

XVII CONGRESS OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR  
SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES

SBL Press

# Septuagint and Cognate Studies

Martin Rösel, General Editor

*Editorial Board:*

Arie van der Kooij

Gideon R. Kotzé

Siegfried Kreuzer

Daniela Scialabba

Benjamin G. Wright III

Number 76

SBL Press



XVII CONGRESS OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR  
SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES

Aberdeen, 2019

*Edited by*

Gideon R. Kotzé, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Rösel

SBL Press



**SBL PRESS**

**Atlanta**

Copyright © 2022 by SBL Press

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to the Rights and Permissions Office, SBL Press, 825 Houston Mill Road, Atlanta, GA 30329 USA.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2022942930

SBL Press

# Contents

Abbreviations .....	ix
Introduction	
Gideon R. Kotzé, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Rösel.....	1
Part 1. Textual History	
The Armenian Redaction of Esther: A Late Antique Christian Reading of a Hellenistic Jewish Text	
S. Peter Cowe .....	19
Barthélemy's Kaige Subgroup: Does It Exist?	
Dries De Crom .....	41
The Complete Reconstruction and Edition of the Coptic-Sahidic Old Testament and Its Relevance for the Textual History of the Septuagint	
Frank Feder .....	61
The Original Language of the Book of Judith: A Comparison with the Vulgate	
Giulia Leonardi.....	89
Paratextual Features of Deuteronomion and Their Interpretive Significance	
Douglas C. Mohrmann.....	113
Exegetical Substitutions in Theodotion Daniel	
Daniel Olariou .....	131
Part 2. Historical Context	
Legal Principles and Torah Stipulations: Jewish Legal Reasoning in Hellenistic Egypt	
Robert Kugler.....	167

The Rhetorical Function of Judith Nathan LaMontagne .....	187
Whose God Protects Whom? LXX Exodus 15:3 against the background of Isis Worship in Ptolemaic Egypt Luke Neubert .....	199
King-Physician: The Medical Metaphor in the Greek Translations of Proverbs 24 Vladimir Olivero .....	229
The Septuagint and the History of Marriage Gifts in Early Jewish Law Jelle Verburg.....	239
Part 3. Syntax and Semantics	
<i>Animalia in Libro Iob</i> : The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Animal Names in LXX Job Bryan Beekman .....	255
Observations on the Vocabulary of Epiphanic Revelation in the LXX and in Jewish-Hellenistic Literature Eberhard Bons .....	285
The Greek of Wisdom: Natural Usage and Septuagintal Influence Ryan Comins.....	301
Interpreting ἄγω and Its Compounds in the Septuagint: A Semantic, Syntactic, and Lexical Study Paul L. Danove.....	317
Die Wortgruppe Glaube/Treue in der Septuaginta und bei Philon von Alexandria Martin Meiser .....	337
Fear and Loathing in Alexandria? Abominable Words in the Septuagint Pentateuch and Disgust Theory Alison Salvesen.....	359
Considerations on the Use of σέβουμαι in the Septuagint and in Jewish-Hellenistic Literature Daniela Scialabba .....	377

## Part 4. Exegesis and Theology

Καταπέτασμα in Exodus and Hebrews: A Reevaluation of the Inner and the Outer Veil Elena Belenkaja.....	395
About the Translation of the Verb שׁוּב in the Septuagint of the Book of Ruth Beatrice Bonanno .....	429
Antiochus's Confession in 2 Maccabees 9:12: Text, Translation, and A Possible Homeric Allusion Crispin Fletcher-Louis.....	451
The Intention of the Translator and Theology in the Septuagint W. Edward Glenny .....	473
Revisiting the Debated Readings in LXX Lamentations 3:47 Gideon R. Kotzé .....	499
The Platonic Influence in the Passages on Soul in the Wisdom of Solomon Ekaterina Matusova .....	517
The Names of the Pillars of the First Temple and Their Meaning in the MT and Greek Textual Tradition (1 Kgs 7.21 // 3 Kgdms 7.7) Daniel Prokop.....	545
Status and Function of the Levites in Ezekiel 44:9–15 according to the Different Textual Traditions of the Book of Ezekiel Martin Tscheu.....	559

## Part 5. Commentary

Challenges in Translating the Psalms of Solomon for the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint Kenneth Atkinson .....	581
Dictionary versus Encyclopedia: Framing the Petition for a Lawgiver at LXX Psalm 9.21 Cameron Boyd-Taylor .....	607

How the Translator of Old Greek Job Understood Job's Suffering Claude Cox.....	635
Durative Forms in Narrative in Paraleipomenon: Semantically Constrained or Target Language Sensitivity in Discourse? Roger Good.....	665
Iakob at the Iabok: Exegetical Observations Concerning a Pericope of Septuagint Genesis 32 Robert J. V. Hiebert.....	697
Singing with Moses in Greek: An Examination of LXX Deuteronomy 32 from the Perspective of Its Production Jean Maurais.....	715
The Task of the Translator: The Study of the Old Greek Translation of the Book of Joshua in Light of Contemporary Translations Michaël N. van der Meer.....	739
A Commentary to the Septuagint of 2 Samuel 1:1–10 Leonardo Pessoa da Silva Pinto.....	773
Contributors.....	789
Ancient Sources Index.....	791
Septuagint (Hebrew Bible)	791
Ancient Near Eastern Texts	814
Inscriptions and Documentary Papyri	814
Second Temple Literature	816
New Testament	820
Rabbinic Writings	822
Ancient Christian Texts	822
Greco-Roman Authors	822
Modern Authors Index.....	828



## Abbreviations

<i>1 Steph.</i>	Demosthenes, <i>In Stephanum i–ii</i>
AA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
AASF	Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AB	Anchor Yale Bible
<i>Abr.</i>	Philo, <i>De Abrahamo</i>
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
ACEBTSup	Supplements to Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese van de Bijbel en zijn Tradities
<i>Aeg</i>	<i>Aegyptus</i>
<i>Aen.</i>	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i>
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
AF	Archäologische Forschungen
<i>AfP</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i>
<i>Ages.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Agesilaus</i>
<i>Agr.</i>	Philo, <i>De agricultura</i>
<i>A.J.</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates judaicae</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>Alex.</i>	Lucian, <i>Alexander</i> ; Lycophron, <i>Alexandra</i> ; Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i>
ALEX	Meeks, Dimitri, ed. <i>Année lexicographique: Egypte ancienne</i> . 3 vols. Paris: Cybele, 1980–1982.
<i>Alex. fort.</i>	Plutarch, <i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i>
<i>Am.</i>	Ovid, <i>Amores</i>
<i>Anab.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i>
<i>Anap. Bosp.</i>	Dionysius of Byzantium, <i>Anaploous Bosporou</i>
AnBib	Analecta biblica
<i>Andr.</i>	Euripides, <i>Andromache</i>
ANE	National Archaeological Museum
<i>Antid.</i>	Isocrates, <i>Antidosis</i>

AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
<i>Ant.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Antigone</i>
<i>Ant. rom.</i>	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Antiquitates romanae</i>
<i>Anth.</i>	Vettius Valens, <i>Anthologiae</i>
ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
ArBib	Aramaic Bible
ASAW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AT	Alpha Text of Esther
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
<i>Ax.</i>	Pseudo-Plato, <i>Axiochus</i>
b.	Babylonian Talmud
<i>Bacc.</i>	Euripides, <i>Bacchae</i>
BACE	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BdA	La Bible d'Alexandrie
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3rd ed. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999.
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1906.
BDF	Blass, F., A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BGU	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i> . 15 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895–1983.
BHQ	<i>Biblia Hebraica Quinta</i>
BHS	Elliger, Karl, et al. <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . 5th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1977.

<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>Bib.</i>	Apollodorus, <i>Bibliotheca</i>
<i>Bib. hist.</i>	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca historica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
<i>BibOr</i>	<i>Biblica et orientalia</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
BIOSCS	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
<i>B.J.</i>	Josephus, <i>Bellum judaicum</i>
BL Or	British Library Oriental Collection
<i>BSÉG</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève</i>
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
<i>Bus.</i>	Isocrates, <i>Busiris</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique
<i>Carm.</i>	Horace, <i>Carmina</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CC	Continental Commentary
CCTC	Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
<i>Cher.</i>	Philo, <i>De cherubim</i>
Chr.Mitt.	Mitteis, Ludwig, and Ulrich Wilcken. <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde II</i> . Leipzig: Teubner, 1912.
Chr.Wilck.	Wilcken, Ulrich. <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde I</i> . Leipzig: Teubner, 1912.
<i>Chron.Eg.</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CIJ	Frey, Jean-Baptiste, ed. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum</i> . 2 vols. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1936–1952.

- Comm. Am.* Jerome, *Commentariorum in Amos libri III*
- CMCL Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari
- ConBOT Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series
- ConCom Concordia Commentary
- Conf.* Philo, *De confusione linguarum*
- Congr.* Philo, *De congressu eruditionis gratia*
- CoptOTVMR Coptic Old Testament Virtual Manuscript Room
- Corb. Corbeiensis
- CPJ Tcherikover, Victor, and Alexander Fuks, ed. *Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964.
- CPR *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*
- Crat.* Plato, *Cratylus*
- CRINT Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
- CSCO Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
- Cyr.* Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*
- Cult. Fem.* Tertullian, *De cultu feminarum*
- DCH Clines, D. J. A., ed. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993–2016.
- DCLS Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
- Decal.* Philo, *De decalogo*
- Deipn.* Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*
- Desc.* Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio*
- Det.* Philo, *Quod deterius potiori insidari soleat*
- Deus* Philo, *Quod Deus sit immutabilis*
- DGE Adrados, Francisco R., and Juan Rodríguez Somolinos. *Diccionario Griego-Español*. Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Instituto de filología, 2011–. <http://dge.cchs.csic.es/xdge/>.
- DJD Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
- DK Diels, H. A., and W. Kranz. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1951–1952.
- DSI De Septuaginta Investigationes
- DULAT del Olmo Lete, G., and J. Sanmartín, ed. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. 2 vols. HdO 67. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- E Mammisi Chassinat, Émile Gaston. *Le mammisi d'Edfou*. Cairo: L'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1939.

EBib	Etudes bibliques
<i>Ebr.</i>	Philo, <i>De ebrietate</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Early Christianity</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	Strobaeus, <i>Eclogae</i>
ECM	Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
<i>El.</i>	Euripides, <i>Electra</i>
<i>Eleg.</i>	Theognis, <i>Elegies</i>
<i>Ep. Apoll.</i>	Philostratus, <i>Epistles of Apollonius</i>
<i>Epict. diss.</i>	Arrian, <i>Epicteti dissertationes</i>
<i>Euthyphr.</i>	Plato, <i>Euthyphro</i>
ESV	English Standard Version
<i>Fals. leg.</i>	Demosthenes, <i>De falsa legatione</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FGH	Jacoby, F., ed. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1923–.
<i>Fid.</i>	Dio Chrysostom, <i>De fide (Or. 73)</i>
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
frag.	Fragment
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>Fug.</i>	Philo, <i>De fuga et inventione</i>
GAT	Grundrisse zum Alten Testament
GE	Montanari, F., et al. <i>The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek</i> . Leiden: Brill, 2015.
GELS	Muraoka, T. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> . Louvain: Peeters, 2009.
<i>Geogr.</i>	Strabo, <i>Geography</i>
Ges <sup>18</sup>	Gesenius, W. <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörter- buch über das Alte Testament</i> . 18. Auflage. Heidelberg: Springer, 2013.
<i>Gig.</i>	Philo, <i>De gigantibus</i>
GKC	Gesenius, W. <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>Gorg.</i>	Plato, <i>Gorgias</i>

- HALOT Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- HAT Handbuch zum Alten Testament
- HBM Hebrew Bible Monographs
- HBS Herders biblische Studien
- HCOT Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
- HdO Handbuch der Orientalistik
- HeBAI *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel*
- Hell. Xenophon, *Hellenica*
- Her. Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*
- Hipp. Euripides, *Hippolytus*
- Hipp. maj. Plato, *Hippias major*
- Hist. Herodotus, *Historiae*; Polybius, *Historiae*
- Hist. an. Aristotle, *Historia animalium*
- Hist. Rom. Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*
- Hom. Philodemus, *De bono rege secundum Homerum*
- HRCS Hatch, E., and H. A. Redpath. *Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1897. Suppl., 1906.
- HS *Hebrew Studies*
- HSM Harvard Semitic Monographs
- HThKAT Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
- HTLS Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint
- HvTSt *Hervormde Teologiese Studies (HTS Teologiese Studies/HTS Theological Studies)*
- Hymn. Homer, Hymns
- Hymn. Jov. Callimachus, *Hymnus in Jovem*; Cleanthes, *Hymnus in Jovem*
- Iamb. Callimachus, *Iambi*
- IBHS Waltke, Bruce K., and Michael O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
- ICC International Critical Commentary
- Id. Theocritus, *Idyll*
- Il. Homer, *Iliad*
- IEryhtr Engelmann, Helmut, and Reinhold Merkelbach, eds. *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*. 2 vols. Bonn: Halbelt, 1972.

IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IGUR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i>
I.Kyme	Engelmann, Helmut, ed. <i>Die Inschriften von Kyme</i> . Bonn: Habelt, 1976,
Ios.	Philo, <i>De Iosepho</i>
JACSup	Supplement to Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JB	Jerusalem Bible
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JCTCRS	Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies
JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JIGRE	Horbury, W. and D. Noy. <i>Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: With an index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
JJPSup	Supplements to the Journal of Juristic Papyrology
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
Jos. Asen.	Joseph and Aseneth
Joüon	Joüon, P. <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> . Translated and revised by T. Muraoka. 2 vols. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2005.
JPS	<i>JPS Hebrew-English Tanach: The Traditional Hebrew Text and the New JPS Translation</i> . 2nd ed. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1999.
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSCS	<i>Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
JSem	<i>Journal for Semitics</i>
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>

JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KAI	Donner, H., and W. Röllig. <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> . 5th ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002.
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoï</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
Ketub.	Ketubbot
KJV	King James Version
KRI	Kitchen, K. A. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> . 8 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1968–1990.
KTU	Dietrich, M., O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten. Dritte, erweiterte Auflage</i> . AOAT 360.1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoï</i>
LÄ	Helck, W., E. Otto, and W. Westendorf, ed., <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.
LCBM	List of Coptic Biblical Manuscripts
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio Divina
Leg.	Plato, <i>Leges</i>
LEH	Lust, J., E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> . 3rd ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2015.
Let. Aris.	Letter of Aristeas
LGG	Leitz, C., ed. <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> . OLA 110–116, 129. 8 vols. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–2003.
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LingAeg	<i>Lingua Aegyptia</i>
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, and H. S. Jones. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
LUÅ	Lunds universitets årsskrift
LXX	Septuagint



LXX.B	Codex Vaticanus
LXX.D	Septuaginta Deutsch
LXX.H	Handbuch zur Septuaginta
m.	Mishnah
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft
<i>Med.</i>	Euripides, <i>Medea</i>
<i>Mem.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Memorabilia</i>
<i>Metam.</i>	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>Migr.</i>	Philo, <i>De migratione Abrahami</i>
<i>Min.</i>	Pseudo-Plato, <i>Minos</i>
MJS	Münsteraner Judaistische Studien
ML	Morgan Library and Museum Collection
MM	Moulton, J. H., and G. Milligan. <i>The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament</i> . London, 1930. Repr., Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997.
<i>Mon.</i>	Menander, <i>Monostichoi</i>
<i>Morb.</i>	Hippocrates, <i>De morbis</i>
<i>Mos.</i>	Philo, <i>De vita Mosis</i>
MPER NS	Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
MT	Masoretic Text
<i>Mut.</i>	Philo, <i>De mutatione nominum</i>
MVEOL	Mededelingen en Verhandelingen Ex Oriente Lux
<i>Myst.</i>	Iamblichus, <i>De mysteriis</i>
NA <sup>28</sup>	Nestle, Eberhard, and Kurt Aland. <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . 28th rev. ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2015.
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NAWG	Nachrichten (von) der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
NEB	New English Bible
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NETS	New English Translation of the Septuagint
Nez.	Neziqin
<i>Nic.</i>	Isocrates, <i>Nicocles</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament

NIV	New International Version
NJPS	New Jewish Publication Society of America Tanakh
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
<i>NPNF</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> , Series 2
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
<i>NRTh</i>	<i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTVMR	New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room
<i>Nub.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Nubes</i>
<i>Num.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Numa</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
<i>Od.</i>	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>
<i>Oed. tyr.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Oedipus tyrannus</i>
OG	Old Greek
OGIS	Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
<i>Opif.</i>	Philo, <i>De opificio mundi</i>
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Old Testament Studies
P.	Papyrus
P.BM	Papyrus British Museum
P.Bodmer	Martin V., et al., eds. <i>Papyrus Bodmer</i> . 52 vols. Cologne: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1954–1997.
P.Brem.	Wilcken, Ulrich, ed. <i>Die Bremer Papyri</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter, 1936.
P.Cair. Zen	Edgar, Campbell Cowan, ed. <i>Zenon Papyri, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> . 5 vols. Cairo, 1925–1940.
P.Coll. Youtie	Hanson, Ann Ellis, ed. <i>Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts Published in Honor of H.C. Youtie</i> . Bonn: Habert, 1976.
P.Dime	Lippert, Sandra Luisa, and Maren Schentuleit, eds. <i>Demonstrative Dokumente aus Dime</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.
P.Eleph.	Rubensohn, Otto, ed. <i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichem Museen in Berlin: Griechische Urkunden; Elephantine-Papyri</i> . Berlin: Weidmann, 1907.

- P.Enteux. Guéraud, Octave. ENTEΥΞΕΙΣ: *Requêtes et plaintes adressées au Roi d'Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.* Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1931–1932.
- P.Ford. papyri housed in Special Collections at the Walsh Library, Fordham University
- P.Fouad. Bataille, Andre, et a. *Les Papyrus Fouad I.* Cairo: L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1939.
- P.Grenf. 2 Grenfell, Bernard P., and Arthur S. Hunt, eds. *New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1897.
- P.Gur. Smyly, Gilbert Josiah, ed. *Greek Papyri from Gurob.* Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1921.
- P.Heid. Heidelberger Papyrussammlung
- P.Herc. Herculaneum Papyri
- P.Krall Bresciani, Edda. *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros (Papyrus Krall).* Wein: Prachner, 1964.
- P.Leid.Dem. Leemans, Conradus. *Papyrus Égyptiens démotiques I. 373—382 du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide.* Leiden: Brill, 1863.
- P.Lille Jouguet, Pierre, et al, eds. *Papyrus grecs.* Institut Papyrologique de l'Université de Lille. 2 vols. Paris: Leroux, 1907–1928.
- P.Lond. Kenyon, Frederic G., H. Idris Bell, and W. E. Crum, eds. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum.* 7 vols. London, British Museum, 1893–1974.
- P.Merton 1 Bell, H. I., and C. H. Roberts. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton.* London: Walker, 1948.
- P.Mich. 15 Sijpesteijn, P.J. ed. *Michigan Papyri XV.* Michigan Papyri 15. Zutphen: Terra, 1982.
- P.Mil.Volg. 8 Bastianini, Guido, and Claudio Gallazi, eds. *Posidippo di Pella: Epigrammatic.* With the collaboration of Colin Austin. 2 vols. Milan: LED, 2001.
- P.Oxy. Grenfell, Bernard P., et al., eds. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.* 75 vols. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1898–2010.
- P.Petr. Mahaffy, John Pentland, ed. *The Flinders Petrie Papyri.* 4 vols. Dublin: Academy House, 1891–1905.

- P.Petrie Kleon Van Beek, Bart. *The Archive of the Architektones Kleon and Theodoros (P. Petrie Kleon)*. *Collectanea hellenistica*, VII. Leuven: Peeters, 2017.
- P.Polit.Jud. Maresch, Klaus, and James M. S. Cowey, eds. *Urkunden des Politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis (144/3, 133/2 v. Chr.)*. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2001.
- P.Ryl. Roberts, Colin H. *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*. 4 vols. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1911–1952.
- P.Sorb. Cadell, Hélène, ed. *Papyrus de la Sorbonne*. Paris, 1966–.
- P.Tebt. Grenfell, Bernard P., et al., eds. *The Tebtunis Papyri*. London: Oxford University Press, 1902–1976.
- PAAJR *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*
- PACS Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series
- Par Paraleipomenon
- Pers. Aeschylus, *Persae*
- PG Migne, J.-P. *Patrologia graeca*. 162 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1857–1886.
- PhA Philosophia Antiqua
- Phaed. Plato, *Phaedo*
- Phaedr. Plato, *Phaedrus*
- Phil. Isocrates, *Philippus*; Sophocles, *Philoctetes*
- Piet. Philodemus, *De pietate*
- PIRSB Publications de l'institut romand des sciences bibliques
- Plant. Philo, *De plantatione*
- PNTC Pillar New Testament Commentary
- PO *Patrologia orientalis*
- Poet. Aristotle, *Poetics*
- Pont. Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*
- Post. Philo, *De posteritate Caini*
- Praem. Philo, *De praemiis et poenis*
- Praep. ev. Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*
- Prot. Plato, *Protagoras*
- PSI Papiri della Società Italiana
- PsSol Psalms of Solomon
- PVTG Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graecae
- P.W. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*
- Quaest. conv. Plutarch, *Quaestionum convivialum libri IX*

Rahlfs	system of LXX manuscript sigla developed by Alfred Rahlfs
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RBL	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
Resp.	Plato, <i>Respublica</i>
ResQ	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
Rhet.	Aristotle, <i>Rhetorica</i>
RICIS	Bricault, Laurent. <i>Recueil des Inscriptions concernant les Cultes Isiaques</i> . 3 vols. Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2005.
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
RTP	<i>Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie</i>
SAACT	State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts
Sacr.	Philo, <i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i>
Sangerm.	Sangermanensis
SB	Preisigke, Friedrich, et al., ed. <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten</i> . Vols. 1– , 1915–.
SBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SBLCS	Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
ScrB	<i>Scripture Bulletin</i>
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum
SHAW	Sitzungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
Sib.Or.	Sibylline Oracles
NTG	Studies in New Testament Greek
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
Somn.	Philo, <i>De somniis</i>
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
Spec.	Philo, <i>De specialibus legibus</i>
SPhiloA	<i>The Studia Philonica Annual</i>
SSG	Muraoka, Takamitsu. <i>A Syntax of Septuagint Greek</i> . Leuven: Peeters, 2016.
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
STDJ	Studies on the Text of the Desert of Judah

<i>StPatr</i>	<i>Studia patristica</i>
StPB	Studia post-biblica
SubBi	Subsidia biblica
<i>Subl.</i>	Longinus, <i>De sublimitate</i>
SVF	Von Arnim, Hans, ed. <i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i> . 4 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–1924.
SVTG	Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum
t.	Tosefta
T. Benj.	Testament of Benjamin
T. Iss.	Testament of Issachar
T. Jos.	Testament of Joseph
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
T. Zeb.	Testament of Zebulun
TAD	Porten, Bezalel, and Ada Yardeni, eds. <i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt Newly Copied, Edited and Translated into Hebrew and English</i> . 3 vols. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1986–1991.
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TDOT	Botterweck, G. Johannes, et al., eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . 16 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975–2018.
TECC	Textos y estudios Cardenal Cisneros
Tg	Targum
Th	Theodotion
ThAkz	Theologische Akzente
THB	Textual History of the Bible
THBSup	Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible
Theod.	Theodotian
<i>Thesm.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Thesmophoriazusae</i>
<i>Tim.</i>	Aeschines, <i>In Timarchum</i> ; Plato, <i>Timaeus</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TM	Trismegistos
TNIV	Today's New International Version
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
Totti	Totti, Maria. <i>Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion</i> . Hildesheim: Olms, 1985.
<i>Trach.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Trachiniae</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TSKB	Texte und Studien zur koptischen Bibel

TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
<i>Tusc.</i>	Cicero, <i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>
TWAT	Botterweck, G. Johannes, et al., eds. <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> . 9 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970–2016.
TWNT	Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, ed. <i>Theologische Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> . Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1932–1979.
UPZ	Wilcken, Ulrich, ed. <i>Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde)</i> . Berlin: De Gruyter, 1927–1934.
<i>Var. hist.</i>	Aelian, <i>Varia historia</i>
<i>Vigil.</i>	Jerome, <i>Adversus Vigilantium</i>
<i>Virt.</i>	Philo, <i>De virtutibus</i>
<i>Vit.</i>	Diogenes Laertius, <i>Vitae Philosophorum</i>
<i>Vit. Apoll.</i>	Philostratus, <i>Vita Apollonii</i>
<i>Vit. Caes.</i>	Nicolaus of Damascus, <i>Vita Caesaris</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
Vulg.	Vulgate
WÄS	Erman, Adolf, and Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 6 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–1931.
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
y.	Jerusalem Talmud
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
Zevah.	Zevahim
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

SBL Press



## Introduction

Gideon R. Kotzé, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Rösel

The seventeenth congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS) took place in Aberdeen, Scotland, on Monday, August 5, Tuesday, August 6, and Thursday, August 8, 2019. As before, the congress took place in conjunction with the congresses of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT) and cognate organizations for Qumran (IOQS), Masoretic (IOMS), and Syriac Language (ISLP) studies.<sup>1</sup> The IOSCS congress was held under the presidency of professor Rob Hiebert, Trinity Western, Canada, and vice-president professor Alison Salvesen, Oxford University, while practical matters were in the hands of Michaël N. van der Meer, Amsterdam.

Unlike previous congresses in Stellenbosch (2016), Munich (2013), and Ljubljana (2007), when temperatures reached well above 30 degrees Celsius, the weather conditions in Aberdeen did not give rise to worries about dehydration or overheating but instead encouraged participants of the congresses to stay warm and dry inside. After all, as the locals say, Aberdeen has only two seasons: May and winter.

The University of Aberdeen may perhaps not boast a long and strong tradition in Septuagint studies, but its professor of Old Testament studies and president of the IOSOT congress, Joachim Schaper, is well-known within the field of Septuagint research. His 1995 Cambridge University doctoral dissertation on eschatology in the Greek Psalter was, to some extent, groundbreaking in the field.<sup>2</sup> His plea to move away from exclusively text-critical and translation-technical approaches to the Septuagint

---

1. See <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/events/conferences/iosot/programme.php> for details about the program of the IOSCS, IOSOT, and cognate congresses.

2. Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, WUNT 2/76 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995).

and instead direct attention to theological themes such as resurrection (ἀνίστημι in Ps 1:5), messianism (ἀγαπητός in Ps 67[68]:13), eschatology (συντέλεια in Ps 58[59]:14), and mythology (μονόκερως in Ps 28[29]:6) in the Old Greek Psalter, resulted in rather strong counterreactions.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, Schaper's idea that μονόκερως, "(animal with) one horn, unicorn," the Greek rendering of אַיָּן, "wild ox," carries messianic and mythological motifs and can be connected with medieval Jewish mythology and Christian allegory for the messiah<sup>4</sup> does not seem to have stood the test of time. In this volume, the Greek word is mentioned only in passing in Bryan Beeckman's examination of the fauna in the Old Greek version of the book of Job (ch. 13) as a designation for an oryx. Schaper, however, kindly reminded all participants of the Old Testament and cognate congresses of his theory by placing a medieval unicorn from the famous twelfth-century CE Aberdeen bestiary at the front of the program booklet (see fig. 1).



Figure 1: The unicorn from the Aberdeen bestiary (Aberdeen University Library, Univ Lib. MS 24); source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aberdeen\\_Bestiary#/media/File:F15r-aberdeen-best-detail.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aberdeen_Bestiary#/media/File:F15r-aberdeen-best-detail.jpg).

3. See, e.g., Albert Pietersma's review of *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, by Joachim Schaper, *BibOr* 54 (1997): 185–90.

4. Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 107–26; Joachim Schaper, "The Unicorn in Messianic Imagery of the Greek Bible," *JTS* 45 (1994): 117–36.

Be that as it may, present-day Septuagint research as reflected in this Septuagint congress does show an increased interest in semantics (part 3 of this volume), exegesis and theology (part 4) and a full-blown commentary series (part 5), besides the established approaches of textual history (part 1) and translation technique and syntax (part 3). We thus witness over the past decades a broadening of approaches to the study of the Greek translations of Hebrew Scriptures and cognate writings in the form of modern translations, lexica, and commentaries. The fifth section of this volume is entirely devoted to one of these projects, the SBL Commentary on the Septuagint series (SBLCS), whereas many semantic studies are related to the publication of the first volume of the Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint (HTLS).<sup>5</sup>

The overarching title for this congress was “The Septuagint in Its Hellenistic Jewish Setting.” The second section of this volume is devoted particularly to this theme of historical context, but the papers in the other sections also show a keen awareness of the Hellenistic setting as background for understanding the Septuagint. Greek documentary papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt, but also inscriptions, Classical and Koine Greek compositions, and pictures are now easily accessible to scholars thanks to the digital tools such as the Duke Databank of Documentary papyri, the Packard Searchable Greek Inscriptions tool, and the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.<sup>6</sup>

The present congress proceedings contain thirty-four papers out of a total of fifty papers presented during the congress. All thirty-four papers published here were peer reviewed and present original research not published before. The worldwide pandemic has hindered several scholars from completing their work, whereas others wish to publish their work in a more mature version later at other avenues. The present collection nevertheless presents a good overview of the richness and diversity of the congress. The authors come from at least twelve different countries and three continents. They represent both the younger and the more established generations of Septuagint researchers, including three winners of

---

5. See <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/commentary/>; Eberhard Bons, *Alpha-Gamma*, vol. 1 of *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020).

6. See, respectively, [www.papyri.info](http://www.papyri.info); <https://inscriptions.packhum.org/>; <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>.

the Wevers prize in Septuagint studies,<sup>7</sup> and thus attest to the scope and vitality of Septuagint research.

### Part 1. Textual History

The first section in this volume contains papers dealing with the textual history of the Old Greek versions of Hebrew Scripture, their recensions, and daughter versions in Coptic, Latin, and Armenian.

In his contribution, “The Armenian Redaction of Esther: A Late Antique Christian Reading of a Hellenistic Jewish Text,” S. Peter Cowe describes how the Armenian translators responsible for the original Armenian translation of Esther—to be distinguished from a later revision labeled “Arm2”—introduced small adaptations of the Greek text by avoiding Hebraisms, strengthening parallels with the similar plot in 3 Maccabees and other biblical books, portraying the Persian antagonists as antinomian, downscaling the number of losses on the protagonist’s side, and reconceptualizing the etiology of the book, not in terms of the institution of the Purim festival, but in observing watches of time.

Dries De Crom’s “Barthélemy’s Kaige Subgroup: Does It Exist?” addresses the question raised by Dominique Barthélemy whether the Greek translations of Ruth, Canticles, and Lamentations form a subgroup within the so-called Kaige group. There are no shared characteristics among these three Greek translations other than that they stand somewhat apart from the most unmistakable members of this group, such as the Greek Dodekapropheton scroll. Since Barthélemy’s original conception that a single recension by a small group of Palestinian rabbis in the first century CE lay behind the Kaige group of revisions and translations has made way for a more protracted process ranging from the Greek Pentateuch until Aquila, there is no reason why the idea of a Kaige subgroup should be maintained, argues De Crom.

Frank Feder provides a helpful succinct overview of the history of research on “The Complete Reconstruction and Edition of the Coptic-Sahidic Old Testament and Its Relevance for the Textual History of the Septuagint,” a large research project housed at Göttingen University. The project includes a complete digital edition and translation of the Coptic Sahidic Old Testament. In addition to the helpful entries he provided for

---

7. See <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/prize.html>.

the volumes of the Textual History of the Bible (THB), Feder provides in this paper the attestation for each of the Old Testament books in the Sahidic version(s) and a history of the research.

The Old Latin or *Vetus Latina* daughter version features prominently in Giulia Leonardi's quest for "The Original Language of the Book of Judith: A Comparison with the Vulgate." Leonardi challenges the view that Jerome's statement that he used a "Chaldean version" of Judith is false and that, in fact, he just reworked the *Vetus Latina*. She shows that the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts and the Vulgate often differ too much to see the latter only as a reworking of the former. Instead, there are several features in the Vulgate that point to a Semitic original (e.g., a possible confusion in 14:12 between "servants" [LXX δούλοι < עבדים], "Hebrews" [*Vetus Latina Iudaei* < עבריים], and "mice" [Vulgate *mures* < עכברים]). Possibly, then, the Greek translation and its Old Latin daughter version, on the one hand, and the Vulgate, on the other, derive independently from a Hebrew original.

Douglas C. Mohrmann describes "Paratextual Features of Deuteronomy and Their Interpretive Significance." These paratextual features include page numbering, spacing, and layout of the columns by means of *paragraphoi* or *ekthesis* (i.e., the opposite of indentation as marker of a new subparagraph) for Deuteronomy in Codex Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and contemporary Greek and Hebrew manuscripts of Deuteronomy. Mohrmann suggests that the paragraph divisions may have been the work of the Greek translator of Deuteronomy himself since such scribal devices were common in the Greco-Roman period from an early age onward. Hence, it is a matter of misalignment that modern editions ignore these ancient paratextual markers. By contrast, none of the ancient manuscripts show anything that would resemble the idea of an interlinear text as envisaged by Albert Pietersma when he first formulated his interlinear paradigm.

In a lengthy and thorough study, "Exegetical Substitutions in Theodotion Daniel," Daniel Olariou, winner of the 2018 Wevers prize, examines the substitutions Theodotion made with respect to the Old Greek version of Daniel and groups them into three categories: linguistic, exegetical, and theological. The picture that emerges of Theodotion as a reviser is that of a rather cautious and literal one and sensitive to the literary context.

## Part 2. Historical Context

In this section, the interaction between the Greek translations of Hebrew Scripture with its Hellenistic historical and cultural context forms the focal

point. Special attention is given to the documentary papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt that give insight into daily practices of Jews, Greeks, and Egyptians alike in the place and time in which the Septuagint came into being.

Robert Kugler examines the “Legal Principles and Torah Stipulations: Jewish Legal Reasoning in Hellenistic Egypt” in the well-known archive of the Jewish *politeuma* in Herakleopolis published two decades ago and recently—with considerable help from Kugler—in the latest volume (4) of the *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*,<sup>8</sup> as well as related documents in earlier volumes of that series. Kugler argues that references to the Jewish law may seem sparse—the reference to the divorce bill (βιβλίον ἀποστασίου) of Deut 24:1 in P.Polit. Iud. 4.23–24 being the well-known exception—but, on a deeper and more general level, it does appear to be operative in this Jewish Hellenistic self-regulating community. As support for this thesis, Kugler points to the unusual self-representation of Petaus, the petitioner of P.Polit. Iud. 2, as having duly served his penalty, which is unusual for this kind of petition given the fact that incarceration in Ptolemaic Egypt was not punitive but only pragmatic. Yet, this statement becomes understandable from the perspective of the Jewish *lex talionis* as formulated in Exod 21:23–25 and Lev 24:19–20. Likewise, the appeal of the petitioner of P.Tebt. 3.1.800 (= CPJ 1.133) to the fate of the unborn baby as cause of concern by itself, not as a means to raise the petitioner’s self-interest, is unusual in contemporary non-Jewish documents but understandable on the basis of the law for miscarriage in Exod 21:22. Finally, the reference in P.Enteux. 23 (= CPJ 1.128) to the [νόμον τὸν πολιτικὸν τῶν [Ιου-]δαίων instead of the usual συγγραφή συνοικισίου or τροφίτις in the case of marriage and divorce legislation also makes it obvious that Jewish legislation is operative here. Hence, the general principles of the Jewish legislation as customary law were known and operative in the Jewish communities of Ptolemaic Egypt.

In a study of “The Rhetorical Function of Judith,” Nathan LaMontagne places the book of Judith in the setting of evolving individualism in the Hellenistic period and reads the book as a drama that should be analyzed with the help of rhetorical criticism. Hence, LaMontagne focuses on the balance of opening and conclusion and the dramatic sequence and the *personae*. The book of Judith may then be seen on the level of its function

---

8. Noah Hacham et al., *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, vol. 4 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020).

as a Jewish parallel to Greek mystery cults, which also enabled the individual to experience birth, initiation, fear, joy, ecstasy, and liberation.

Luke Neubert, in “Whose God Protects Whom? LXX Exodus 15:3 against the Background of Isis Worship in Ptolemaic Egypt,” also turns to contemporary Hellenistic cults, in particular Isis worship in Ptolemaic Egypt, in order to throw fascinating new light on the often discussed Greek rendering in Exod 15:3, where YHWH as “warrior” (אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה) becomes someone “who shatters wars” (συντριβων πολέμους). Where some biblical scholars want to interpret this translation as an early form of pacifism, Neubert adduces a large number of almost exact Demotic counterparts, mainly in Hellenistic hymns to Isis, that stress the bellicose nature of the venerated deity, hence stressing the Egyptian background of the Greek Exodus.

In his paper, “King-Physician: The Medical Metaphor in the Greek Translation of Proverbs 24,” Vladimir Olivero examines the advice to a king in LXX Prov 24:69–77 (= MT 31:1–9) in the light of medical metaphors from Platonic discourses in order to show how the Greek text could be understood by an educated person with knowledge of the works of Plato. Olivero argues that the Greek translator of Proverbs was influenced by the Platonic image of the ruler as physician of the sick body-state. This would account for the specific Greek wording of Proverbs that subtly introduces images that are typically found in the Platonic dialogues.

Jelle Verburg, winner of the 2017 Wevers prize, studies in his contribution “The Septuagint and the History of Marriage Gifts in Early Jewish Law,” in particular LXX Exod 22:15–16, the law on how to deal with a case of a girl raped before marriage. Verburg rejects the idea that the dowry (φερνή) in the Hellenistic period should already be identified as the rabbinic *ketubah*. Rather, the legislation in this early period was more diversified, as the Elephantine papyri and later contemporary documentary Greek papyri, for example, make clear. The nuance added by the Greek translator in Exod 22:15–16 pertains to the fact that the perpetrator instead of the father has to pay the dowry.

### Part 3. Syntax and Semantics

The papers in this section deal specifically with syntactical and semantic issues, mainly, but not exclusively, in the light of the present undertaking to study terms and themes in the Septuagint that in the broadest sense of the word have some significance for a historical and theological understanding of the Hebrew and Greek Bible.

In “*Animalia in Libro Iob*,” Bryan Beeckman, another Wevers prize winner (2019), examines “The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Animal Names in LXX Job.” By comparing the renderings of the same names in Proverbs, on the one hand, and Job, on the other hand, Beeckman concludes that the two translations cannot have been produced by the same person, as argued by Gillis Gerleman and many others. Beeckman presents his work as an example of the Leuven approach to the Septuagint based on context and content criteria, particularly the Greek translator’s handling of Hebrew *hapax legomena*.

In “Observations on the Vocabulary of Epiphanic Revelation in the LXX and in Jewish-Hellenistic Literature,” Eberhard Bons, editor-in-chief of the recently published HTLS, addresses the much discussed issue of the Greek translators’ tendency to circumvent the idea that ordinary people could see God. Bons focuses on the use of the verbs *ὁράω* and *ἐπιφαίνομαι* to show that the latter is the genuine Greek verb for divine epiphanies but generally avoided by the Greek translators in favor of the passive form of *ὁράω*.

Ryan Comins examines “The Greek of Wisdom” in order to differentiate between “Natural Usage and Septuagintal Influence.” Comins states that the Hellenistic Greek syntactical features in the book of Wisdom have been underrepresented in current studies of the book. He adduces examples of Greek features such as the use of the optative, accusative of subject complement, and the complementary genitive infinitive, and he does so against the background of the documentary papyri. Comins also balances this overview of genuine Greek phenomena with examples of Semitisms and Septuagintalisms that can also be found in this Greek composition. According to Comins, these somewhat contrasting tendencies reveal the ambivalent social status of the author’s target group: both aiming at a high position in society, but also brought up with the Greek Bible as frame of reference.

Paul L. Danove develops his case frame analysis, which he earlier applied to the lexicon of the Gospel of Mark and to the use of the verb *πιθήμι* in the Septuagint (see the XV IOSCS Congress Volume, Munich, 2013). In his “Semantic, Syntactic, and Lexical Study,” he is “Interpreting *ἄγω* and Its Compounds in the Septuagint.” Danove applies his grammatical classification to the usages of the verb *ἄγω* and its twenty compounds in the Septuagint corpus. His grammatical analysis leads him to break down the usages into sixteen categories.

In the only German contribution to this volume, Martin Meiser explores the usage of the word group *πιστ-* in the Septuagint and the



writings of Philo of Alexandria (“Die Wortgruppe Glaube/Treue in der Septuaginta und bei Philon von Alexandria”) in order to sketch the background of its use in the New Testament. He first points out that the use of this word for *faith* is somewhat unusual when compared with pagan Greek sources where belief in god(s) is usually expressed by means of the verb νομίζω. Within the corpus of Greek translations of Hebrew Scriptures, the use of πιστεύω in the Psalter takes a special position. Here, the word is often used in a negative sense as warning against illusionary belief. Philo employs the word rather in the sense of “guarantee” and “bail.”

In “Fear and Loathing in Alexandria? ‘Abominable’ Words in the Septuagint Pentateuch and Disgust Theory,” Alison Salvesen presents the results of her study of the word group βδελύσσω for the HTLS in light of cognitive science and the entanglement thesis of the so-called disgust theory. While such modern cognitive science theories may help us to understand what is going on in the brain when emotions of loathing arise, they hardly refer to ancient traditions of taboo and purity and impurity. Salvesen explores the choice of the Greek translators for this word group against the backdrop of Classical Greek literature and in the light of interethnic connotations where the theme of interethnic disgust is first presented as the Egyptians’ attitude toward the Hebrews and which is amplified by the Greek translators. Interestingly, the sole attestation of the verb in contemporary documentary papyri (SB 9564 = CPJ 1.141) expresses this very same notion: οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι βδελύσ<σ>ονται Ἰουδαίους. Later Jewish Greek authors such as pseudo-Aristeas and Philo avoid the term in favor of more elevated language (e.g., μισέω and μαιίνω).

Daniela Scialabba presents her “Considerations on the Use of σέβομαι in the Septuagint and in Jewish-Hellenistic Literature.” She examines the use of the verb σέβομαι in the Septuagint and cognate writings particularly in the light of its near synonym φοβέομαι. The former was used more often in contemporary non-Jewish writings, whereas the latter was preferred by the Jewish Greek translators and authors. The opposition between the two words can be clarified on the basis of the Greek version of Josh 24, where the latter stands for the right veneration of YHWH and the former is used to denote apostasy. A similar differentiation can be found in Joseph and Aseneth and with some nuance differences also in the Greek versions of Jonah, Bel and the Dragon, and the Testament of Joseph. The Greek version of Joshua, however, also employs the verb σέβομαι for proper YHWH worship in 22:25 and 4:24, but here, too, the subject of this form of worship

applies to the acts of foreign nations or alienated Transjordanian tribes in the future. This nuance may also explain the use of the verb in Isa 66:14, which earlier scholars had taken as proof of a second Greek translator for the final chapter of Isaiah. By contrast, a writing with a non-Jewish audience in mind, such as the Letter of Aristeas, avoids the specific Jewish usage of *φοβέομαι*.

#### Part 4. Exegesis and Theology

The papers brought together in this section have in common that they focus on specific passages in the Septuagint that may reflect something of the exegesis and theology of the Greek translators.

In “*Καταπέτασμα* in Exodus and Hebrews: A Reevaluation of ‘the Inner and the Outer Veil,’” Elena Belenkaja examines the differentiation between the outer veil in the temple (often denoted as *κάλυμμα*) and the curtain (*καταπέτεσμα*) that separates the most holy place from the rest of the inner temple, according to Heb 9, against the background of the use of the latter term in the Septuagint of the Pentateuch and Kingdoms/Chronicles. The christological exegesis of the Greek Pentateuch that guides the author of Hebrews would have prompted this author to locate the incense altar behind this second curtain.

Beatrice Bonanno writes “About the Translation of the Verb *שוב* in the Septuagint of the Book of Ruth.” She studies the subtle variations in the Greek version of Ruth of the verb *שוב* by means of different prefixes of the verb *στρέφω*. The more neutral meaning of returning is expressed by *ἀναστρέφω*, whereas *ἀποστρέφω* focuses on the time and place of the turn. Finally, *ἐπιστρέφω* would carry more symbolic and theological connotations, including conversion. By paying careful attention to these subtle variations, Bonanno is able to detect exegesis in the Greek translation, which at first glance does not seem to convey intentions other than a literal rendering of the parent text.

In “Antiochus’s Confession in 2 Maccabees 9:12: Text, Translation, and a Possible Homeric Allusion,” Crispin Fletcher-Louis argues that the original reading of 2 Macc 9:12b, where Antiochus IV Epiphanes reflects on his sins, is not the text adopted for the Göttingen edition, *μη θνητὸν ὄντα ὑπερήφανα φρονεῖν*, but rather the text adopted by Rahlfs, *μη θνητὸν ὄντα ἰσόθεα φρονεῖν* and that the reading *ἰσόθεα* forms an allusion to the hubris of Diomedes in *Il.* 5.432–442 after wounding the goddess Aphrodite, thus modifying an interpretation put forward earlier by Robert Doran. Along

the way, Fletcher-Louis tackles the somewhat unusual grammatical construction and explores similar passages in Greek literature where despots are accused of acting in a god-like manner (e.g., Xerxes in Aeschylus's *Pers.* 749–750) or even Lysimachus, one of the Diadochoi.

W. Edward Glenny discusses the problem of “The Intention of the Translator and Theology in the Septuagint” on the basis of five articles about the possibilities and limitations of theology in the Septuagint written by Albert Pietersma, Emanuel Tov, Jan Joosten, Martin Rösel, and Timothy McLay, and contrast these with the viewpoint of Theo van der Louw. Glenny pleads for a cautious approach that takes into account the possibility of detecting theology in the Greek translations of Hebrew Scriptures. He demonstrates his point on the basis of some examples from the Old Greek version of Amos.

Gideon R. Kotzé revisits the “Debated Reading in LXX Lamentations 3:47.” On the basis of a text-critical analysis, Kotzé explains the presence of the theme of “anger” (θυμός) in LXX Lam 3:47 over against the reading of the MT (פִּתְּחָהּ, “pitfall”) and variant readings in the Greek manuscript tradition (e.g., θάμβος, “astonishment,” and τρόμος, “trembling”), as well as Aramaic and Syriac traditions (ܐܘܨܝܢܝܢ, ܐܘܨܝܢܝܢ). Kotzé advocates an interdisciplinary approach by broadening of textual criticism toward the fields of linguistics, historiography, archaeology, and iconography.

Ekaterina Matusova sets out to clarify “The Platonic Influence in the Passages on Soul in the Wisdom of Solomon,” which has not been well understood. Although the author of Wisdom of Solomon may not always be precise in his use of Platonic vocabulary and may borrow occasionally from Pythagorean thought, his thinking is permeated by Platonic thought. The author of Wisdom is particularly concerned to depict God as blameless and aiming at humans’ immortality, an idea for which he leans heavily upon Platonic writings such as the *Timaeus* and the *Republic*.

Daniel Prokop examines “The Names of the Pillars of the First Temple and Their Meaning in the MT and Greek Textual Tradition (1 Kgs 7:21/3 Kgdms 7:7),” as well as the parallel tradition of 1 Chr 3:17 and 2 Par 3:17. He rejects the speculative reconstruction by Robert B. Y. Scott, who argued that the Lucianic text of 3 Kingdoms, βααζ, reveals an original Hebrew name בעל עז, comparable to בעל זבל instead of MT בעז. The names of the pillars should rather be understood as personal names just as other stones and pillars in the books of Samuel (1 Sam 14:4; 2 Sam 18:18). Boaz would be a reference to the founder of the Davidic dynasty and Jachin to a Simeonite priest.

In “Status and Function of the Levites in Ezekiel 44:9–15 according to the Different Textual Traditions of the Book of Ezekiel,” Martin Tscheu argues that the Old Greek of Ezekiel reflects an older Hebrew version of the book that underwent a Zadokite revision. He argues that subtle changes from the text attested by Codex Vaticanus and the early pre-Hexaplaric P.967 into the text attested by MT reflect nomistic changes meant to down-scale the role of the Levites and adjust the specific perspective of Ezekiel towards more conformity with the MT.

### Part 5. Commentary

This fifth section contains papers of a sub-session that was convened by the editors-in-chief of the forthcoming SBLCS and, as such, presents the work in progress of the commentators, as well as their ideas regarding the guidelines set for this series with its full emphasis on the text-as-produced as opposed to commentary series that place more emphasis on the text-as-received.

Kenneth Atkinson presents some “Challenges in Translating the Psalms of Solomon for the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint” and basic issues relevant for a commentary on the Psalms of Solomon according to the SBLSC guidelines. These issues have to do with the reconstruction of the original Greek text, now greatly facilitated by Felix Albrecht’s Göttingen edition, which Atkinson adopts as his base text. Another issue is the question of the original language of the composition, which is usually thought to be Semitic. Recent scholarship has tended to stress the possibility that Jewish Greek compositions, such as the book of Judith, for example, were composed in Septuagintal Greek from its inception. Atkinson seems to prefer a rather cautious approach, that is, to describe rather than to argue in favor of one or the other solution.

Cameron Boyd-Taylor formulates the well-known polarity between minimalism and maximalism in Septuagint exegesis as “Dictionary versus Encyclopedia” approaches to the task of writing a commentary, particularly on the Greek Psalter, in the light of “the Petition for a Lawgiver at LXX Ps 9:21.” In his view, the burden of proof lies with the maximalist encyclopedia approach. This, however, does not hinder him from arguing in the direction of Martin Rösel’s qualification of Ps 9:21 as prime example of theological exegesis by carefully addressing the objections against a theological encyclopedia approach posed by the strict methodology outlined for the SBLCS. After all, the idea of a lawgiver (νομοθέτης) departs

too clearly from the Hebrew source text but aligns not only with common Hellenistic ideas of lawgivers as constitution founding fathers of different cultures, but also with specific Jewish Hellenistic conceptions of Moses as lawgiver, and with a certain nomicizing tendency of the Greek Psalter.

In a discussion about “How the Translator of Old Greek Job Understood Job’s Suffering,” Claude Cox offers something close to a theology of the Greek translator of Job. Based on his years of work on the Greek Job, Cox combines many details throughout OG Job in order to outline the way the Greek translator understood, presented, and transformed the theme of Job’s suffering. The priestly role Job comes to play in the narrative frame, and the theme of exoneration of Job are interesting. The Greek translator also nuances the role of God in the theodicy: against all odds, God works behind the scenes to protect the innocent, according to OG Job.

Roger Good discusses the matching of the Hebrew and Greek “Dramatic Forms in Narrative in *Paraleipomenon*” and poses the question whether they are “Semantically Constrained” or reflect “Literary Sensitivity in Discourse.” Where the translator introduced an imperfect for Hebrew narrative forms such as the *wayyiqtol*, it may have been for reasons of semantics of the Hebrew verb or discourse pragmatics in cases of a climax or summary statement.

Robert J. V. Hiebert presents as example of his work on the SBLCS the well-known passage of “Iakob at the Iabok” with the subtitle “Exegetical Observations Concerning a Pericope in Septuagint Genesis 32.” Hiebert focuses on the way the translator dealt with wordplay in the Hebrew, such as Iakob and Iabbok and place names with a significant meaning. The discussion of the rendering of Peniel as εἶδος θεοῦ leads him to the often discussed tendency observable in the Septuagint to circumvent the idea that God is visible directly to ordinary people (Exod 24:10; Num 12:8; see also the contribution to this volume by Bons).

Jean Maurais offers a sample of his commentary on the Greek Deuteronomy on the basis of a few interesting details in Deut 32:1–4, which he dubs “Singing with Moses in Greek: An Examination of LXX Deuteronomy 32 from the Perspective of Its Production.” As parallel to the well-known phenomenon that the Greek translators avoided the reference to God as a rock, he points to a hymn for Demetrius Poliorcetes. Although the Greek version of Deut 32:1–4 goes some way in the direction of acceptability and adequacy from the standpoint of the recipient language and culture, the Greek version is much more bound to its original than scholars such as Marguerite Harl and Cécile Dogniez, in their commentary to the Greek

Deuteronomy, would have us believe. Hence, Maurais advocates a closer look at translational phenomena, as suggested by the SBLCS.

In his contribution, “The Task of the Translator: The Study of the Old Greek Translation of the Book of Joshua in Light of Contemporary Translations,” Michaël N. van der Meer tries to come to terms with the rather strictly formulated parameters of the SBLCS. He discusses several theoretical frameworks for understanding and describing translations, such as those offered by Walter Benjamin, Gideon Toury, and Theo van der Louw, and demonstrates his approach to the Old Greek version of Joshua on the basis of a few issues in LXX Josh 1:5–6, where literal and adequate translations often alternate in order to do justice to both source and target language and audiences. He stresses the importance of studying the lexical choices of the Greek translator of Joshua against the background of contemporary Greek documents.

Leonardo Pessoa da Silva Pinto presents his sample “Commentary to the Septuagint of 2 Samuel 1:1–10” as a feasibility test for writing a commentary on that book following the guidelines of SBLCS. He comments on the translation technique of the passage (*ἀπαγγέλλω* for Hebrew נגן), the possibility of a diverging Hebrew *Vorlage* in 2 Sam 5:24 (*πόλεμος* = מלחמה, instead of MT מהחנה; cf. 1 Sam 28:1, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> מלחמה *vis-à-vis* MT מהחנה), different vocalizations by the MT and the Greek translator in verse 1 (*ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ* = מעם *vis-à-vis* MT מעם) and 4:6 (*ἰδοῦ* = הנה *vis-à-vis* MT הנה), and, of course, the relation between the so-called Lucianic or Antiochene text and the main textual tradition represented by Codex Vaticanus. The discussion makes clear that the SBLCS guidelines’ strict focus on the text-as-produced poses some problems that require some leeway for the commentator, especially for 2 Kingdoms (Samuel), where a discussion of variant Hebrew (4QSam<sup>a</sup>) and Greek (Lucianic) traditions have to be taken into account.

### Bibliography

- Bons, Eberhard. *Alpha–Gamma*. Vol. 1 of *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020.
- Hacham, Noah et al. *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*. Vol. 4. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020.
- Pietersma, Albert. Review of *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, by Joachim Schaper. *BibOr* 54 (1997): 185–90.

Schaper, Joachim. *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*. WUNT 2/76. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995.

———. “The Unicorn in Messianic Imagery of the Greek Bible.” *JTS* 45 (1994): 117–36.

SBL Press