

# Gottesschau – Gotteserkenntnis

Herausgegeben von  
EVANGELIA G. DAFNI

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament*  
387

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**Mohr Siebeck**

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387





# Gottesschau – Gotteserkenntnis

*Studien zur Theologie der Septuaginta*

*Band I*

Herausgegeben von  
Evangelia G. Dafni

Mohr Siebeck

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Nikolaos P. Bratsiotis  
zum 85. Geburtstag



Ὅν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων,  
οὕτως ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου πρὸς σέ, ὁ θεός.  
ἐδίψησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα·  
πότε ἤξω καὶ ὀφθήσομαι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ;

כָּאֵיל תַּעֲרָג עַל־אֲפִיקַי־מַיִם בֶּן נַפְשִׁי תַּעֲרָג אֱלֹהִים:  
צַמְצָמָה נַפְשִׁי לְאֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר תִּי מְתִי אָבוֹא אֶרְאֶה פָּנֵי אֱלֹהִים:

(Ps 41[42],2f.)





## Vorwort

Bisher haben sich die Septuaginta-Studien international hauptsächlich auf textkritische, sprachwissenschaftliche und literaturgeschichtliche Fragestellungen konzentriert, während spezifisch theologisch motivierte Arbeiten das Verhältnis der griechischen Sprache und Gedankenwelt zur Theologie wenig oder kaum berücksichtigten und nur verstreut in diversen Reihen zu suchen sind. Seit 2014 hat jedoch an der Theologischen Fakultät der Aristoteles Universität Thessaloniki die Internationale Jahreskonferenz zur *Theologie der Septuaginta* institutionalisierten Charakter und fördert im Fach „Altes Testament – Septuaginta“ die Erforschung der Theologie der sogenannten griechischen Bibel. Das lässt uns hiermit eine neue Subreihe der Wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament (WUNT) mit dem Titel „Studien zur Theologie der Septuaginta – Studies on the Theology of the Septuagint“ (STLXX) begründen.

Diese Subreihe, die die bestehende Lücke füllen will, zielt nicht nur auf einen engeren Septuaginta-Expertenkreis, sondern auch auf Theologen und Philologen sowohl aus der östlichen als auch aus der westlichen Welt, die zunehmend am Verhältnis der Originalsprache zur Theologie der griechischen Bibel interessiert sind, zumal die Septuaginta im Original oder/und in Tochterübersetzungen das offizielle Alte Testament des östlichen Christentums darstellt und ihre Theologie auf vielfältige Weise seine Wissenschaft, kirchliche Praxis und sein alltägliches Leben bestimmt.

In dieser neuen Subreihe sollen sowohl die Konferenzbeiträge als auch einzelne Monographien ihren Ort finden. Gemeinsamer Ausgangspunkt soll das Gespräch der Hebräischen Bibel mit möglichen theologischen Tendenzen eines Begriffs, Textabschnitts, Textblocks, Buches oder des gesamten Septuaginta-Corpus sein, die auf Wort-, Wortverbindungs- und Satzebene erkennbar sind. Besonders berücksichtigt werden Arbeiten, die die altgriechische Literatur zur Klärung des Verhältnisses des hebräischen zum griechischen theologischen Denken heranziehen. Die Untersuchungen sollen an der von Emanuel Tov herausgestellten dreifachen Dimension von Wortgebrauch und Vorstellungswelt vor, in und nach der Septuaginta orientiert sein und die Sprache als zur Theologie führendes Instrument nutzen.

Vorliegender Band geht auf die 3. Internationale Jahreskonferenz zur *Theologie der Septuaginta* (9.–11.3.2016) zurück, die sich mit dem Thema „Gottesschau – Gotteserkenntnis“ befasste.

Der Frage der *Theologie der Septuaginta* ist, soweit mir bekannt, bisher keine andere Konferenz selbständig gewidmet worden.

Wer sich heute mit der *Theologie der Septuaginta* als Wissenschaftsdisziplin befasst, muss sich Überlegungen stellen, ob und inwieweit dieses gewagte Unterfangen überhaupt gesichert ist. Ob die Theologie einer Übersetzung sich von der Theologie eines entwicklungsgeschichtlich höchst komplexen literarischen Originalgebildes unterscheidet, wird unterschiedlich beantwortet. Man ist sich nicht darüber einig, ob und inwieweit griechisches Verstehen, Erklären und Übersetzen der Absicht und des Gehalts von hebräischen und zum Teil aramäischen Glaubensaussagen über den Gott, der sich selbst als der eine und einzige offenbart, im Hinblick auf das Triptychon Gott, Gott – Welt und Gott – Mensch in der Form der Septuaginta eine andere, vom Masoretischen Text abweichende bzw. neue Theologie zum Vorschein bringe und diese sich näher entfalten lasse.

Anerkanntermaßen bildet die göttliche Offenbarung als schriftgewordener Glaubensgehalt die spezifische Bedingung der Theologie der Hebräischen Bibel. Das führte die Konferenzteilnehmerinnen und -teilnehmer dazu, sich von ihrem jeweiligen Zugang aus mit der Frage zu befassen, inwiefern die Theologie der ältesten vollständig erhaltenen griechischen Bibelübersetzung in deren kulturgeschichtlich geprägtem Reden vom Sich-Erkennen-Lassen und Erkanntwerden Gottes bzw. von Gott-Sehen, Gottesschau und Gotteserkenntnis zu suchen ist.

Die 3. Internationale Konferenz zur Theologie der Septuaginta sowie der Druck der Konferenzbeiträge wurden durch die großzügige Förderung der Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung ermöglicht. Herr Dr. Henning Ziebritzki regte zur Veröffentlichung dieses Bandes beim Verlag Mohr Siebeck an. Herr Professor Christoph Elsas, Frau Dr. Gillian Mary Clare Bonney, Herr Dr. Peter Nagel, Frau Barbara Hohmann MA und Frau Sandra Niemann MTh haben Einzelbeiträge mitgelesen und zahlreiche Verbesserungen bewirkt. Herr Klaus Hermannstädter hat das Manuskript verlegerisch betreut. Ihnen gilt mein besonderer Dank.

Die Konferenz hätte nicht veranstaltet werden können ohne die Impulse zu Sprache und Theologie der Septuaginta unseres hochverehrten Lehrers, Professor Nikolaos P. Bratsiotis, die mich sowohl im Studium an der Theologischen Fakultät der Nationalen und Kapodistrias Universität Athen als auch im wissenschaftlichen Leben begleiteten. Ihm sei zu seinem 85. Geburtstag dieser Band in Verbundenheit gewidmet.

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## Abkürzungen

AncB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary, herausgegeben von D. N. Freedman, 6 Bde., New York 1992
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung, Teil II: Principat, herausgegeben von H. Temporini und W. Haase, Berlin 1972–
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute
ASV	American Standard Version
ATD.A	Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Apokryphen
AUSS	Andrews University Seminary Studies
BE	Biblische Enzyklopädie
BETHL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Lovaniensium
Bib	Biblica
BiKi	Bibel und Kirche
BK	Biblischer Kommentar
BSFE	Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBR	Currents in Biblical Research
CQ	The Classical Quarterly
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSEL	Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire Romain
EvTh	Evangelische Theologie
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
Ges <sup>18</sup>	<i>H. Donner</i> (Hg.), Wilhelm Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch, Berlin – Heidelberg – New York <sup>18</sup> 1987–2012
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JNSL	Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSCS	Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies

JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOT.S	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSQ	Jewish Studies Quarterly
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KJV	King James Version
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library
LU	Lutherübersetzung (1984)
LXX	Septuaginta/Septuagint
LXX.D	Septuaginta Deutsch
LXX.H	Handbuch zur Septuaginta
MT	Masoretischer Text/Masoretic Text
MThZ	Münchener theologische Zeitschrift
MuB	Theologische Fakultät Leipzig. Mitteilungen und Beiträge
NBL	Neues Bibel-Lexikon, herausgegeben von M. Görg und B. Lang, 3 Bde. Zürich 1991–2001
NET	New English Translation
NETS	New English Translation of the Septuagint
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NSK.AT	Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar. Altes Testament
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OLA	Orientalia Lovanensia analecta
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completes: Series graeca</i> . Edited by J.-P. Migne, 162 vols. Paris: Migne, 1857–1886
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completes: Series latina</i> . Edited by J.-P. Migne, 217 vols. Paris: Migne, 1844–1864
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, herausgegeben von T. Klauser u. a., Stuttgart 1950–
RÉB	Revue des études Byzantines
RGG <sup>4</sup>	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 4., völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage herausgegeben von Hans Dieter Betz u. a., 8 Bde., Tübingen 1998–2005
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RSLR	Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa
RThPh	Revue de théologie et de philosophie
SBL.SCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SIJD	Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch and the pre-Samaritan texts
SPhA	The Studia Philonica Annual
SRaT	Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel
STAR	Studies in Theology and Religion
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
TBT	Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann
Tg. <sup>Frag.</sup>	Fragmententargum/Fragmentary Targum

Tg. <sup>Jon.</sup>	Targum Jonathan
Tg. <sup>Neof.</sup>	Targum Neofiti
Tg. <sup>Onq.</sup>	Targum Onqelos
THAT	Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament, herausgegeben von E. Jenni und C. Westermann, 2 Bde., München u. a. 1971–1976
TJ	Trinity Journal
TLG	Thesaurus linguae graecae
ThLZ.F	Theologische Literaturzeitung. Forum
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift (Basel)
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum/Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, herausgegeben von O. Kaiser, 3 Bde., Gütersloh 1982–1997
TUAT NF	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge, herausgegeben von B. Janowski und G. Wilhelm/B. Janowski und D. Schwemer, 8 Bde., Gütersloh 2004–2015
TWAT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament, herausgegeben von G. J. Botterweck und H. Ringgren, 10 Bde., Stuttgart u. a. 1973–2000
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WdF	Wege der Forschung
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für die ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde





# Gottesschau



# Textual Problems in the Descriptions of Moses's Ascent to Mt Sinai in Exodus 19, 24, 32, and 34

*Emanuel Tov*

*Abstract:* One of the more intriguing pericopes in the Torah from a literary point of view is that of Moses's ascent to and descent from Mt Sinai (Exodus 19, 24, 32, and 34). The story of the ascent is narrated six times, in one case three times in one chapter (Exodus 24) and the sequence of events is very unusual. The narratives include the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant (Exod 20:22–23:33) and to some extent they are interrupted by these legal compilations. Different tradition blocks have been combined providing much occasion for literary analyses and theories. The textual traditions are rather faithful to the transmitted text, but nevertheless there are some textual implications deriving from the literary complications. These are the topic of the first part of this study.

The second part of the study deals with the theological problems surrounding the theophany and their reflections in the textual traditions of these chapters.

The scribes who transmitted the text (copyists-scribes) usually inserted only small changes into the text. They were active at the micro-level, hardly ever at the macro-level that we call literary criticism. More specifically, in recent decades we have become increasingly aware that textual and literary criticism converge at a certain level.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Septuagint and some of the Dead Sea scrolls preserved evidence pertaining to the last stages of the literary development of the Hebrew Bible when scribes were still creating the biblical books. This is the case with the short texts of the Septuagint of 1 Samuel 16–18, of Jeremiah and Ezekiel and of several additional units. However, in other cases our textual evidence is late and we have hardly any insights into the literary prehistory of the biblical text. This is the case in Exodus 19, 24, 32, and 34 analyzed in this study. My working hypothesis is that much activity took place in the prehistory of these chapters, but that none of it has been preserved in the textual witnesses known to us. This was also the case with the Documentary Hypothesis, as was shown in a detailed study.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See my monograph: *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed., revised and expanded, Minneapolis 2012, 283–326 (henceforth: TCHB).

<sup>2</sup> No activity is spotted in the textual sources, with the possible exception of Exodus 35–40. See my study “The Source of Source Criticism: The Relevance of Non-Masoretic Textual Witnesses,” in: Th. Wagner et al. (eds.), *Text – Textgeschichte – Textwirkung*:

One of the more intriguing narratives in the Torah from a literary point of view is that of Moses's ascent to Mt Sinai prior to receiving the stone tablets. The story of the ascent is narrated no less than six times, in one case three times in one chapter (Exodus 24), and necessarily the sequence of events is very unusual. The narratives about the ascent to Mt Sinai are interrupted by the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant (Exod 20:22–23:33). The different tradition blocks provide much occasion for literary analysis,<sup>3</sup> covered by the first part of this study, but our main interest is textual analysis. While describing the literary complications, I constantly think what ancient scribes or translators would have thought when encountering these literary difficulties. This study further deals with the theological aspects of harmonizations and of the theophany in these chapters.

### 1. Literary Complications in Exodus 19, 24, 32, 34

Chapters 19, 24, 32, and 34 tell the story of the ascent to and descent from Mt Sinai in conjunction with the giving of three different groups of laws, the Ten Commandments (Exod 20:2–17), the Book of the Covenant (20:22–23:33), and the “little Book of the Covenant” (34:12–26). The traditions about the first two law codes are intertwined and it is sometimes unclear which law code is referred to. By the same token, Moses goes up the mountain several times, alone or with others, and it is evident that different tradition blocks have been combined.<sup>4</sup> In the view of others, different Pentateuchal sources have been joined and the combination of these sources created the duplications. According to my reading of the text, Moses went six times up the mountain, once for an encounter with God, three times in order to receive the first stone tablets, once in order to receive the “Book of the Covenant,” and once in order to receive the second stone tablets in conjunction with the “little Book of the Covenant” (34:12–26).

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Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Siegfried Kreuzer (AOAT 419), Münster 2015, 283–301.

<sup>3</sup> The penetrating analysis of Exodus 19–24 by A. Toeg, *Lawgiving at Sinai* (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1977, has still not been surpassed.

<sup>4</sup> The problems have been phrased sharply by M. Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary*, Philadelphia 1962, 153 with regard to chapter 19: “The ascent and descent of Moses is repeated remarkably often and, moreover, in a way which is not always consistently connected with the position of Moses which is from time to time presumed in the course of the narrative.” Likewise, on chapter 24 Noth remarks (p. 194): “We are thus given in this chapter two versions of the account of the making of the covenant which, while dealing with the same subject, are widely different in their individual details.”

The six ascents to and descents from Mt Sinai may be presented schematically as follows:

Table 1: Ascents to and descents from Mt Sinai by Moses

<i>scope</i>	<i>person(s) involved</i>	<i>ascent</i>	<i>descent</i>	<i>circumstances</i>
a. Exod 19:3–19	Moses	19:3	19:14	theophany (19:18–19)
b. Exod 19:20–25	Moses	19:20	19:25	stone tablets [1] (20:1–17)
c. Exod 24:1–8	Moses + Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and seventy of the elders of Israel	24:3	? (see 24:9)	“Book of the Covenant” (24:7)
d. Exod 24:9–11	Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and seventy of the elders of Israel	24:9	? (see 24:12)	stone tablets [1] (24:12)
e. Exod 24:12–18	Moses + Joshua (v. 13)	24:13	? (probably 32:15)	stone tablets [1]
e1. Exod 32:1–35	Moses	[?]	32:15	stone tablets [1, 2]
f. Exod 34:1–35	Moses	34:4	34:29	stone tablets [2] + the “little Book of the Covenant” (34:12– 26)

In the next paragraphs I will review the six ascents and descents with the purpose of analyzing them text-critically at a later stage.

a. After Moses ascends the mountain (19:3), he descends (19:14) and lets the people prepare for the majestic theophany. The people stand at the foot of the mountain and witness the theophany (19:17). Suddenly God is not on Mt Sinai but comes down from heaven to Mount Sinai (19:18).

b. Moses is summoned a second time by God to the top of the mountain (19:20). Subsequently he is told to descend (again) and to come up together with Aaron (19:24). Moses comes down (19:25) and proclaims the Decalogue (20:2–17). The Decalogue is followed by conversations between Moses and God, a small corpus of laws (20:18–26) and a large one (the Book of the Covenant, Exod 20:22–23:33).

c. After the excursus of the Book of the Covenant, the narration continues in chapter 24 (24:1–8) as if there had not been a long regression. Moses is again called up to the mountain, and as happens often in Scripture, no use is

made of a word like “again.” This time more than one person is summoned (24:1–2): “Then he said to Moses, ‘Come up to the Lord, you and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, and worship at a distance.’<sup>2</sup> Moses alone shall come near the Lord; but the others shall not come near, and the people shall not come up with him.” Moses thus went up, and came down (the latter action is implied, as Moses conveys God’s words to the people). He transmits “all the words of the Lord and all the ordinances” (24:3), but it is unclear whether these words refer to the Decalogue (ch. 20) or the Book of the Covenant (Exod 20:22–23:33).<sup>5</sup>

d. In 24:4 Moses and the people are situated “at the foot of the mountain” and subsequently Moses went up again: “Then Moses and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel went up” (24:9). These words should be understood as a fragment of a second tradition in chapter 24 of approaching God. There is no explicit reference to Moses’s descent.

e. A third story of ascent in chapter 24 (24:12–18) starts with v. 12: “The Lord said to Moses, ‘Come up to me on the mountain, and wait there; and I will give you the tablets of stone, with the law and the commandment, which I have written for their instruction.’” Subsequently Moses went up together with his servant Joshua (24:13a), but at some point he left Joshua behind because he arrived alone at the mountain (24:13b, 15), and stayed there twenty-four days and twenty-four nights (24:18) and received the stone tablets. There is no explicit mention of a descent in this chapter and the story probably continues in chapter 32.<sup>6</sup>

e1. Chapter 32 starts off as “When the people saw that Moses delayed to come down from the mountain, the people gathered around Aaron,” and it tells the story of the golden calf. In this chapter Moses comes down from the mountain (v. 15) and he breaks the *first* tablets (32:19). This story continues one of the earlier fragmentary stories, probably the last one, namely 24:12–18 (= e), and therefore we name it “e1.”

f. In the story of the writing and giving of the *second* tablets in chapter 34 Moses again ascends (v. 4) and descends (v. 29). According to 34:28, Moses “wrote on the tablets the words of the covenant, the ten commandments.” The

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<sup>5</sup> The latter is more likely since Moses is told to put these words into writing (24:4: “and Moses wrote down all the words of the Lord”). It is hard to imagine that this was the Decalogue since that was written by God (32:16: “and the writing was the writing of God,” see also 24:12). Furthermore, the text says explicitly that as part of the ceremony “Then he took *the book of the covenant*, and read it in the hearing of the people; and they said, ‘All that the Lord has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient.’”

<sup>6</sup> Chapters 25–31 describe the command of building the sanctuary and its utensils and chapters 35–40 describe their execution. The chapters in the middle continue the story of chapter 24.

giving of the second stone tablets is connected with the providing of another collection of laws, the "little Book of the Covenant" (34:12–26).<sup>7</sup>

Together with the internal differences between these traditions we note differences on three major issues.

1. Who prepared the stone tablets? In Exod 24:12, God prepares the stones, and he himself inscribes them. On the other hand according to 34:1, Moses is asked to prepare the stones and in 34:4 he performed this task.

2. Who wrote the stone tablets? The first stone tablets were written by Moses (24:4) or by God (24:12; 32:16). The second stone tablets were inscribed by God (34:28; Deut 10:2).

3. There are several unusual sequences of events in these chapters. According to Exod 19:25, Moses tells the people about the content of God's message, contained in 20:1–17 in the stone tablets, but these tablets are not mentioned at this point in the story. They are first mentioned in 24:12 and then again in chapter 32.

## 2. Textual Variations Deriving from Literary Complexities

The main textual sources known to us did not try to solve the literary problems mentioned above for the simple reason that such problems as we recognize in our critical reading of the text were usually not recognized by ancient scribes. This is probably the most important conclusion of our investigation. What could the scribes have done? They could have removed blatant duplications so that Moses would not ascend the mountain so often. They could have added clarifications, such as the word "again" when Moses went up to the mountain for a second or third time. Or after long insertions or digressions they could have added so-called *Wiederaufnahmen*. However, all these changes were usually not made. Only rarely were such problems recognized and sometimes creative solutions were invoked. The scribes who were involved in the transmission of these or any other chapters did not rewrite the

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<sup>7</sup> The pericope of Sinai (named here Horev) is also referred to in Moses's first speech in Deut 4:10–13, but no reference is made there to Moses's going up the mountain. In the second speech (chapters 6–11), on the other hand, Moses's ascending the mountain (again Horev, Deut 9:8) is recounted in some detail in 9:8–21, summarizing the stories of Exodus. Moses goes up the mountain (9:9), and then (vv. 10–11): "And the Lord gave me the two stone tablets written with the finger of God; on them were all the words that the Lord had spoken to you at the mountain out of the fire on the day of the assembly. <sup>11</sup>At the end of forty days and forty nights the Lord gave me the two stone tablets, the tablets of the covenant." Then in v. 12 Moses is told to descend because Aaron had built the golden calf.

The story in Deuteronomy corresponds also literally with Exodus, cf. Deut 32:12, 13, 14, 17, 21 with Exod 32:7, 9, 10, 15, 19, 20, while some of the differences are typical of the style of Deuteronomy.



Hebrew text in any major way; they limited themselves to a very thin layer of *ad hoc* exegesis. Even the SP-group (the Samaritan Pentateuch and the pre-Samaritan texts) and 4QRP whose layers of exegesis are among the more extensive ones, limited themselves to occasional forms of exegesis, excluding the literary problems such as described here. Scribes were exegetes, but no experts in literary analysis. Therefore the examples of involvement in literary issues provided below are the exceptions rather than the rule. The examples are presented from *different* sources, implying that no source systematically included much exegesis.

### 1. 4Q364

Probably the most intrusive change is reflected in 4QRP<sup>b</sup> (4Q364), at one time conceived of as a rewritten Pentateuch composition, but now regarded as an extensively exegetical Torah manuscript, differing much from the other textual sources. In this case 4QRP<sup>b</sup> (4Q364) combined two biblical narratives dealing with the same topic, the preparations for receiving the stone tablets in Exod 19:3–19 and in Exod 24:12–18, in both cases coupled with Moses's ascending the mountain. The preserved fragment presents the text of chapter 24, but just before 24:12 it mentions “at the foot of the mountain” which undoubtedly quotes 19:17 referring to the place where the Israelites were stationed.

By doing so this text solves a literary problem since it combines two far-away chapters dealing with the same issue. 4QRP<sup>b</sup> (4Q364) frg. 14:

1. .... [.. and they stationed themselves]
2. at the foot of the mountain. [...] (4Q364)
3. And the Lord said to Moses: “Com[e up to me] to the mountain, and b[e] there, and I will give to you the stone tablets,]
4. the law and the commandment which I have written to teach them. *vacat* [And Moses arose and Joshua] (Exod 24:12).

### 2. Exodus 19:10

MT וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵךְ אֶל־הָעָם = SP

NRSV The Lord said to Moses: Go to the people ...

LXX εἶπεν δὲ κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῆν Καταβὰς διαμάρτυραι τῷ λαῷ

NETS And the Lord said to Moyses, “When you go down, testify solemnly to the people ...

Moses was already on the mountain, so that his move to the people was not one of simple “going” as in the Masoretic Text, but of “going down” as in the Septuagint. The Greek translator adapted the translation to the context, but at the same time he was influenced by the wording of v. 21 where God commands Moses “go down, testify to the people” (וַיֵּרַד מֹשֶׁה בְּעַד בְּעַם) which have

been repeated here, probably by the parent text of the Septuagint, and not by the translator.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Exodus 19:25

MT וירד משה אל־העם ויאמר אליהם

So Moses went down to the people and told them.

SP ויירד משה מן ההר אל־העם ויאמר אליהם = Tg.<sup>Jon., Neof.</sup>

So Moses went down *from the mountain* to the people and told them.

SP = Tg.<sup>Jon., Neof.</sup> clarified what was less clear in the Masoretic Text in the complicated verses 23–25.

### 4. Exodus 24:13

MT ויקם משה ויהושע משרתו ויעל משה אל־הר האלהים SP

NRSV So Moses set out with his assistant Joshua, and Moses *went up* into the mountain of God.

LXX και ἀναστὰς Μωυση̄ς και Ἰησοῦς ὁ παρεστηκῶς<sup>9</sup> αὐτῶ  
ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ θεοῦ.

NETS And Moyses rose up and Iesous who assisted him, and *they went up* into the mountain of God.

Exod 24:13 attests to the differences between the traditions in which Moses went up to the mountain either alone or together with others. The Masoretic Text is considered difficult since two persons started out the journey together and only Moses arrived at the destination. On the other hand, the Septuagint solved the issue by changing the verb from the singular to the plural (while at the same time omitting the name of “Moses”). The uncoordinated text as in the Masoretic Text<sup>10</sup> probably reflects the final literary formulation of this

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<sup>8</sup> The books of the Septuagint abound with harmonizing pluses in accord with other verses in the context or elsewhere. In some of them internal Greek differences make it clear that the harmonizing took place at the Hebrew and not the Greek level. See *E. Tov*, “Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy,” in: N. S. Fox et al. (eds.), *Todah: Studies in Deuteronomy and Its Cultural Environment in Honor of Jeffrey H. Tigay*, Winona Lake, IN 2009, 15–28. Revised version: *E. Tov*, *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays* (TSAJ 121), Tübingen 2008, 271–282; *Id.*, “Textual Harmonization in the Stories of the Patriarchs,” in: D. Dimant & R. G. Kratz (eds.), *Rewriting and Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: The Biblical Patriarchs in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (BZAW 439), Berlin 2013, 19–50. Revised version: *E. Tov*, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint: Collected Writings*, Vol. III (VTSup 167), Leiden 2015, 166–188.

<sup>9</sup> The equivalent of משרת, παρεστηκῶς is rare (Num 11:28; Deut 21:5; 2 Sam 13:17).

<sup>10</sup> Elsewhere, in vv. 12 and 16–18, Moses acts alone in the Masoretic Text.

verse,<sup>11</sup> as in vv. 14 and 15 (see below) and unlike vv. 12, 16–18. Most striking is the juxtaposition of the similar verses 12 and 13, in which v. 13 was changed and v. 12 was not (<sup>12</sup>The Lord said to Moses, “Come up to me on the mountain, and wait there ... <sup>13</sup>So Moses set out with his assistant Joshua, and Moses went up ...). A consistent change of the context would have led to the addition of the figure of Joshua also to v. 12.

#### 5. *Exodus 24:14*

MT ואל־הזקנים אמר = SP

And to the elders *he* [Moses] said.

LXX καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις εἶπεν

And to the elders *they* [Moses and Joshua] said.

The change to the plural in the Septuagint continues the trend described in the previous item.

#### 6. *Exodus 24:15*

MT ויַעַל מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הַהָרַךְ = SP

And Moses went up to the mountain.

LXX καὶ ἀνέβη Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ ὄρος.

And Moses *and* Joshua went up to the mountain.

In this change we see the continued trend to mention Joshua together with Moses in these verses. This is the reading of codex B together with many minuscules. The other codices corrected to the Masoretic Text. The trend of inserting Joshua is not continued in the next verses, and in accordance with the dynamics of the other traditions, Joshua need not be mentioned everywhere. He is added in the framework of the story, in vv. 13–15, as someone who acts together with Moses, but not in the next verses of intimate contact between Moses and God.

#### 7. *Exodus 32:4*

MT ויאמרו = SP

and they said

LXX καὶ εἶπεν

and he said

In the Septuagint Aaron makes the decisive statement “These are your gods (plural), O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt.” In the Masoretic Text, however, this statement is ascribed to an undetermined group

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<sup>11</sup> This verse may be compared with 33:11 where Moses is likewise joined by Joshua. The syntax of ויקם משה ויהושע is standard in biblical Hebrew.

# Stellenregister

(in Auswahl)

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