

Hannah's Prayer(s) in 1 Samuel 1–2 and in Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*

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1. Introduction

From a redaction-critical point of view, it can be stated that in what is commonly called late postexilic times, there was a tendency to insert prayers into important passages of the growing scrolls of what later would become biblical books. This holds true for the prophetic literature of the Latter Prophets, a topic that has been given its proper attention with the recent monograph by Alexa Wilke.¹ This likewise holds true for the narrative books, whether within the context of the later Former Prophets or the Writings: Dan 9; Ezra 9; Neh 1; 9–10; and 1 Chr 16, often called “psalms outside the psalter.”² One of the best-known specimens of prayers within the corpus of the Former Prophets is, of course, Hannah’s psalm in 1 Sam 2.

In the following, I will briefly consider the diachronic development of the prayer(s) in 1 Sam 1–2 before examining their reception in the pseudepigraphic document commonly referred to as Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*.³

1. See Alexa Wilke, *Die Gebete der Propheten: Anrufungen Gottes im “Corpus Propheticum” der Hebräischen Bibel*, BZAW 451 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014).

2. See Kurt Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia*, ATD 12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), 51–52; quote from Hans-Peter Mathys, *Dichter und Beter: Theologen aus spätalttestamentlicher Zeit*, OBO 132 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 125.

3. On the history of this title, see Howard Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo’s Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum: With Latin Text and English Translation*, AGJU 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 195–99.

2. Hannah's Prayers in 1 Samuel 1–2

Hannah's thanksgiving prayer, which she brings forth in reaction to the birth of her firstborn Samuel, is regarded as a typical example of shaping and interpreting a narrative context by secondarily inserting a psalm—and rightly so. Both the continuation of the narrative flow in 1 Sam 2:11 and the slightly differing position of the song in the LXX make it obvious that the piece should be seen as a rather late addition to what is generally called the birth narrative of Samuel, though in its final shape it is actually more interested in Hannah, the mother of the prophet to come, than in Samuel himself.⁴

Regardless of whether independent old traditions were worked into its creation or the poem should be seen as a literary unit, in its present position, it serves several purposes for the composition of its closer and wider contexts.⁵ First, the numerous intratextual links with 2 Sam 22, David's psalm in the "appendix" to the books of Samuel, illustrate that both prayers intend to encircle the history of the early Israelite monarchy while focusing on its climax: the reign of David.⁶ Even though the confident statement in 2:10 that the Lord will raise the horn of his anointed (וִירֵם קֶרֶן מְשִׁיחוֹ) in the context of the following stories seemingly refers to Saul, David makes it clear in 2 Sam 22:51 that the word *anointed* refers to him alone: "He shows lovingkindness to his anointed, to David and to his seed forever" (ועשה-חסד למשיחו לדוד ולזרעו עד-עולם).⁷ Put in other terms, 1 Sam 2 and

4. See A. Graeme Auld, *I and II Samuel: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 20.

5. Dietrich has developed the fascinating idea that two "Vor-Texte," once independent, had been worked together by a redactor: an ancient royal hymn on the one side and the prayer of a pious person in postexilic times on the other (Walter Dietrich, *1 Samuel 1–12*, BKAT 8.1 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2010], 78–82). Anneli Aejmelaeus calls the poem a "Deuteronomistic composition" (Aejmelaeus, "Hannah's Psalm: Text, Composition, and Redaction," in *Houses Full of All Good Things: Essays in Memory of Timo Veijola*, ed. Juha Pakkala and Martti Nissinen, PFES 95 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008], 376). Mathys tends to a later dating and calls 1 Sam 2:1–10 "postdeuteronomistic" ("nachdeuteronomistisch") (Mathys, *Dichter und Beter*, 126).

6. On the intratextual links with 2 Sam 22, see, e.g., Erik Eynikel, "Das Lied der Hanna (1 Sam 2, 1–11) und das Lied Davids (2 Sam 22): Ein Vergleich," in *For and Against David: Story and History in the Books of Samuel*, ed. A. Graeme Auld and Erik Eynikel, BETL 232 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 57–72; Dietrich, *1 Samuel 1–12*, 73–74.

7. Unless otherwise noted, all biblical translations are mine.

2 Sam 22 create what we know by the name of the books of Samuel or the Samuel scroll.

Second, with this outlook on an anointed king yet to come, Hannah reveals herself to be a prophetess or to be filled with a prophetic spirit in this special moment.⁸

Third, especially in the postbiblical Jewish reception history, Hannah serves as a role model of how to pray.⁹ Commonly, this appraisal is not credited to her psalm but to her first, silent prayer in front of Eli. It may be a worthwhile endeavor, however, to take a look at the song of chapter 2 in its closer narrative context in chapter 1. From this point of view, both of her prayers, the silent one and the spoken one, appear to be closely connected.

Without a doubt, the literary history of 1 Sam 1–2 is complex and multilayered. To tell a long story short, I would suggest that its origins lie in a concise story of the miraculous birth of Samuel, with its core in something like 1 Sam 1:1–2, 5bβ, 7b, 8–9, (10a?), 10b, 13b, 14–15, 17a(b?), 18a(?), 18b–20; 3, 19α.¹⁰

Hannah, a childless woman, prays to YHWH, and her prayer—which is not yet necessarily a silent one—is answered: she gives birth to a son. Several aspects of her prayer are explained and expanded in the course of the story's literary development: 1:12–13a, for example, deals with the question of why Eli reacted so harshly to her intense praying and crying. While this is not explicitly stated, it might be that he was offended because

8. See Dietrich, *1 Sam 1–12*, 97.

9. See Dietrich, *1 Sam 1–12*, 58; see also Leila L. Bronner, "Hannah's Prayer: Rabbinic Ambivalence," *Shofar* 17 (1999): 41–43, referring, inter alia, to y. Ber. 4:1; b. Ber. 31a; b. Yoma 73a–b.

10. I used to advocate a somewhat more extensive basic layer, such as 1:1–3a, 4, 5, 7α.a, 8–10, 12–15, 17–20; 3, 19α. See Hannes Bezzel, *Saul: Israels König in Tradition, Redaktion und früherer Rezeption*, FAT 97 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 182–91. What made me change my mind was my reconsideration of the arguments put forth by Peter Porzig and Ernst Axel Knauf, especially regarding the tenses and some "suspicious" designations, such as אלהי ישראל in 1:17b, whose instances would not point "toward the oldest times" ("nicht unbedingt in früheste Zeit") (Porzig, *Die Lade im Alten Testament und in den Texten vom Toten Meer*, BZAW 397 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009], 114–15, quote at 115, n. 53; Knauf, "Samuel among the Prophets: 'Prophetical Redactions'" in *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History*, ed. Cynthia Edenburg and Juha Pakkala, SBLAIL 16 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013], 149–69).

Hannah emphasized her prayer with some physical gesture. While our assumed basic layer in 1:10b, 13b, 14 suggests that it was some kind of loud disorderly conduct that gave the priest the impression of an uncontrolled and inebriated woman, 1:12–13a clearly state that Hannah behaved decently. She was muttering silently, and what gave rise to Eli's mistaken reproach was the mute moving of her lips. With this, Hannah is on her way to becoming the paradigm for an ideal supplicant. Verse 18a, as well as verse 16—a doublet to the preceding verse—emphasize her pious and humble character. Porzig speaks of “eine regelrechte Niedrigkeitsredaktion,” and he does so with good reason.¹¹ In the end, Hannah represents “a curious combination of assertiveness and humility.”¹²

The addition of 1:11 illustrates that once Hannah's prayer was silent, later readers and editors were not satisfied but wanted to know more. Out of Hanna's own statement toward Eli that she was not drunk, they created a vow referring to the unborn child, making Samuel a Nazirite and establishing a link to the Samson story (see Judg 13:7).¹³

In another step, the character of the fertile Peninnah is developed not only as a counterpart to the seemingly barren Hannah but also as the latter's rival in 1:5–7, especially in 1:6. A new motif, Peninnah's mockery, is added to the story—at least in the masoretic version of the text. The LXX^B does not mention this mockery, neither in verses 6 and 7 nor in verse 16. In both 1:6 and 1:7, the LXX translates the root כעס in a reflexive way, with Hannah, not Peninnah, as its subject: “she was disheartened” (καὶ ἡθύμει; 1:7). Verse 16 has no equivalent in the Greek version at all for the Hebrew כעס.

Textual and literary criticism intermingle at this point.¹⁴ Verse 6, a more or less obvious gloss, introduces Peninnah's rivalry—and clears the

11. Porzig, *Lade*, 114. He finds it in 1 Sam 1:7, 8, 16–18. His observations cannot be denied. They do not, however, affect the entire range of the verses mentioned. Furthermore, I would think that some pieces of these verses are indispensable to the basic layer of the story.

12. Bronner, “Hannah's Prayer,” 37.

13. It can nicely be seen how Samuel's character as a Nazirite became more and more elaborated in the course of later reworking and rewriting: the LXX has an addition in 1 Sam 1:11 that is clearly inspired by Num 6:3, and 4Q51 (alias 4QSam^a) makes Samuel a Nazirite for life in 1:22. See also Sir 46:13 (in the Hebrew, not in the Greek version), according to which Samuel was a “Nazirite of YHWH in prophecy” (נויר ייי (בגבוואה). See Bezzel, *Saul*, 184, n. 141.

14. For a detailed description of the problem, see Bezzel, *Saul*, 188–90.

way for a new understanding of Hannah's grief.¹⁵ It is due not only to her seeming barrenness but also to the hostilities she has to endure at the hands of her enemy. This kind of mockery or trouble, טעם, in those instances in the Psalter where it does not describe in Deuteronomistic manner the anger of God (see Ps 78:58; 106:29), is the work of the wicked enemies of the supplicant or the result of their evildoing (see Pss 6:8; 10:14; 31:8).¹⁶ With Peninnah constantly mocking Hannah, the latter's prayer appears not only to be a plea for a child but also a lament about unjust persecution by an enemy, a *Feindklage*.

The result of these and other *Fortschreibungen* of Samuel's birth narrative—or, that is to say, of the story of Hannah's answered prayer—is a multilayered and complex text. But however chaotic its history may be, evolving from several additions driven by various intentions at least partly unrelated to each other, there is something like a final form, and it appears to be well structured.¹⁷ Taken together, 1 Sam 1–2 can be understood as a kind of individual lament in narrative guise.¹⁸ The crucial elements of the genre, as identified classically by Hermann Gunkel and Joachim Begrich, are recognizable—albeit narratively transformed.¹⁹

Without an invocation of the deity (due to the narrative character of the passage), 1 Sam 1 starts with a depiction of Hannah's distress (1:1–8), namely, her infertility and her oppression by her rival, the latter expressed by means of the rather rare root טעם, as in Pss 6:8; 10:14; 31:10 for the supplicant's distress.

The next verses include Hannah's plea for salvation (1:10–13), followed by a declaration of her innocence (1:15–16)—taken with a grain of salt—which she is forced to produce by Eli, the priest: “I am not drunk.” Verse 17 brings about the change typical for the genre, and Eli's blessing “go in peace” (לכי לשלום) appears to be the salvation oracle—and ironically, it is presented in precisely the context of an individual lament that Gunkel and

15. On 1 Sam 1:6 as a gloss, see, e.g., Hans Joachim Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis*, KAT 8.1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1973), 91, 96.

16. See Bezzel, *Saul*, 181–82.

17. As the reference to the different versions of the MT and the LXX in 1:6, 7, 17 and 4Q51 exemplarily reveals, this so-called final form exists only in the plurality of several appearances.

18. For the following, see also Bezzel, *Saul*, 181–82.

19. See Hermann Gunkel and Joachim Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen: Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, 4th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 212–51.

Begrich postulated for its *Sitz im Leben*.²⁰ Hannah's mood changes accordingly in 1:18: "Her features were no longer (like they were before)."²¹

One element of the individual lament is still missing: the vow of praise. But in the very position where one would expect such a vow, the text states that Hannah does exactly what the supplicant of the Psalter promises: she pays her vow and donates her boy to the sanctuary (1:21–28). From this perspective, chapter 2 is the natural continuation of chapter 1: Hannah's plea has been answered; now she reacts with a psalm of thanksgiving (which, as is well known, in 1 Sam 2 transcends the limitations of the genre by far).

To sum up: the development of Hannah's character as a praying woman begins with 1 Sam 1:10b, 13b. She prays and cries, presumably loudly, before YHWH, and Eli the priest regards her as drunk. Nevertheless, her prayer will be answered. As a result, Hannah, the literary character, was able to serve as an exemplar of successful praying. Step by step, certain features were added to her story with the purpose of demonstrating what would make up a successful prayer according to the views of the scribes who rewrote the chapters in postexilic times. These characteristics were a true vow, decent conduct, and, more and more, humbleness. From the perspective of some kind of *Armenfrömmigkeit*, this last aspect would implicate hostilities by the wicked, a part Peninnah was ready to play. In the masoretic version of 1 Samuel, her behavior is even more pronounced than in the LXX. This indicates that the "psalmification" of the narrative in 1 Sam 1 still continued after the separation of the two textual lines. Thus on the one hand, Hannah becomes something like another role model for the poor and humble pious. On the other hand, the great thanksgiving psalm in 1 Sam 2 is added to the story, depicting Hannah as a self-assured prophetess. These two images, however, are not contradictory but complementary: no one but the poor and the humble righteous see themselves as addressees of the prophetic revelation.

3. Hannah's Prayers in Pseudo-Philo

Let us now look at Hannah and her prayers in Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*. Pseudo-Philo, whoever he (or she) was, must have

20. See Gunkel and Begrich, *Einleitung*, 243–47, esp. 246–47.

21. The translation of the singular and difficult phrase ופניה לא־היו־לָהּ עוֹד follows Dietrich, *1 Sam 1–12*, 20.

regarded the first chapters of the books of Samuel as quite important. In his rewritten Bible, the *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, most probably to be dated to the end of the first century CE, he gave some attention to them.²² While Josephus, his contemporary, mentions only Hannah's plea "to give her progeny and make her a mother" (δοῦναι γονῆν αὐτῇ καὶ ποιῆσαι μητέρα; A.J. 5.344²³) and leaves the song of 1 Sam 2:1–10 totally aside, *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* reports both her supplication in the presence of Eli and her thanksgiving song in an expanded form.

Her silent prayer, which in 1 Sam 1:11 is secondarily presented as a vow with the structure "if you give me, I will give you," is turned into a plea beginning with a statement of complete submission to the divine will: "Did you not, Lord, examine the heart of all generations before you formed the world? Now what womb is born opened or dies closed unless you wish it?"²⁴ This alteration may bear witness to a skeptical attitude toward vows

22. *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* is dated between the first century BCE and the end of the first century CE, with early daters locating the document before the destruction of the Second Temple and late daters afterward. On the dating, see Jean Hadot, "Le milieu d'origine du 'Liber antiquitatum biblicarum,'" in *La littérature intertestamentaire: Colloque de Strasbourg (17–19 octobre 1983)*, ed. André Caquot, BCESS (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), 163. For early daters, see, among others, Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Introduction Littéraire," in *Introduction Littéraire, Commentaire et Index*, vol. 2 of *Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques*, ed. Charles Perrot and Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, SC 230 (Paris: Cerf, 1976), 74. For late daters, see, e.g., Louis Feldman, "Prolegomenon," in *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo: Now First Translated from the Old Latin Version*, ed. Montague R. James, 2nd ed., LBS (New York: Ktav, 1971), xxviii–xxxii; Christian Dietzfelbinger, *Pseudo-Philo: Antiquitates Biblicae (Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum)*, 2nd ed., JSRHZ 2.2 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1979), 95–96. For a further overview of introductory matters, see Jacobson, *Commentary*, 195–280; Gerbern S. Oegema, "Pseudo-Philo: Antiquitates biblicae (Liber antiquitatum biblicarum)" in *Einführung zu den Jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit: Unterweisung in erzählender Form*, JSRHZ 6.1.2 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005), 66–77.

23. English translation according to Christopher Begg, *Judean Antiquities Books 5–7: Translation and Commentary*, FJTC 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 87. For an interpretation of the overall portrayal of Hannah by Josephus, see Cheryl A. Brown, *No Longer Be Silent: First Century Jewish Portraits of Biblical Women; Studies in Pseudo-Philo's Biblical Antiquities and Josephus's Jewish Antiquities*, GBT (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 163–73.

24. LAB 50:4: "Nonne tu Domine inspeculatus es cor omnium generationum, antequam plasmares seculum? Que autem metra aperta nascitur, aut que clausa moritur, nisi tu volueris?" Latin quotations of *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* are all

in general, but it demonstrates Pseudo-Philo's concept of predetermination, which in some cases (although not in this one) tends to be at strife with his idea of consequent divine retribution.²⁵ In any case, it can be seen how the tendency to stress Hannah's piety, understood as her humbleness, which we observed in the redaction history of 1 Sam 1, is picked up and continued by Pseudo-Philo. Hannah's loud weeping has been turned into a silent prayer, explained as a vow of a woman who designates herself as a humble handmaid. Now, although she is pleading, she is humbleness personified, stating that she totally resigns herself to the prescient will of God. The reason why she prays silently follows from her modesty and piety as well—she wants to prevent anyone hearing her from seeing her action as blasphemy in case her prayer might stay unanswered in the end, if she might be found unworthy by God: “Ne forte non sim digna exaudiri” (LAB 50:5). In this way, as Erich S. Gruen points out, stressing Hannah's piety dialectically comes dangerously close to doubting God's reliability: “Even the most faithful have reason to question the efficacy of reliance on the Lord.”²⁶

In a recent publication, Benjamin J. Lappenga wants to stress another aspect of Hannah's piety in the context of her silent prayer. In LAB 50:5, the first reason given is not her concern about potential blasphemy of other people but her apprehension of further mockery by Peninnah: “and it will be that Peninnah, even more railing against me, will taunt me.”²⁷ Lappenga's theory is that Hannah with her silent prayer, as an antithesis to the “zelans” Peninnah, gives an example of better zealotry and challenges the idea of militant zealous action as pleasing to God.²⁸ For this, Lappenga

according to Daniel J. Harrington, *Introduction et Texte Critique*, vol. 1 of *Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques*, SC 229 (Paris: Cerf, 1976). For textual problems of *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* in general, especially the relation between the Δ and Π families of the manuscripts, see Jacobson, *Commentary*, 257–73. All translations of *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, unless otherwise specified, are according to Jacobson, *Commentary*.

25. See Jacobson, *Commentary*, 1089, with reference to LAB 18:4; 21:2, 7.

26. Erich S. Gruen, “Subversive Elements in Pseudo-Philo,” in *Constructs of Identity in Hellenistic Judaism: Essays on Early Jewish Literature and History*, DCLS 29 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 478.

27. “Et erit ut plus me zelans impropere mihi Fenenna”; Jacobson understands *plus* as belonging to *impropere*: “will mock me more” (*Commentary*, 176).

28. See Benjamin J. Lappenga, “‘Speak, Hannah, and Do Not Be Silent’: Pseudo-

starts from a “monosemic bias,”²⁹ meaning that “we view all instances of *zelo/zelus* together, rather than treating them as distinct lexical inputs from separate domains.”³⁰ It is not least this very method, as well as Lappenga’s comprehensive survey of the usage of the words *zelare* and *zelus* in *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, that makes me question his result.

First, using *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, we are working with a translation—probably even the translation of a translation.³¹ It is rather uncertain whether in an assumed Hebrew original we would have found the same root in every instance where we read *zelare* in Latin, such as זקן. In our case, Pseudo-Philo might as well have taken the root כעץ over from his *Vorlage*. Even if it is plausible that *zelare* was translated from זקן, we just cannot know.

Second, and more importantly, Hannah’s activities are in no instance labeled “zealous.” Lappenga’s chart of comparable instances of the connection “divine command—zealous action—intercessory prayer—divine acceptance”³² illustrates perfectly that in LAB 50–51 the case is totally different from Moses or Phinehas. The pattern just does not fit.

Third, as obvious as Hannah and Peninnah are pictured as opposites with the pious woman here and the wicked woman there, I cannot see how *zelare* in 50:5 would serve to emphasize this contrast. Within the pragmatics of the respective sentence, Peninnah’s zeal does not work as a background of or contrast to the “better zeal” of Hannah’s silent prayer. It provides its motivation: Hannah fears Peninnah’s zeal in case she is not answered by God.

As to Hannah’s thanksgiving psalm itself, it differs strongly from the version given by 1 Sam 2. Marc Philonenko has regarded it as “une exégèse bien qoumrânienne du cantique d’Anne.”³³ Nowadays, one would certainly be more careful with the use of the adjective “qumranic,” but nevertheless the appellation “exegesis” certainly grasps the character of the piece cor-

Philo’s Deconstruction of Violence in *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* 50–51,” *JSP* 25 (2015): 91–110.

29. Lappenga, “Speak, Hannah,” 95.

30. Lappenga, “Speak, Hannah,” 96 (emphasis original).

31. See Dietzfelbinger, *Pseudo-Philo*, 92.

32. Lappenga, “Speak, Hannah,” 106.

33. Marc Philonenko, “Une paraphrase du cantique d’Anne,” *RHPR* 42 (1962):

rectly. It may be that LAB 51 “has little to do with 1 Sam 2”³⁴ at first glance. But it clearly is based on it, taking up keywords and key phrases from its *Vorlage*, quite similar in its way of reworking and rewriting to the way Targum Jonathan deals with the same text.³⁵

What is stressed is first and foremost the prophetic character of the piece.³⁶ We have seen above that with the expectation of an anointed one yet to come and his reign in 1 Sam 2:10, which is mirrored in 2 Sam 22:51, the focus is set on David. Now, in *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, Hannah’s sight reaches a great deal farther than just until David, who is by no means neglected: “until they will give the horn to his anointed one, and the power of the throne of his kin will be present.”³⁷ Targum Jonathan is even more explicit in this context. Here the anointed one clearly means the messiah: “and he will magnify the kingdom of his anointed one” (וירבי מלכות משיחיה) concludes here a passage describing the eventual destruction of Gog.³⁸

Nevertheless, based on 1 Sam 2:6, “YHWH kills and brings to life, he brings down to sheol and raises up” (יהוה ממית ומחיה מוריד שאול ויעל), together with 2:10a, “YHWH will judge the ends of the earth” (יהוה ידין), some eschatological clarifications can be found in *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, too:

For the Lord kills with righteous judgement, and brings to life with mercy. For the unjust exist in this world, but he brings the just to life

34. “Der folgende Hymnus hat mit 1 Sam 2 nur wenig zu tun” (Dietzfelbinger, *Pseudo-Philo*, 237).

35. See Jacobson, *Commentary*, 1098–99.

36. See Targum Jonathan, where it is in 1 Sam 2:1 explicitly stated that Hannah sang her song “in a spirit of prophecy” (ברוח נבואה).

37. LAB 51:6: “quousque dent cornu christo suo, et aderit potentia thronis regis eius.” As in 1 Sam 2:10, it is possible to understand this as a reference to Saul in LAB 51:6 (see Jacobson, *Commentary*, 1107), but the overall picture of Saul as drawn in *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* makes me think otherwise. Frederick J. Murphy does not see here any reference to “any other than the earthly Israelite monarch” (Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993], 193, 260–61). Given the eschatological character of Hannah’s psalm in *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, I would rather doubt that.

38. See Klaus Koch, “Das apokalyptische Lied der Profetin Hanna: 1 Sam 2, 1–10 im Targum,” in *Die aramäische Rezeption der hebräischen Bibel: Studien zur Targumik und Apokalyptik*, vol. 4 of *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 146–47.

when he wishes. The unjust he will shut up in darkness, but for the just he saves his light. When the unjust have died, then they will perish. After the just have slept, then they will be delivered. So will every judgement endure, until he who holds power be revealed.³⁹

Key words such as *life*, *death*, and *judgment* are taken up and expanded into little treatises about a certain subject; this is a typical technique of biblical rewriting, innerbiblically as well as extrabiblically. In this way, Hannah appears to be not only a prophetess but also a bearer of apocalyptic knowledge concerning the end of days and the final fate of the just and the wicked.

Another method of reworking is subtler and harder to detect than the classical addition: the transformation of what was a poetical saying in the *Vorlage* into a little scene. This can be found when we take a closer look at Peninnah's mockery. In 1 Sam 1, it is only stated that Peninnah provoked Hannah, and this is mentioned twice, in 1:6 and in 1:7—in the Masoretic version of the story, as we have seen above, not in the LXX. Pseudo-Philo knows more. Not only does he report the fact of her "railing" (*improperare*; LAB 50:1, 2; see 50:5); he also knows how Peninnah did so. On the second occasion, she uses a kind of sapiential saying for her mean purpose, when she states, "A wife is not beloved even if her husband loves her or her beauty. Let Hannah not glory in her appearance; but she who glories, let her glory when she sees her offspring before her."⁴⁰ Following this, as an example to support her argumentation, she cites Rachel, whose being loved by Jacob would have been without any use. Obviously, the first part of Peninnah's defamatory speech refers to 1 Sam 1:5 (Elkanah loved Hannah, not Peninnah). Hannah's beauty is a piece of information that is special to Pseudo-Philo and associates her once more with her sister-in-fate, Rachel (see Gen 29:17).⁴¹ The third part of the statement, however, sounds familiar—to everybody who knows Paul's First Letter to

39. LAB 51:5: Quia Dominus mortificat in iudicio, et vivificat in misericordia. Quoniam iniqui sunt in hoc seculo, et vivificat iustos cum vult. Iniquos autem concludet in tenebris, nam iustis conservat lumen suum. Et cum mortui fuerint iniqui tunc peribunt, et cum dormierint iusti tunc liberabuntur. Sic autem omne iudicium permanebit, quousque reveletur qui tenet.

40. "Non est dilectus mulieris, si diligat eam vir eius aut pulchritudinem illius. Ne gloriatur in specie sua Anna, sed qui gloriatur gloriatur cum videt semen suum ante conspectum suum"; LAB 50:2

41. See Jacobson, *Commentary*, 1086; see also Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo*, 189.

the Corinthians: ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω (“Let him who boasts boast in the Lord”; 1:31) The apostle refers to this as a quotation from, or rather an allusion to, Scripture, where, of course, the relevant passage can be found in Jer 9:22–23 (9:23–24 LXX). But as is well known, the LXX version of 1 Sam 2 has a similar though slightly different sapiential maxim in the mouth of Hannah, in 1 Sam 2:10 (LXX^B), and with all necessary carefulness regarding the reconstruction by Frank Moore Cross and Eugene Ulrich, it can be said that a few consonants of it might have been preserved in 4Q51, too.⁴² Considering the space in this scroll that must have been taken up by no longer existent text, “it would be a curious coincidence if the expansion in 4QSam^a would not have contained the plus in the Septuagint.”⁴³

As Louis Feldman has already noted, Pseudo-Philo’s Peninnah clearly refers to this dictum, and whatever the literary relationship between 1 Sam 2 LXX and Jer 9 may be, she most likely does so with Hannah’s song in mind and not as an objection to Jeremiah, the prophet.⁴⁴

Peninnah’s allusion to Hannah’s psalm according to its LXX version is interesting in several respects. From an analytical perspective, it demonstrates that Pseudo-Philo, who according to most scholars probably wrote his book in Hebrew or Aramaic, had in mind or in his hands a version of the Samuel scroll that, at least in this passage, was closer to the LXX than to the protomasoretic version of the book. On the other hand, he knew a tradition that included the aspect of Peninnah’s mockery—a motif that is alien to the LXX. In this respect, he at least read טעב in his version of the Samuel scroll more in a protomasoretic way than did the LXX translators.⁴⁵

42. See Frank Moore Cross et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1–2 Samuel*, DJD 17 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 30–37 and pl. 2.

43. Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Hannah’s Psalm in 4QSam^a,” in *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel: The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History*, ed. Philippe Hugo and Adrian Schenker, VTSup 132 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 35.

44. See Feldman, “Prolegomenon,” cxxx; Jacobson, *Commentary*, 1086–87. Dietrich argues that the aphorism would not have found its way into one of the first-century CE adaptations of Hannah’s psalm: “In den um die Zeitenwende entstandenen Nachdichtungen des Hanna-Liedes ... fehlt jegliche Erwähnung des G-Plus in 1 Sam 2, 10” (Dietrich, *1 Samuel 1–12*, 97). For a summary of the discussion on 1 Sam 2 LXX and Jer 9, see Dietrich, *1 Sam 1–12*, 96–97.

45. On the question of Pseudo-Philo’s *Vorlage*, see Feldman, “Prolegomenon,” xxx–xxxii; Jacobson, *Commentary*, 254–56.

But above that, his way of dealing with his *Vorlage* is worth an interpretation. He takes Hannah's saying on boasting and puts it—contradicted—into the mouth of her adversary. Everybody who knows the biblical, that is, in this case the LXX^B or 4Q51, version of Hannah's song will know immediately not only that what Peninnah states will be proven to be wrong, and very soon, but also that her words are foolish and presumptuous at best. But *only* the person who knows the biblical text will be able to grasp that hint. For a full understanding of Pseudo-Philo's rewritten Bible, one must know the *Vorlage* quite well. Or put in other terms: the biblical Samuel Scroll is always present even where it is not quoted literally, and even where Pseudo-Philo knows details of which his source is totally silent.

The phrase *qui gloriatur gloriatur* appears in Liber antiquitatum biblicarum only in the context of Peninnah's mockery, but it nevertheless has its direct counterpart in Hannah's hymn. It can be found connected with the admonition of 1 Sam 2:3, "do not talk so very proudly, let no arrogance come forth from your mouth" (אל-תרבו תדברו גבהה גבהה יצא עתק מפיכם), "but," so Pseudo-Philo says, "delight in praise, for the light from which wisdom will be born will come forth, that not those who possess many things will be called rich, nor those who have borne in abundance will be called mothers,"⁴⁶ followed by 1 Sam 2:5.

Taken together, by the issue of "boasting," the contrast between Peninnah and Hannah is sharpened and put onto a different level. In 1 Sam 1–2, Peninnah is mean, while Hannah is unhappy but pious. According to Pseudo-Philo, Peninnah is also foolish, while Hannah is wise.⁴⁷ And even more: Hannah's wisdom includes the things to come, with the final judgment of the good and the bad, between the *iusti* and the *iniqui*, the צדקים and the רשעים.⁴⁸ With Peninnah's statement that appropriate boasting should be seen in the self-glorification of a fertile woman—and, as one

46. LAB 51:4: "sed delectamini in gloriationem. Dum enim exiet lumen ex quo nascetur sapientia, ut non qui possident plurima dicantur divites, sed que pepererunt in abundantia matres audient."

47. Accordingly, Hannah's song in LAB 51:3 opens up like a typical wisdom speech with a call to attention, *Aufmerksamkeitsruf*. On the wisdom motif in this context, see Brown, *No Longer Be Silent*, 158.

48. Brown also observes the development of the taunting motif by Pseudo-Philo as a means of depicting Hannah as righteous (see Brown, *No Longer Be Silent*, 145, 151).

must add with 1 Sam 2 LXX in mind, *not* in understanding and knowing the Lord—she reveals herself to be a representative of precisely these wicked people. As a further confirmation of her character, she explicitly associates herself with the enemies of the pious supplicant of the Psalter when she—as Hannah fears that she might do—joins in *their* mockery, saying, “Where is your god in whom you trust.”⁴⁹ By putting the words of Ps 42:4, 11 into Peninnah’s mouth, the psalmification of the narrative of 1 Sam 1–2 continues. While in 1 Sam 1:6 and 1:7 Peninnah was described in the style of a typical enemy of a psalm of lamentation, in *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* she even makes these enemies’ words their own.

This sheds further light on the contrast between life and death that is interwoven throughout the entire passage. At first glance, Peninnah, the fertile woman, seems to be on the life side, while Hannah, the barren one, is on the other. But Peninnah’s wicked words, along with Samuel’s birth interpreted as a symbol of divine truth, makes things turn. *Sub specie aeternitatis*, Peninnah represents the foolish and wicked people destined to eternal death, while Hannah stands for the wise and pious who in the end will be woken up to eternal living.

4. Conclusion

Taken together, it can be seen in Hannah’s prayers in *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* that Pseudo-Philo understood his biblical *Vorlage* with a sensitive intuition for its literary history. In his rewriting of the history of Israel, several aspects and tendencies that determined the diachronic development of 1 Sam 1–2 are taken up and continued. This can be summarized in four points.

First, there is what we called above psalmification. In 1 Sam 1, the story of Hannah’s answered prayer is developed step by step along the lines of an individual lamentation psalm, with Peninnah increasingly assuming the role of a typical supplicant’s enemy. In *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, she is ready to play this part even better by taking on a speaking role, quoting Ps 42:4, 11.

Second, the redaction history of 1 Sam 1–2 results in a twofold image of Hannah mirrored in both of her prayers. Again, both sides of her persona are expanded in *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*. There is, for one,

49. LAB 50:5: “ubi Deus tuus in quo confidis”; see Ps 42:4, 11.

the humble and pious woman who utters her plea silently in 1 Sam 1:13. Pseudo-Philo exaggerates Hannah's piety so that it almost turns into its opposite: his Hannah prays silently in order to avoid a charge of blasphemy from anyone overhearing, in case she might not be answered by God (LAB 50:5). On the one hand, she is extremely pious, totally deferring to the will of God; on the other hand, this comes close to doubting God's willingness or power to intervene on her behalf.

Third, there is Hannah, the confident and self-assured singer of the hymn in 1 Sam 2. After the birth of her son Samuel, she reveals herself as a wise theologian and a true prophetess— *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* makes her a bearer of apocalyptic wisdom. In *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, Hannah is not the only woman filled with a prophetic spirit: Melcha, the biblically unknown wife of Reu (see Gen 11:20) prophesies Abraham's birth in LAB 4:11, Miriam dreams about the future task of her yet unborn brother Moses in LAB 9:10, and Deborah is pictured as a veritable seer in LAB 31:1, when she calls Barak to battle; Hannah's sight, however, reaches farthest.

Fourth, together with its counterpart in 2 Sam 22, Hannah's song in 1 Sam 2 can be seen as part of the redactional tendency to structure the narrative books by means of inserting prayers at important moments, such as the dawn of kingship in Israel. In this series of inserted prayers, Hannah is the only female person praying. Pseudo-Philo takes over the biblical usage, but, again, he does not leave it at that. Aside from Hannah, there are additional women praying: In LAB 31:5, 7, Jael prays before killing Sisera—similar to Judith in Jdt 13:4.⁵⁰ Finally, Eluma, the wife of Manoah, who is biblically not known by name, finds herself in a similar situation to Hannah—and, in addition to what is known of her out of Judg 13, she behaves similarly. In LAB 42:2, she prays, demanding from God to know the reason for her or her husband's infertility. She is, as one might say, in *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* modeled on Hannah, her narrative successor.

It was said above that in parts of the rabbinic literature, the story of Hannah in 1 Sam 1–2 served as a paradigm for how to pray. Her female fellow supplicants, like Jael and especially Eluma, elucidate that already in *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*—as well as in the masoretic version of the biblical text, Hannah has come very close to becoming a role model—for female and male supplicants alike.

50. See Dietzfelbinger, *Pseudo-Philo*, 192.

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