in verse division. While MT has the verse divider ('*atnaḥ*) on עַמֹּו, connecting יַעֲקֹב with the following hemistich, SP puts a *paseq* (:) after יעקב, including it in the first hemistich. Thus, the additional parallel ישראל in the second hemistich creates a balanced verse.

**10** <span style="color:red">ויבננהו</span> *wyēbannēnēʔu* בנ"ן [*pi*] MT יְבֹונְנֵהוּ ו. Cf. SAV ويبننه, which is in line with ST יבננה, both denominative verbs of בן 'son'.

כאיש *kå̊ʾīšån* ≈ MT כְּאִישֹׁון (PHON). ST translates it כאנש עינה, meaning 'as a man guards his eye'. However, one manuscript reads כניצוץ עינה 'as the light of his eye' (*DSA*, 564), which fits SAV كالانسان عينه 'the pupil of his eye' (Lane 1865, 115).

**11** אבירתו *ēbīrå̊tu* ≈ MT אֶבְרָתֹו (PHON). ST attributes אבירתו to חברתו 'its company' and renders it as דביקאתה 'its help' (for the meaning 'help' of דב"ק see *DSA*, 165–66). SAV opts for جناحيه (var. منكبيه) 'his wings'.

**14** חמת 1° *å̊måt* FSG CSTR ≈ MT חֶמְאָת (PHON). We have translated as 'butter' following SAV زبد and MT חֶמְאַת (cf. Gen. 18.8). ST confuses this vocable with its homophone *å̊måt* 'anger' (CSTR) and translates it ארתע 'fury' (רת"ח 'boil') in both its instances in the verse.

**15** כשית *kå̊šītå*] MT כָּשִׂיתָ 'you grew fat'. Following the description of Moses's wife as אשה כשית, interpreted as 'beautiful woman' in Num. 12.1, (Ben-Ḥayyim 1939, 368; *LSH*, 289), Jeshurun is depicted as a prosperous person.

וינבלו *wyēnabbēlu* PL] MT וַיְנַבֵּל SG. Apparently, the SP plural is in line with the verbs יקנאהו... יכעיסהו... יזבחו... ידעום in the following verses. This is readily rendered by ST as ונבלו. SAV has the singular اسخط, similar to MT. One modern source of SAV, however, has the 3MS object pronoun, i.e., ويسقطه, implying a change in subject: 'the Rock of his salvation spurned him'. This is the reading of a late 19th-century completion of MS 6 (C) of the Shechem synagogue. The original reading of AH at this point is אסח׳ט (= AS). It lies in the torn-off leaves of the original manuscript, now located in the British Library, where it is catalogued under the siglum Or 5036 (see Tal, 1980–1983, III:38–39). Unfortunately, these precious folios were omitted from Shehade's edition of SAV.

**17** מקרב *miqqērəb* PREP -מ + N קֶרֶב[\*] MT מִקֶּרֶב. ST renders the word as מקרב (var. מקריב = SAV عن قريب), in line with MT מִקֶּרֶב.

ולא[^] *lå̊* (= MT לֹא). Many manuscripts confirm the conjunction (von Gall, *ad loc.*).

**18** תשא *tiššɑ* נש״י *qal* ≈ MT תֶּשִׁי (MORPH). We have translated on the basis of ST אשפת 'you despised' (*DSA*, 923); SAV تطــرح 'you abandoned'. ST and SAV's translations differ in meaning, though they both stem from MT-like תֶּשִׁי 'you forgot'. See *GSH* §2.8.13, fn. 98.

**21** באבליהם *bēbå̊līyyimma* N הב״ל ≈ MT בְּהַבְלֵיהֶם (PHON). ST MS E translates the word as בבטליון 'with their vanities', aligned with SAV بهائلهــم 'with their stupidities'. The spelling with א does not make the reading different from MT בְּהַבְלֵיהֶם, as the guttural letters are used promiscuously in Samaritan scribal practice (cf. v. 14 חמר/עמר).

**22** ההרים[^] *å̊rəm* (= MT הָרִים) −DEF. Some manuscripts have the word definite (von Gall *ad loc.*), and so reads SAV with الجبال. ST טברין, however, supports the indefinite form.

**23** אספה *å̊sēfɑ* אס״ף *pi* B LENG IMPF] MT סף״י אַסְפֶּה *hif* IMPF 'I will sweep'. ST אכנש and SAV اجمع both denote 'I will gather'.

**24** מזה רעב] MT מְזֵי רָעֵב 'wasted by hunger' (?). SP has a secondary cessation that divides the cryptic hemistich into מזה רעב לחמו and רשף קטף מררים. According to this division, the subject of the first phrase is לחמו 'his food'. The second phrase is appositional to that preceding it: 'flame, rancorous predator'. ST ignores this division: מדן כפנה לחמו רשפו 'because of this famine, his food is flame (i.e., scorched)'. קטף מררים is related to the following sentence קטפן הורין ושן בהמהן אשלח בון 'a ferocious predator and fangs of beasts I shall send upon them'. It corresponds to SAV من هذا قفط قوتهم شرر قاصم المخالفين واسنان البهائم اطلق بهم.

מררים *mēråråm*] MT מְרִירֵי 'bitter'. ST translates the word as הורין, a peculiar spelling of a noun (PL) derived from חר"י 'strive, wrath'. SAV translates قاصم المخالفين.

קטף *qēṭåf*] MT וְקֶטֶב + ו 'and pestilence'. ST has קטפן, synonym of חטפן 'predator' (*DSA*, 774).

**26** אפיהם *abbyyīmma* N אף + 3MPL] MT אַפְאֵיהֶם. The Samaritan tradition as expressed in ST considers אפיהם a compound of two separate words: אפי and הם. Accordingly, it renders it as the nominal sentence רוגזי אנון, literally 'they are my anger' (which another manuscript combines as רגזינן). To SAV however, the word is a verb in the 1st person imperfect with pronominal object suffix افنيهــم 'I will annihilate them' (var. ازويهــم 'I will remove them'). Both interpretations exist in Jewish exegesis. Already the 3rd-century CE *Sifre Devarim* §322 homiletically divides the word אמרתי באפי אייהם 'in my anger I said: where are they', i.e., איה הם. Rashi explains: so that everyone asks 'Where are they?' Onqelos shares this division, with יחול רוגזי עליהון 'My anger will befall them', and the Peshitta, taking אפאיהם as איפה הם, reads איכא אנון 'where are they'. Rashi himself combats this interpretation and construes the word as a verb in the imperfect of פא"ה 'corner' denoting 'removal, scattering', much like SAV. So, too, do Ibn Ezra and Qimḥi.

**27** ינכרו *yēnakkēru* נכ"ר *pi* IMPF = MT יְנַכְּרוּ. ST interprets ינכרו (נכ"ר) as related to הכיר 'distinguish, acknowledge' and translates it יגלגון, *hitpaʿʿal* of גל"ג 'praise'. This interpretation is shared by the Jewish Targumim with יתרברבון and by the Vulgate's *superbirent*.

צרינו *ṣårrīnu* N PL + PRON 1CPL] MT צָרֵימוֹ N PL + 3MPL ARCH 'their enemies'. SP harmonises with the following ידינו.

ולא^ (= MT וְלֹא)] *lå̄* (לא) -ו. Many manuscripts have the conjunction erased. ST has ולא, too.

**28** אבד *abbəd pi* PF] MT אֹבֵד *qal* PT CSTR. Samaritan Hebrew hardly differentiates between *piˤˤel* and *qal*, both having a similar use (Ben-Ḥayyim 1958, 236–42). Therefore, it is improbable that SP differs in meaning from MT אֹבֵד at this point.

**29** לא *lå̄* NEG PARTIC] MT לוּ OPT PARTIC. According to MT, the verse constitutes an irrealis conditional sentence, governed by the optative particle לו: 'They are not wise, and [do not] understand this, and [do not] consider'. SP has a negative sentence in which all three verbs are connected by the conjunction -ו and are governed by the negator לא: 'They are not wise, and [do not] understand this, and [do not] consider…' Cf. ST לא חכמו ואסתכלו דה ואתבוננו לחראיתון.

**31** פללים *fallå̊ləm* ≈ MT פְּלִילִים (MORPH). Our translation follows ST's סכאים, a noun derived from סכ"י 'hope, expectation'. It shows that פללים was attributed to פל"ל 'prayer' (*DSA*, 586). SAV, however, translates the word حكّام 'judges', following Exod. 21.22 (where the form differs phonologically). See also Ab Isda's commentary (Halkin 1968, 232).

**32** ומשדמות *wmiššå̊då̊mot* = MT וּמִשַּׁדְמֹת 'fields'. There is no consensus among translations regarding this word. According to SAV, it is a kind of vine, دوالـــي (PL), probably interpretational. The Jewish Targumim offer various homilies, and only the Targum Jonathan to Isa. 37.27 renders שדמות as חקליא 'fields'. ST's rendering is ומשפתינת, which is arguably a corrupt form of ומשפפינת (שפ"ף, see *DSA*, 923), a kind of vine with low branches (cf. גפן סרחת 'low spreading vine' in Ezek. 17.6).

**33** אך זרי *ak zarri*] MT אַכְזָר 'cruel'. SP has two words, for which ST has ברן בראי, obviously, a mechanical translation. SAV الحقـدة 'hostility' is closer to MT אַכְזָר 'cruel'. At any rate, *ak zarri* may testify, albeit indirectly, to the basic adjectival אכזרי, frequent in Mishnaic Hebrew, e.g., m. Bava Qama 8.7, etc. It is also the normal form in Aramaic, e.g., Targum Job 30.21; 41.2. For an etymological explanation, see *GSH* §4.2.1.3.

**35** ליום *alyom*] MT לִי '(vengeance is) mine'. The 'Day of Vengeance and Recompense' is a focal concept in Samaritan theology, according to which the universe is situated between two poles: creation (בראשית) and the Day of Vengeance (יום נקם). The latter is the

eschatological day of judgement, amply described in various Samaritan treatises (see Dexinger, 1989, 285–87). The reading is matched by the LXX ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, though Vulgate *mea est ultio* supports MT לִי. See McCarthy (2007, 150*–51*).

**38** יהיו^ *wyå̊yyu* (ויהיו) PL] MT יְהִי SG. The conjunction is not attested in the SP manuscripts (von Gall, *ad loc.*), nor is it recorded in ST and SAV.

**42** מראש^ (= MT מֵרֹאשׁ)] *wmirrē'oš* (ומראש) +ו. According to the apparatus of von Gall's edition, only one manuscript has ומראש. Two fragments have the ו- erased. The translation 'beginning' follows SAV ابتداء.

פרעת *farr'āt* PL CSTR ≈ MT פַּרְעוֹת (PHON). The denotation of this word is no longer clear to Samaritans. According to ST, אפרעות is an abstract noun, probably associated with 'disorder', after Exod. 32.25. SAV has انـهتاك 'dishonour', apparently related to Num. 5.18, where the ceremony of humiliation of the unfaithful wife includes the verb פרע, which SAV translates as يهتك (see *DSA*, 707). Jewish exegesis oscillates between 'running wild' (Rashi, Ibn Ezra) and 'revenge' (Ibn Janah, Qimḥi). According to Ben-Ḥayyim, the word is in a peculiar plural form meaning 'leaders' (*GSH* §4.1.4.8).

**47** תאריכון ≈ MT תַּאֲרִיכֻו –PARAG *nun*. SP harmonises with 4.26, and perhaps also with Exod. 20.12.

## Deuteronomy 33

**2** הופיע^ (= MT הוֹפִיעַ)] *u'ūfi* (והופיע) +ו. No trustworthy manuscript evidence for the conjunction exists (von Gall *ad loc.*).

אשדת^ *aš dat* (אש דת) ≈ MT *qere* אֵשׁ דָּת, *ketiv* אשדת. Both SP and MT made efforts to derive some meaning from the cryptic אשדת by dividing it in two words. According to von Gall's edition, nine manuscripts have the single word אשדת, against three which have it divided into אש דת by a dot that serves as word divider. Four manuscripts display the variant אשדות, divided in one manuscript into אש דות, again, by the word divider. As far as the ST is concerned, unfortunately, only one fragment exists, its rendering being נור אורה 'fire of law', in two words. Such is also the case with SAV: نار ديـن. To be sure, the division is of

relatively old age, already known to Aquila, Symmachus, and Jerome (*ignea lex*) (see McCarthy 2007, 155\*–56\*).

**3** תכו *tåku* תו"ך *qal* PF] MT תכ"י? תֻּכּוּ *pu* PF. Our translation is according to ST יכנען, SAV يخضعون. See *GSH* §2.6.4, and n. 67; cf. Syriac תכ"ך 'subdue' (Sokoloff 2009, 1644).

ושאו *wšāʾu* נש"א *qal* PF] MT נש"א יִשָּׂא *qal* IMPF 'will carry'. ST renders as יקבלון 'they accept (a duty)', cf. Rabbinic Hebrew קיבל עליו, with which SAV يتحملون 'they bear a burden' is aligned. Given these renderings, one may assume that ושאו is a late derivative of נש"א, which lost its initial consonant, a rather frequent phenomenon in early medieval Jewish liturgy (Yahalom 1985, 73–75).

**5** בהתאסף^ INF (= MT בְּהִתְאַסֵּף)] *bētåsēfu* (בהתאספו) *hitp* B INF/PF (*GSH* §2.2.1.5.3). The variant בהתאספו, supported by the oral tradition, represents the infinitive with the *u* ending of abstract nouns. This is the understanding of the Samaritan translations: SP בתכנש (for באתכנש), SAV عند اجتماع. According to *GSH* §2.2.1.5.3, there is room to consider בהתאספו a perfect tense, which determined our translation.

יחדו *yaddu*] MT יֵחַד. SP harmonises with v. 17. In fact, MT יֵחַד occurs only here. In all other cases of this adverb in the Torah in MT, and in all cases in SP, it takes the form יחדו.

**6** מאתו *miyyittu* PREP] MT מְתָיו N 'his people'. MT מְתָיו 'his people', together with the following מספר, expresses fewness (cf. Gen. 34.30), which hardly fits a blessing. SP reverses this reservation.

**7** שמע *šāma* PF 3MSG/IMV 2M] MT שְׁמַע IMV 2M. Whether imperative or perfect (*GSH* §§0.16, 2.11.2), *šāma* expresses a request, a command, very much like MT שְׁמַע. Though SAV takes the verb as perfect سمع (ST is inconclusive), the context requires the imperative, like in the case of Reuben, Levi, etc., as the chapter consists of a string of blessings involving God's grace right from its beginning: וזאת הברכה.

תביאנה *tībiyyinna hif* IMPF 3FSG + PRON 3FSG] MT תְּבִיאֶנּוּ *hif* IMPF 3FSG + PRON 3MSG. Improper feminine pronominal object suffix related to the masculine Yeʾuda. It is followed by SAV تجلبها. The variant تدخله reflects a source text with תביאנו, which is the basic text of von Gall's edition.

ידו *yēdu* SG] MT יָדָיו PL. SP attributes to ידו the sense of 'might'. Cf. Num. 20.20; Deut. 8.17, etc.

**11** ^מי יקימנו *wmi* (ומי) *yåqīminnu* INTERROG and קו"ם *hif* IMPF 3MSG +PRON 3MSG] MT מִן־יְקוּמֶוּן PREP מִן and קו"ם *qal* IMPF 3MPL +PARAG *nun* 'from rising'. Borrowed from Gen. 49.9 and Num. 24.9 (*q.v.*). SAV مـن يقاومـه 'who can withstand him' is rather interpretative. There is no manuscript evidence for the (oral) conjunction.

**12** יד יד *yad yad*] MT יְדָיד. SAV يـد قدرة الله takes the first *yad* as a preposition and the second one as the representation of God's protective might. SP אד אד is inconclusive.

**15** גבעת *gå̊bāt* SG] MT גִּבְעוֹת PL. The locution גבעת עולם is one of the thirteen sobriquets of Mount Gerizim (see TM, Book II, §50).

**19** הרי *å̊ri* N SG +PRON 1CSG] MT הַר 'mountain'. A reference to Mount Gerizim.

יקראו *yiqrā'u* = MT יִקְרָאוּ. Notwithstanding the vocalisation, ST reasonably takes the verb as the passive *itpǝʿel* יזדעקון.

**21** ויתא *wyåttå* י/א/חת"י את (*GSH* §2.8.14)] MT וַיֵּתֵא 'and he came'. חת"י means initially 'scald' (*GSH* §2.8.14) and is used here in its metaphorical sense 'rebuke, admonish', rendered by ST as כבה (*DSA*, 383, *s.v.* כוע).

**23** שבע ורצון *šēbi wrå̊ṣon* APP] MT שְׂבַע רָצוֹן CSTR 'satisfied with favour'. רצון has an adjectival status in late liturgy, e.g., עשה כלה רצונים 'make all of them favored' (Cowley 1909, 87).

**27** מעונה *mūːnå* N F (*GSH* §§4.2.3.10; 7.2) = MT מְעֹנָה. The hemistich מעונה אלהי קדם is an appositional description of שחוקים in the previous verse.

השמיד *ašməd hif* 1CSG IMPF] MT הַשְׁמֵד *hif* IMV 2MSG. The SP imperfect is supported by ST אשיצי. A variant, however, has the imperative שיצי, which is reminiscent of MT. SAV اهلك is inconclusive.

## Deuteronomy 34

**1** ועד [מנהר מצרים... MT אֶת־הַגִּלְעָד עַד־דָּן: וְאֵת כָּל־נַפְתָּלִי וְאֶת־אֶרֶץ אֶפְרַיִם וּמְנַשֶּׁה וְאֵת כָּל־אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה עַד הַיָּם הָאַחֲרוֹן: וְאֶת־הַנֶּגֶב וְאֶת־הַכִּכָּר בִּקְעַת יְרֵחוֹ עִיר הַתְּמָרִים עַד־צֹעַר. From the end of v. 1 up to the the end

of v. 3, SP is completely different from MT. The latter is less idealistic and more concrete, describing the actual extent of the land about to be conquered by Joshua. MT gives very precise details, to the point of an atomistic delineation of the borders. By contrast, SP gives the ideal extent of the promised land, using the description of the covenant made with Abraham in Gen. 15.18 and Moses's discourse in Deut. 11.24.