

THE OLD GREEK OF ISAIAH



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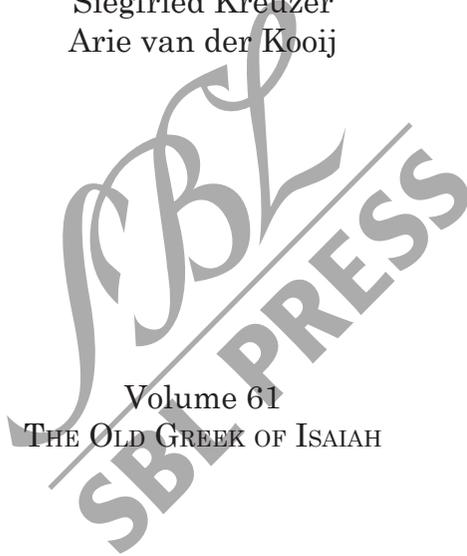
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Volume 61

THE OLD GREEK OF ISAIAH



THE OLD GREEK OF ISAIAH  
AN ANALYSIS OF ITS PLUSES AND MINUSES

MIRJAM VAN DER VORM-CROUGHS



SBL Press  
Atlanta

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**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Van der Vorm-Croughs, Mirjam.

The old Greek of Isaiah : an analysis of its pluses and minuses / Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs.

pages cm. — (Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and cognate studies ; no. 61)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-58983-978-6 (paper binding : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-1-58983-980-9 (electronic format) — ISBN 978-1-58983-979-3 (hardcover binding : alk. paper)

1. Bible. Isaiah. Greek—Versions—Septuagint. 2. Bible. Isaiah—Language, style. 3. Greek language, Biblical. 4. Hebrew language. I. Title.

BS1514.G7S486 2014

224'.10486—dc23

2014010033

Printed on acid-free, recycled paper  
conforming to ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (R1997) and ISO 9706:1994



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## PREFACE

This study is a slightly revised version of a dissertation that was defended in November 2010. It is an offshoot of the research project '*The Septuagint of the Book of Isaiah*,' which was started in 2004 at the Institute of Religion of Leiden University, and in which Prof. A. van der Kooij and Dr. M.N. van der Meer also collaborated.

It is a great pleasure to thank those who played an important role in assisting me in this study. In the first place, I owe many thanks to Prof. A. van der Kooij. Without his continuous help and advice this work could not have been written. I also would like to express my gratitude to Prof. T. Muraoka, who, some fifteen years ago, inspired me to focus my research on the Septuagint of Isaiah. Special thanks are due to Dr W. Th. van Peursen for his advice on section 1.3.2 of this study. I am also much indebted to Helen Richardson-Hewitt for the many hours she spent correcting the English of this book. Lastly, I thank all those who supported me in any respect during the completion of the project, in particular my husband, Matthijs van der Vorm. This work is dedicated to him, and to our three children, Michiel, Boaz and Marit.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	1QIsaiah <sup>a</sup>
LXX	The Septuagint version of the Hebrew Bible
MT	The Masoretic Text
AASF	Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae
AAWG	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament. With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic</i> . Oxford, 1979
BDR	Blass, F., A. Debrunner, and F. Rehkopf. <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i> . 17th ed. Göttingen, 1990
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BGNTL	Baker's Greek New Testament Library
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1983
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BIOSCS	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament. Edited by M. Noth and H. W. Wolff
BWAT NF	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament, Neue Folge
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CATSS	Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies

CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series
COut	Commentaar op het Oude Testament
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EncJud	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i> . 16 vols. Jerusalem, 1972
ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FIEC	Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2d. ed. Oxford, 1910
GTS	Gettysburg Theological Studies
HALOT	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 2 vols. Leiden, 2001
HdA	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HUB	Hebrew University Bible
HUB Isa	Goshen-Gottstein, M. H. <i>The Book of Isaiah</i> . Jerusalem, 1995
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ICA	Initiations au christianisme ancien
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JBTh	<i>Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie</i>
Jouön	Jouön, P. <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> . Translated and revised by T. Muraoka. 2 vols. <i>Subsidia biblica</i> 14/1–2. Rome, 1991.
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods: Supplements
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
LD	Lectio divina

Letl	Lettinga, J. P. <i>Grammatica van het Bijbels Hebreeuws</i> . Revised by T. Muraoka with the assistance of W. Th. van Peursen. 10th ed. Leiden, 1996.
MPIL	Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
MVEOL	Mededeelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch- Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux"
NAWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i>
NETS	<i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> . New York, 2007.
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OCA	Orientalia christiana analecta
OTL	Old Testament Library
PAAJR	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research</i>
POuT	De Prediking van het Oude Testament
PSL	Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics
RB	<i>Revue bibilique</i>
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SS	Studi semitici
SSN	Studia semitica neerlandica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StudOr	Studia orientalia
SubBi	<i>Subsidia biblica</i>
TBL	Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik
TCT	Textual Criticism and the Translator
TRu, NF	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i> , Neue Folge
UCOP	University of Cambridge Oriental Publications
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
VWGT	Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZVS	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen</i>

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# Chapter 1.

## INTRODUCTION

In recent decades the inquiry into the Greek translation of Isaiah has gained in popularity. Whereas in the course of the previous two centuries studies were only sporadically dedicated to this translation, more recently quite a number of publications on the Greek Isaiah have appeared. Apparently, the study of this document has an increasing attraction for scholars. This is not surprising, though, as the LXX of Isaiah provides an exceedingly fascinating and rich source for examination. The multifaceted nature of the translation offers ample opportunity for scholars to choose different aspects of the work to analyse and illuminate.

One of the first to be responsible for the growing interest in the Greek Isaiah was Joseph Ziegler. In addition to composing a critical edition<sup>1</sup>, he also wrote a comprehensive work on the character of the translation, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (1934).<sup>2</sup> In that work Ziegler presents a compilation of the differences between the Masoretic and the Septuagint text of Isaiah. One of the conclusions he draws, is that the Septuagint of Isaiah can be characterised as a rather free translation. Its text bears the personal stamp of the translator, who sometimes omitted words which he did not understand, or added words favoured by him. Moreover, the translator of Isaiah occasionally appears to have imbued his translation with his own ideas and thoughts, shaping the text to his own preferences.<sup>3</sup> This observation of Ziegler concerning the special character of the LXX of Isaiah is one of the main principles on which later Septuagint scholars have based their investigation.

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Isaias* (2nd ed.; Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graece Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Göttingensis editum 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967).

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (ATA XII,3; Münster: Aschendorff, 1934).

<sup>3</sup> Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 7–8.

In his *Untersuchungen*, Ziegler has devoted much attention to the pluses and minuses in the Greek Isaiah. According to Ziegler, the majority of them are innovations of the translator himself. Pluses are often the result of the translator's aspirations towards explication and exegesis, while minuses are mostly meant to reduce redundancy in the Hebrew text; they usually dispense with synonymous words or phrases in Hebrew. While Ziegler's discussion of pluses and minuses is extremely valuable for the study of the Greek Isaiah, his work can be seen as somewhat random and incomplete. Since Ziegler, investigations have been made into a wide variety of other aspects of the translation, but up to now we still lack a more systematic analysis of pluses and minuses in the Septuagint of Isaiah, notwithstanding that such an analysis may well be helpful in establishing general tendencies displayed in the translation and the main techniques used by the translator in rendering his Hebrew text. This *lacuna* has stirred up the motivation to dedicate this study to investigating the pluses and minuses in the Greek translation of Isaiah. Do they indeed betray certain translation tendencies of the translator, or do they indicate that he had a *Vorlage* in front of him which differed from the Masoretic text?

But before I reach that intricate issue, I shall first discuss a number of previous works on the Greek Isaiah that have been of importance for the present study, as well as some publications that have focused on the pluses and minuses in other books of the Septuagint. Moreover, before the examination of LXX Isaiah's pluses and minuses can be undertaken, I shall have to clarify what exactly I mean when speaking of "pluses" and "minuses."

### 1.1 A brief survey of studies on the Septuagint of Isaiah

One of the earliest modern works that has been published on the Septuagint of Isaiah is *Die Alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Jesaias* (1880) by Anton Scholz.<sup>4</sup> In this paper Scholz specifically considers the origins of the Isaiah translation. He believes that its Alexandrian author tried to render the Hebrew into Greek word by word, with an admirably profound knowledge of the Hebrew text. Only in such a way can one clarify why the Greek version of Isaiah achieved such a great authority within the Jewish community. This could, in Scholz's eyes, never have happened if the translation had been freer.<sup>5</sup> Arguing from that principle, Scholz seeks to explain LXX Isaiah's deviations from the Masoretic text in the first place as having a bearing on the translator's Hebrew *Vorlage*. This *Vorlage* would have contained many scribal mistakes, particularly

<sup>4</sup> Anton Scholz, *Die Alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Jesaias. Rede zur Feier des 298. Stiftungstages der Kgl. Julius-Maximilians-Universität* (Würzburg: Woerl, 1880).

<sup>5</sup> Scholz, *Alexandrinische Uebersetzung*, 7, 11–14.

due to its transmission by means of dictation, which was accomplished by scribes who interchanged similar sounding letters, who altered words, added and omitted elements, and permitted themselves all kinds of freedoms. Only now and then are differences between the two versions, in Scholz's opinion, to be traced back to the translator himself, especially when the Hebrew text was unclear because of corruption or on account of metaphorical language that was incomprehensible to the Alexandrian readers.<sup>6</sup>

A somewhat remarkable conclusion that Scholz reaches in the course of his work is that, even though both the Hebrew and Greek versions do indeed comprise a significant number of additions, they hardly contain any omissions. That is to say, elements which are present in the MT but absent in the Septuagint, should in Scholz's view by definition be perceived as additions to the MT, while elements which are present in the LXX but not in the MT, have to be taken as additions to the LXX. Scholz explains these additions as "Randglossen," adopted into the text by later scribes. His denial of the existence of omissions in the LXX is based on the assumption that it was unthinkable in antiquity that someone would leave out even one word from Holy Scripture.<sup>7</sup>

A quite different approach was advocated by Richard R. Ottley. In the introduction to his work *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint* (1909)<sup>8</sup> he writes:

In Isaiah I find it hard to see that the LXX. gives any proof at all (unless in a few isolated exceptions) of an older or superior Hebrew text; because the translators seem to have been so constantly mistaken in reading their Hebrew, or unable to translate it, as to deprive their witness of all authority ... Seldom, if ever, is its reading intrinsically preferable to the M.T.<sup>9</sup>

Hence, contrary to Scholz, Ottley is of the opinion that the differences between the MT and the LXX of Isaiah in most cases have to be ascribed to the translator rather than to a deviating Hebrew parent text. Besides, Ottley thinks that the Isaiah translator has had a deficient rather than a profound knowledge of the Hebrew. This the translator betrays by his constant confusion of letters, mistakes in word divisions, and the way in which he disregards the grammatical functions of words, loses the thread of the text, and takes refuge in "stop-gap rendering." As an important explanation for the failures of the translator Ottley

<sup>6</sup> Scholz, *Alexandrinische Uebersetzung*, 15–16.

<sup>7</sup> Scholz, *Alexandrinische Uebersetzung*, 17.

<sup>8</sup> Richard R. Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)* (2 vols.; Cambridge: University Press, 1904–6).

<sup>9</sup> Ottley, *Book of Isaiah*, 1:49.

offers the illegibility of the Hebrew manuscripts with their frequent use of abbreviations.<sup>10</sup>

Like Ottley, Johann Fischer also maintains that the Isaiah translator was lacking in competence as regards the Hebrew language. In his work *In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias den LXX vor? Eine textkritische Studie* (1930),<sup>11</sup> Fischer notices that in places where the Hebrew is easy to comprehend, the translation accords with the MT, but when it becomes more complicated, the translator has often changed his text and occasionally resorted to conjecture. Still, Fischer also allows for the possibility that deviations from the MT are sometimes caused by the *deliberate* interventions of the translator: The translator has dealt freely with his text; he did not aim at an exact word by word translation, but rather attempted to express the meaning of his text. This free way of rendering, together with the translator's supposed lack of knowledge of the Hebrew, Fischer assumes to account for the majority of LXX Isaiah's variants. Differences in *Vorlage*, by contrast, have caused only a minority of them, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Isaiah being practically identical to that of the MT.<sup>12</sup>

Fischer mentions several phenomena that he regards to be typical for the Greek Isaiah. These are, among others, *Doppelübersetzungen* (which he takes to be the work of later editors), clarifying additions, the transposition of consonants (לנא becomes נלנ), the mutual influence of related texts, haplography and dittography at the beginning and end of words, and inner Greek corruptions.<sup>13</sup> But the most striking aspect that he thinks typifies the LXX of Isaiah is the fact that this translation very frequently displays a *Defizit* in comparison to the MT. As a clarification for these (mostly small) minuses he offers several options:

- The translator has accidentally skipped part of the text.
- Intentional omissions by the translator, especially when he did not grasp an expression, or when something in his eyes did not fit well in the context.
- The drawing together of textual elements by the translator, who thus wanted to offer a shortened version of the text.
- Something was already missing in the *Vorlage* of the LXX.

Fischer concludes by positing that in most cases LXX Isaiah's *Defizit* is merely apparent, and not evidence of a more original reading.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Ottley, *Book of Isaiah*, 1:50.

<sup>11</sup> Johann Fischer, *In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias den LXX vor? Eine textkritische Studie* (BZAW 56; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1930).

<sup>12</sup> Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 8–9.

<sup>13</sup> Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 10–15.

<sup>14</sup> Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 6–8.

The scholar who was next in line, and who left his predecessors somewhat in his shadow, is Joseph Ziegler. I have already lingered on his major work—*Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (1934)—earlier in this introduction, and will do here some more. In the *Untersuchungen* Ziegler criticises the method of isolating a word from its surrounding and then comparing it to its Greek equivalent. He prefers to give consideration to the *context* in which a word occurs—to parallel and related places—and to elucidate the translation from that perspective.<sup>15</sup> Ziegler means that the Septuagint of Isaiah distinguishes itself from other translations in that it bears the personal stamp of the translator. The Isaiah translator often tends to give a free rendering of the Hebrew. When he has trouble in understanding the text, he does not hesitate to omit words, to change the order within a clause, or to add his own explanation of it. Repeatedly, the translator is seized by a particular idea and then renders his text under the impact of it.<sup>16</sup> Many times he is influenced by parallel passages elsewhere in Scripture.<sup>17</sup> He further reveals a preference for certain expressions, which he applies in his translation whenever it suits his purposes.<sup>18</sup> Yet, Ziegler emphasises, not all differences between the LXX and the MT of Isaiah can be ascribed to this liberal attitude of the translator. Some of the interpreting additions and variants may already have been extant in his Hebrew *Vorlage* in the form of glosses—scribal notations in the margin of manuscripts.<sup>19</sup>

In the *Untersuchungen* two chapters are assigned to the occurrence of pluses and minuses in the Greek Isaiah. As it concerns minuses, Ziegler regards some of them as gloss-like remarks that the translator has not yet read in his *Vorlage*, but the preponderance he thinks to be accounted for by intentional or unintentional omissions on the part of the translator himself. *Unintentional* omissions—often embodying larger minuses—have occurred through a mistake, made by either the Hebrew scribe, or the Greek translator, or a later Greek editor. *Intentional* omissions are largely due to nonchalance or to a lack of understanding of the translator, who regularly left out difficult or rare Hebrew words. Furthermore, minuses often appear where one finds two (or more) identical or synonymous elements in the Hebrew text. The translator may have removed either of them because he conceived the text as redundant, or because he could not think of a Greek synonym.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, iv.

<sup>16</sup> Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 7–8.

<sup>17</sup> Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 103, 134–35.

<sup>18</sup> Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 13.

<sup>19</sup> Today scholars question the idea of glosses in Hebrew manuscripts. One of the main reasons for this is that the Dead Sea Scrolls, which at the time when Ziegler was writing his *Untersuchungen* had not yet been discovered, do not provide any evidence of such marginal notes.

<sup>20</sup> Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 46–56.

Also regarding LXX Isaiah's pluses Ziegler stresses the uncertainty of their origin: this may have been the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX, the Greek translator, or a later Greek editor. Nevertheless, most pluses betray, according to the scholar, the exegetical and explicating aspirations of the translator himself.

All in all, Ziegler distinguishes the following categories of pluses in LXX Isaiah:

- *Doppelübersetzungen*: These only rarely go back to the "Ur-LXX"; usually they have been added by later readers.
- $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  (appears approximately forty times as a plus): This word has generally been inserted by the translator himself, in particular when the same word is attested in the surrounding text, for example in a parallel verse.
- $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\nu$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\tilde{\omega}$ : These expressions are most commonly additions by the translator.
- Auxiliary verbs.
- Pleonastic additions or similar explicating renderings: The insertion of a noun in the genitive, or of an adjective or a common noun such as  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ; these are usually supplied by the translator.
- The translator's insertion of a subject or an object in order to make the text more explicit (sometimes the extra text may already have been present in the Hebrew manuscript as an exegetical marginal gloss).<sup>21</sup>

After Ziegler's *Untersuchungen*, another influential publication that appeared on the Greek Isaiah was Isac L. Seeligmann's *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah. A Discussion of Its Problems* (1948).<sup>22</sup> In this pioneering study, Seeligmann argues that the Septuagint of Isaiah is not only characterised by a considerable measure of independence vis-à-vis the Hebrew text, but that it also stands out by the influence it reveals of the cultural and political-historic context in which it was composed. The text hides a translator who believed that the period in which he lived, was the time for the fulfilment of ancient prophecies. The Alexandrian translator tried to revive the text of Isaiah and to contemporise it by incorporating in it the religious concepts of the Jewish Hellenistic times in which he lived.<sup>23</sup> This intriguing facet of the Greek Isaiah which Seeligmann has

<sup>21</sup> Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 56–60.

<sup>22</sup> Isac L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah. A Discussion of Its Problems* (MVEOL 9; Leiden: Brill, 1948). Recently also published in Isac L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies* (ed. Robert Hanhart and Hermann Spieckermann; FAT 40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 119–294.

<sup>23</sup> Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 3–4; 76–120.

brought to the fore was later elaborated on by, among others, Robert Hanhart,<sup>24</sup> Jean Koenig,<sup>25</sup> and Arie van der Kooij.<sup>26</sup>

Yet, even though van der Kooij in his works has paid much attention to the phenomenon of actualisation within the Greek Isaiah, in his opinion this is only one of the various aspects on which an examination of this translation should focus. In several of his studies van der Kooij has emphasised that an atomistic approach to the Septuagint of Isaiah ought to be avoided: the differences between the LXX and the MT should not be investigated merely on word or verse level, but rather in the light of their own context in the Greek, especially their immediate context—the pericope or chapter in which they occur. In view of this, van der Kooij wants to promote a “contextual approach” to the Greek Isaiah.<sup>27</sup> In *The Oracle of Tyre* (1998)<sup>28</sup> he introduces a method that fits such a course, involving an analysis of the LXX in four steps. Firstly, the investigation of the Masoretic text on a grammatical, stylistic, and semantic level. Secondly, the comparison of the Greek with the Hebrew, followed by a study of the LXX on its own, which is directed at contextual questions, such as: Which function and meaning do particular LXX renderings have in their own context? Are they related to each other? Does the Greek in itself form a coherent text? The third step is to analyse the LXX passage according to its genre. In LXX Isaiah this is especially useful as it concerns prophetic texts. These prompt discussion as to whether the translator has tried to reinterpret those texts in order to apply them to his own time. This is where we arrive at the topic of actualisation. The fourth and final step has bearing on the Hebrew source text behind the Greek translation, and on the question of how the translator has read and interpreted

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<sup>24</sup> See e.g. Robert Hanhart, “Die Septuaginta als Interpretation und Aktualisierung,” in *Isac Leo Seeligmann Volume. Essays on the Bible and the Ancient World* (ed. Alexander Rofé and Yair Zakovitch; 3 vols.; Jerusalem: E. Rubinstein’s Publishing, 1983), 3:331–46.

<sup>25</sup> Jean Koenig, *L’herméneutique analogique du Judaïsme antique d’après les témoins textuels d’Israël* (VTSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1982).

<sup>26</sup> Also das Neves has written on this subject: see J. C. M. das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega dos Setenta no Livro de Isaías* (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1973).

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 33; idem, “The Old Greek of Isaiah 19:16–25. Translation and Interpretation,” in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Jerusalem 1986* (ed. Claude E. Cox; SCS 23; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1987), 127–66; idem, “Isaiah in the Septuagint,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah. Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans; 2 vols.; VTSup 70; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 2:520; idem, *The Oracle of Tyre. The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 15–19.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

this text.<sup>29</sup> With respect to this issue, van der Kooij follows the line that the *Vorlage* of LXX Isaiah was probably not very different from the MT.<sup>30</sup>

A somewhat controversial, and—not only for that reason—also very fascinating work, is *L'herméneutique analogique du Judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Isaïe*, written by Jean Koenig in 1982.<sup>31</sup> Koenig in this monograph polemicalises against the “explication empiriste” of the Greek Isaiah of which he accuses his predecessors, especially Ziegler and Ottley. Those scholars too often, in his view, explained LXX Isaiah’s deviations from the Hebrew as the product of the translator’s ignorance or subjectivity. This especially relates to the way in which they approach the phenomenon of “analogy” in the translation.<sup>32</sup> By the term “analogy” Koenig seeks to indicate the adoption of elements from elsewhere in Scripture (“analogie scripturaire”) on the one hand, and cases in which the translator has intentionally read Hebrew words in a variant way—for example by means of metathesis or homonymy— (“analogie verbale formelle”) on the other. Even if Ziegler and Ottley did recognise some instances of analogy, they failed, in Koenig’s eyes, to identify the method that was hidden behind it. On these grounds, Koenig wants to replace the empirical exegesis of his predecessors by his own “herméneutique analogique et méthodique,” which presupposes an authoritative *norm* to underlie cases of analogy. Analogy was not employed just randomly in the translation, but with precision and subtlety. This implies, as Koenig argues, that the technique was the outcome of scholarly investigation, bound to the religious principles of contemporary Judaism. The purpose of its application was to create a text that would be edifying for the religious community. Within Hellenistic Judaism a particular hermeneutics existed that legitimated and authorised the phenomenon of analogy in religious texts. It did not only impact on the Septuagint of Isaiah, but also, *inter alia*, on the Great Isaiah Scroll from Qumran, in which plenty of examples of analogy can also be found. In later Rabbinical texts this hermeneutical method of analogy has been applied even more extensively, Koenig contends.

While Koenig now and then runs the risk of clarifying LXX Isaiah’s variants in a somewhat speculative way, his approach is directly opposed to the rather careful evaluation of Moshe Goshen-Gottstein. His analysis of LXX Isaiah is included in the text edition of the book of Isaiah that forms part of *The Hebrew University Bible* of which Goshen-Gottstein is one of the editors.<sup>33</sup> In the critical

<sup>29</sup> van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre*, 15–19.

<sup>30</sup> van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre*, 12.

<sup>31</sup> Jean Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique du Judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Isaïe* (VTSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1982).

<sup>32</sup> Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 3–12.

<sup>33</sup> Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed., *The Book of Isaiah* (HUB; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1995).

apparatus to this text Goshen-Gottstein pays much consideration to the comparison of the MT with the LXX of Isaiah. He offers comments on many of the pluses, minuses and variants of the latter, which he most often perceives as being the result of a translation technique or a translational mistake. Some examples of categories he offers in order to classify pluses and minuses are “condensed rendering,” the influence of other texts (from inside or outside of Isaiah), double reading or rendering, dittography, haplography, homoeoteleuton, exegesis, expanded rendering, inner Greek changes, a lack of lexicographical knowledge, a tendency to level cases of parallelism, reduction of repetitions, reformulation, and simplification. In his discussion of the differences, Goshen-Gottstein tries hard to avoid conjectural explanations,<sup>34</sup> regularly rejecting creative explanations of not obvious Greek equivalents. In this he may sometimes go slightly too far, in my view, as it seems clear that an associative, midrashic way of rendering the Hebrew was typical of the Isaiah translator.<sup>35</sup>

This midrashic component of the Greek Isaiah is regularly pointed out by David A. Baer. In his monograph *When We All Go Home* (2001)<sup>36</sup> Baer puts forward that LXX Isaiah chapters 56–66 are marked by theological *Tendenz* and homiletical motivation. Several of the tendencies that he recognises in the translation are “personalization,” which refers to the translator’s inclination to “personalise” his text by turning third-person references into first- and second-person statements; “imperativization”—indicating the fact that declarative statements are regularly turned into commands; the translator’s amelioration of theologically or ideologically offensive passages, and his display of a nationalistic bias in favour of the Jews and Jerusalem.<sup>37</sup> However, even when diverging from his source text, the translator still remains close to the details of his Hebrew *Vorlage*: he “seldom strays from his Hebrew text for more than two or three words,”<sup>38</sup> and there is almost always some concrete textual feature that has authorised or facilitated the translator’s manoeuvre.<sup>39</sup> In this, the translator reveals an affinity with the midrashic tradition.<sup>40</sup> To this topic of the freedom

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<sup>34</sup> This he himself admits in a footnote in *Textus*: “I readily admit that because of the flights of fancy in which many critics indulge, I may be too cautious. But, generally speaking, I am suspicious of any conjecture which does not ‘click’ after the assumption of one intermediate step and which assumes the improbable in the way of script and sound” (Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, “Theory and Praxis of Textual Criticism. The Text-critical Use of the Septuagint,” *Textus* 3 [1963]: 142 n.39).

<sup>35</sup> See section 1.3.2d below.

<sup>36</sup> David A. Baer, *When We All Go Home. Translation and Theology in LXX Isaiah 56–66* (JSOTSup 318; The Hebrew Bible and Its Versions 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

<sup>37</sup> See section 10.3.

<sup>38</sup> Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 278; see section 1.3.2e.

<sup>39</sup> Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 119.

<sup>40</sup> Baer, *When We All Go Home*, e.g. 15–16; 22, 119.

versus conservatism of LXX Isaiah which Baer touches upon, we will return later on in this chapter.

Another study from the same year which I have regularly consulted, is “Le Livre d’Ésaïe dans la Septante. Ecdotique, stylistique, linguistique ou esquisse d’une poétique de la Septante,” which forms the PhD dissertation of the French scholar Philippe Le Moigne.<sup>41</sup> This work has unfortunately not been published yet. It contains much valuable and detailed information on a number of particles in the Greek Isaiah, and on LXX Isaiah’s use of the figure of chiasmus.

The most recent work that has been written on the Isaiah translation is *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation. The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah* (2008), by Ronald L. Troxel.<sup>42</sup> In it Troxel seeks to present a counterview to the dominant idea of recent decades that the free translation style of LXX Isaiah reveals the translator’s conviction that Isaiah’s oracles were being fulfilled in his own days. According to Troxel, there is no basis to classify the translator’s work under the rubric of *Erfüllungsinterpretation*. His way of translating is rather determined by another interest, namely his concern to convey the sense of the Isaianic text to his Greek readers. For this purpose he used whatever devices were at his disposal, such as the interpretation of words in the light of others occurring later on in the context, his supply of a word or phrase to complete the meaning he finds implied, his insertion of an expression based on a parallel in the nearby context, his choice of contextually appropriate equivalents based on etymological interpretations; his inclination to plug in stop-gap words, selecting a word that best fitted his understanding of the context, and his willingness to interpret words and phrases in the light of the broader context, as well as to borrow formulations from elsewhere in the book or from outside it. Also his reformulations of sentences are intended to give his readers a better insight into the message of the Isaianic text. Still, such manoeuvres should, according to Troxel, merely be understood as “ad hoc attempts to make sense of the text for the reader”;<sup>43</sup> they do not reveal any method of the translator. Some of the devices mentioned, such as etymological reasoning, and the rendering of Scriptural passages in the light of other, related ones—even though they were also applied in contemporary Jewish literature—make Troxel assume that the translator was influenced by the work of Aristarchus and other *γραμματικοί* in the Alexandrian Museum: “Just as Aristarchus practiced interpretation of Homer by Homer ... so the Isaiah translator found a sure guide to meaning by looking to other passages inside and outside Isaiah that contained similar words, phrases,

<sup>41</sup> Philippe Le Moigne, “Le Livre d’Ésaïe dans la Septante. Ecdotique, stylistique, linguistique ou esquisse d’une poétique de la Septante” (PhD diss., l’École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 2001).

<sup>42</sup> Ronald L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation. The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah* (JSJSup 124; Leiden: Brill, 2008).

<sup>43</sup> Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 228.

or themes.”<sup>44</sup> According to Troxel it is very likely that the Isaiah translator was influenced by these scholars, since their work was probably familiar to any intellectual Alexandrian.

Although I think that Troxel is right in underlining the Isaiah translator’s large-scale use of certain interpretative devices with the purpose of bringing the message of Isaiah closer to his readers, I do not believe that his employing such means excludes the possibility that at times this message in the translator’s eyes contained elements that were of a special importance for his own time and community. His application of linguistic and contextual or intertextual exegesis may well have gone hand in hand with a certain interest in contemporisation.

When surveying the various works that have been written over the last two centuries concentrating on the Greek Isaiah (although I have been unable to deal with many of them here),<sup>45</sup> I have found that two things stand out for me. In the first place, in the investigation of LXX Isaiah throughout the years one can observe a shift. While in the earlier period differences between the Hebrew and Greek were quite often ascribed to the translator’s supposed *incompetence* (by, among others, Ottley, Fischer, Ziegler, and Seeligmann),<sup>46</sup> in the course of the decades scholars became more and more aware of the deliberate approach and scrutiny of the translator. As a consequence, the majority of LXX Isaiah’s variants came to be conceived of as the product of the translator’s purposeful interventions. While a scholar such as Koenig went quite far in this direction, others, such as Goshen-Gottstein, Baer, and Troxel took a more moderate position.

A second observation is that in works on LXX Isaiah certain patterns that appear to typify the translation recur again and again, having been noticed by successive authors. These are, for instance, the translator’s penchant for borrowing elements from other passages in Scripture, his inclination towards making his text more explicit, his reduction of synonymous or identical elements, and his homiletical interest and midrashic-like way of interpreting the Hebrew. Also in the present work these translational patterns will be treated, as they provide a significant clarification of many of the translation’s pluses and minuses as well. Yet, other typical habits of the Isaiah translator seem to have been somewhat neglected in previous studies. One of these is the translator’s stylistic or literary inspiration. Although while taking a closer look at the style

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<sup>44</sup> Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 291.

<sup>45</sup> One of these is Ekblad’s useful study on the Septuagint version of Isaiah’s Servant Poems, in which the author tries to determine the specific exegesis and underlying theology of these chapters. See Eugene R. Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah’s Servant Poems according to the Septuagint. An Exegetical and Theological Study* (CBET 23; Leuven: Peeters, 1999).

<sup>46</sup> Ottley, *Book of Isaiah*, 1:36, 49, 51, etc.; Fischer, *In welcher Schrift*, 5, 7, 9, etc.; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 7, 13, 46–47, etc.; Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 49, 56–57.

and rhetoric of the Isaiah translation, one can do nothing else but appreciate the way in which the translator has dealt with the rhetorical aspect of his work, it has regularly been denied that the LXX translator was even concerned with this side of his translation. One of the few scholars who has given due credit to the stylistic efforts of the Isaiah translator is the already mentioned Philippe Le Moigne. Because the translator of Isaiah has been underestimated in this respect, the present work will pay special consideration to this topic of stylistics, and attempt to shed more light on how it may have influenced the translation, even if my inquiry regarding this subject has to be restricted to the cases of plus and minus.

### 1.2 A survey of studies on pluses and minuses in the Septuagint

Despite the fact that other works focusing on the pluses and minuses in the Greek Isaiah have not been published yet, there are some studies which discuss pluses and minuses in sections elsewhere in the Septuagint. An early example of such a study is George B. Gray's article "The Additions in the Ancient Greek Version of Job," dating from 1920.<sup>47</sup> In it Gray divides the pluses in the LXX translation of Job into two groups: Firstly, small pluses, composed of a word or two or a clause, of which some according to the author may already have been present in the underlying Hebrew manuscript of the LXX, while others were probably added by the translator himself. In addition to these small pluses, LXX Job contains two larger ones, in 2:9 and at the end of the book. These Gray supposes to have been inserted by a later editor of the translation, since they differ in vocabulary from the surrounding text.

More than a half century later, in 1984, the work *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel. The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Massoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts* appeared, written by Stephen Pisano.<sup>48</sup> This book deals with the "significant"—that is larger—pluses and minuses in the Greek version of Samuel, which can be encountered in this translation in substantial numbers. Usually they are formed by major parts of verses, but also by one or more entire verses. The main point that Pisano infers after inquiring into these pluses, is that the Masoretic version of Samuel generally reflects a more original text form than the LXX: pluses and minuses in LXX Samuel are quite often the result of later literary activity on the part of the translator or the editor of the Hebrew

<sup>47</sup> George B. Gray, "The Additions in the Ancient Greek Version of Job," *The Expositor* VIII, 19 (1920): 422–38.

<sup>48</sup> Stephen Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel. The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Massoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts* (OBO 57; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984).

*Vorlage*. In some cases they are the outcome of translational mistakes, but more often of deliberate modification. The LXX translator or the Hebrew editor from time to time inserted elements for “expansionist” motives, or shortened their text so as to produce a smoother or more unified narrative.<sup>49</sup> Strikingly often LXX Samuel displays pluses that can be explained in a “haplographic” way. Those pluses contain identical or similar words at the beginning and end of the phrases or sentences of which they consist, suggesting that their omission in other manuscripts may be the result of a haplogenic error, although in reality the extra text is an expansion accomplished by a later editor or by the LXX translator, who was thus trying to make his insertions fit more smoothly into the text.<sup>50</sup>

Also the “CATTS-project” under the guidance of Robert A. Kraft and Emanuel Tov has made the pluses and minuses of the Septuagint one of its targets of investigation.<sup>51</sup> This especially pertains to the work that this project has produced under the title *The Minuses of the Septuagint. The Pentateuch*.<sup>52</sup> This extremely scrupulous study, edited by Frank Polak and Galen Marquis, gives a comprehensive listing of all minuses in the Pentateuch. They are classified on the basis of different levels, such as the linguistic unit they form, and their syntactic and stylistic functions. Also minuses that possibly have a translational or scribal background have been grouped together, as well as ones that are paralleled in other Hebrew texts.

In their analysis of minuses the authors are inevitably faced with all kinds of complexities related to the definition of a “minus.” Polak and Marquis regard a minus as

... an element of the biblical text present in the MT that is not represented in the LXX, in a constellation indicating a possible shorter reading of the Hebrew source text. On the other hand, if there is a reasonable justification for deciding that the

<sup>49</sup> Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel*, 283.

<sup>50</sup> Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel*, 242, 283.

<sup>51</sup> See e.g. Robert A. Kraft and Emanuel Tov, “Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies,” *BIOSCS* 14 (1981): 22–40; Emanuel Tov, “The Use of a Computerized Data Base for Septuagint Research. The Greek-Hebrew Parallel Alignment,” *BIOSCS* 17 (1984): 36–47, esp. 45; idem, “Computer Assisted Alignment of the Greek-Hebrew Equivalents of the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint,” in *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)* (ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos; Textos y estudios “Cardenal Cisneros” 34; Madrid: Instituto “Arias Montano,” 1985), 221–42, esp. 229–30; idem, *A Computerized Data Base for Septuagint Studies. The Parallel Aligned Text of the Greek and Hebrew Bible* (CATSS 2; Stellenbosch: CATSS, 1986), 51–56.

<sup>52</sup> Frank Polak and Galen Marquis, *A Classified Index of the Minuses of the Septuagint* (2 vols.; CATSS Basic Tools 4; Stellenbosch: CATSS, 2002).

responsibility for the shorter Greek text lies solely with the translator, we are dealing with a reduced rendering, rather than with a minus.<sup>53</sup>

Hence, Polak and Marquis opt to speak of a “minus” only if the absence of a Greek equivalent is probably caused by a deviating Hebrew *Vorlage*, and not when this is most likely the translator’s own achievement. Notwithstanding this, missing elements that according to the authors have their roots in translational practices, still receive a discussion in their work, being assigned to specific categories, and in this way included among “the Minuses of the Septuagint.” This inconsistency illustrates the complex nature of analysing pluses and minuses in ancient translations.

Polak and Marquis have offered a pleasingly systematic and (virtually) complete list of the minuses in the Greek translation of the Pentateuch. Yet, their method of identifying and registering minuses cannot readily be applied to every other book of the Septuagint. This has to do with the different character of the various Greek translations: The Septuagint of the Pentateuch—like for instance the LXX of the Psalms, Chronicles and part of Samuel-Kings—affords a quite literal translation of the Hebrew text, making it relatively easier to catalogue all pluses and minuses of this document. The translation of other biblical writings, such as the book of Isaiah, on the contrary, is characterised by a large number of sections which render the supposed underlying Hebrew in a fairly free way. As a result, it is sometimes rather doubtful what exactly are the “pluses” and “minuses” in a specific unit, or whether it is even useful to employ these terms in some contexts (we will continue on this subject further on in this chapter). On these grounds, as far as the LXX of Isaiah is concerned, it is not a realistic aim to try to offer an entirely complete list of its pluses and minuses.

### 1.3 How to establish pluses and minuses in a translation

#### 1.3.1 Defining “plus” and “minus”; “addition” and “omission”

The terms “plus” and “minus” easily give rise to confusion. This makes it necessary to include in this introduction a short reflection on their meaning.

In the present study a “plus” denotes a textual element (consisting of one or more words) which is present in the LXX but does not have a counterpart in the Masoretic text. A “minus,” on the contrary, is an element attested in the MT which is not represented in the LXX. This terminology is meant to be neutral, not conveying any implication about the origin of the textual element under consideration. Hence, it does not indicate whether the cause of this extra or

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<sup>53</sup> Polak and Marquis, *Minuses of the Septuagint*, 1:8.

missing part of the text lies either in the translation process or in the underlying Hebrew text of the translation. This accords with the way in which the categories “plus” and “minus” are used, for instance, in Tov’s handbook *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*.<sup>54</sup> Some other works, though, reckon among “pluses” and “minuses” only those components of the translation that probably have to be attributed to a *Vorlage* that was at variance with the MT.<sup>55</sup>

A similar confusion exists around the terms “addition” and “omission.” Especially in earlier works on the Septuagint these have occasionally been employed to indicate extra or missing text in the translation without the purpose of claiming anything as the cause, so leaving open the possibility that this is due to a different *Vorlage*.<sup>56</sup> However, nowadays “addition” and “omission” are mostly used in their literal sense, that is, designating quantitative deviations from the MT that are most likely accounted for by the translator himself. Also in the present study I will label text as an “addition” or an “omission” solely if assuming that a translational move is at stake.

### 1.3.2 Segmentation of the source text

Before one can try to identify pluses and minuses in a translation, it has first to be clear which choice the translator has made in the *segmentation* of his source text.<sup>57</sup> In other words, one has to establish on which linguistic level he has realised his translation.<sup>58</sup> A translator may choose as segments on which he

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<sup>54</sup> Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (rev. and enl. ed.; JBS 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 127–33.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. Tov, *Computerized Data Base*, 51: “It should immediately be added that not all plus and minus elements of the LXX are indicated as pluses and minuses. Many of these plus and minus elements are considered as integral part of the rendering and hence are not denoted in a special way. Only those elements which have possible or probable text-critical implications are considered as pluses and minuses. Minus and plus elements which are not indicated in the data base as minus or plus refer to the realm of the translator’s language or exegesis ... or are doublets ...” See also Polak and Marquis, *Minuses of the Septuagint*, 1:8.

<sup>56</sup> See e.g. Richard R. Ottley, *A Handbook to the Septuagint* (London: Methuen, 1920), e.g. 105–9.

<sup>57</sup> By using the word “choice” I do not want to suggest that this was mainly an *intentional* choice of the translator. Rather, he may often not have been conscious at all of which segmentation he choose, but just acted upon his intuition; see Konrad D. Jenner, Wido Th. van Peursen, and Eep Talstra, “CALAP. An Interdisciplinary Debate between Textual Criticism, Textual History and Computer Assisted Linguistic Analysis,” in *Corpus Linguistics and Textual History. A Computer-Assisted Interdisciplinary Approach to the Peshitta* (ed. P. S. F. van Keulen and W. Th. van Peursen; SSN 48; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2006), 30–32.

<sup>58</sup> James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (NAWG 11, MSU 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 294–303; Sebastian Brock, “Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique,” in *III<sup>e</sup> Symposium Syriacum 1980. Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures (Goslar 7-11 Septembre 1980)* (ed. René Lavenant; OCA 221; Rome: Pontificum Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983), 5–6.



In the LXX the text has been made more implicit by the rendering of אל-חזקיהו as αὐτῷ.

*a. Translation at word level*

The translator of LXX Isaiah has mainly rendered his text at word level: most commonly one word in the Hebrew is mirrored by one word in the Greek. “Word” should not be taken in the sense of a *graphical* word—a series of letters between two empty spaces—but as a *functional* word, that is the smallest linguistic unit that by itself has a meaning and a grammatical function,<sup>60</sup> or, in technical terms, “a lexeme together with all its inflectional affixes.”<sup>61</sup> Functional words do sometimes not accord with graphical words, for instance, in the case of the so-called “clitics”—words that are immediately connected to other words on which they are dependent for their realisation.<sup>62</sup> Hebrew instances of these are the article ה, the pronominal suffixes, the conjunction ו and the prepositions כ, ב and ל, which formally count as (functional) words.

In parts of the text which are translated at word level pluses and minuses are simply those *words* in the translation that are extra as compared to the source text, respectively those words in the source text of which an equivalent fails in the translation. One example of a passage in LXX Isaiah that has almost entirely been translated at word level, is afforded by Isa 1:3:

MT Isa 1:3	ידע שור קנהו וחמור אבוס בעליו ישראל לא ידע עמי לא התבונן
LXX Isa 1:3	ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ· Ἰσραηλ δὲ με οὐκ ἔγνω, καὶ ὁ λαὸς με οὐ συνῆκεν.

In the synopsis below, the n-dash indicates a minus, while pluses have been underlined>.

ידע	ἔγνω
שור	βοῦς
קנהו	τὸν κτησάμενον (-)

<sup>60</sup> For this distinction, see Hendrik Jan Bosman and Constantijn J. Sikkel, “Reading Authors and Reading Documents,” in *Bible and Computer. The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference. Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique “From alpha to byte.”; University of Stellenbosch 17–21 July, 2000* (ed. Johann Cook; Leiden; Brill, 2002), 115–20; idem, “A Discourse on Method. Basic Parameters of Computer-Assisted Linguistic Analysis on Word Level,” in *Corpus Linguistics and Textual History. A Computer-Assisted Interdisciplinary Approach to the Peshitta* (ed. P. S. F. van Keulen and W. Th. van Peursen; SSN 48; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2006), 103–5.

<sup>61</sup> Bosman and Sikkel, “Reading Authors and Reading Documents,” 115.

<sup>62</sup> Constantijn J. Sikkel, “Lexeme Status of Pronominal Suffixes,” in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography. Colloquia of the International Syriac Language Project* (ed. Janet Dyk and Wido van Peursen; 3 vols.; PSL 4; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 3:65.

<sup>63</sup> The article has been left out of consideration.

חמור	καὶ ὄνος
אבוס	τὴν φάτνην
בעליו	τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ.
ישראל	Ἰσραηλ
(-)	δέ
(-)	μὲ
אל	οὐκ
עד	ἔγνω,
(-)	καὶ
עמי	ὁ λαός (-)
(-)	μὲ
אל	οὐ
התבונן	συνῆκεν.

*b. Translation at phrase level*

Very frequently the translator switches from a translation at word level to a translation at phrase level, which means that one phrase in the Hebrew is reflected by one phrase in the Greek. As discussed earlier, this may entail that something that in Hebrew is expressed by means of only one word, in Greek is formulated using two or more words, or *vice versa*. There can be multiple reasons for such a difference in the number of words forming a phrase, both semantic and grammatical. From a semantic perspective, the translator may employ more words for denoting the same entity simply because his language requires more words for conveying this idea. Also when he renders a Hebrew word in a variant way this sometimes causes a deviation in the number of words used (for instance שניהם becomes οἱ ἄνομοι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί in Isa 1:31). An example of a grammatical reason is that the Hebrew sometimes has a preposition where the Greek uses a declension (for instance לשמרין becomes Σαμαρεία in Isa 10:11); another one is that in Greek a verb is regularly followed by a preposition where in Hebrew it is not (παύσαθε ἀπὸ corresponds to חדל in Isa 1:16).

Besides in the case where equivalent phrases have a different number of words, one can also speak of a rendering at phrase level when the translation utilises a *grammatical category* other than the source language, which changes the internal word structure. An illustration is provided by the Hebrew method of qualifying a thing or a person by means of a genitive construction (such as רע זר

מרעים in Isa 1:4), whereas the Greek commonly uses an adjective for that purpose (*σπέρμα πονηρόν*).<sup>64</sup>

Some additional examples of a translation at phrase level are the following:

3:13	<b>ועמד לדון עמים</b> He stands to judge <i>the peoples</i>	<b>καὶ στήσει εἰς κρίσιν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ</b> And he will make <i>his people</i> stand to judge them
8:8	<b>והיה מטות כנפיו</b> And <i>its outspread wings</i> will fill	<b>καὶ ἔσται ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ ὥστε πληρῶσαι</b> And <i>his camp</i> will be such as to fill
35:6	<b>ותרן לשון אלם</b> the tongue of the speechless <i>shall sing for joy</i>	<b>καὶ τρανὴ ἔσται γλῶσσα μογιλάλων</b> and the tongue of stammerers <i>shall be clear</i>
35:6	<b>בערבה</b> in the <i>wilderness</i>	<b>ἐν γῆ διψώσῃ</b> in a <i>thirsty land</i>

In some situations it is hard to ascertain whether the translation is either at word or phrase level, which can also make it complicated to determine whether or not there is a plus or minus at stake. This can be exemplified by the rendering of מכה־רגל as ἀπὸ ποδῶν in Isa 1:6. On the one hand, one could perceive this as a translation at phrase level, positing that in this word combination כַּח (“sole”) does not offer extra information, but only specifies that on this occasion רגל denotes a “foot” rather than a “leg” (which is the alternative meaning of רגל).<sup>65</sup> Yet, in favour of the assumption that ἀπὸ ποδῶν in Isa 1:6 is a translation at *word* level—with כַּח being a minus—one can argue that it was not really necessary for the translator to omit an equivalent for כַּח: He could have reproduced מכה־רגל in a more literal way by τὸ ἴχνος τοῦ ποδός, as has also happened in Deut 11:24; 28:35, 56, 65; Josh 1:3; and 2 Sam/2 Kgdms 14:25.

As a consequence of this often vague distinction between translation at word or phrase level, I have to admit that in the present study I have not always been as faithful to this demarcation as I may here have led the reader to expect. At times I discuss “pluses” and “minuses” that may in fact rather form part of a translation at phrase level, sometimes also because they can offer an interesting insight into a certain translation pattern of LXX Isaiah. On such occasions, I have however usually tried to indicate and explain my own aberration.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> The phenomenon that a Hebrew *genitivus qualitatis* corresponds to an adjective in the Greek, has parallels in the Peshitta; see Wido Th. van Peursen, *Language and Interpretation in the Syriac Text of Ben Sira. A Comparative Linguistic and Literary Study* (MPIL 16; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 194–95.

<sup>65</sup> Compare Polak and Marquis, *Minuses of the Septuagint*, 1:14.

<sup>66</sup> See especially sections 4.7 and 9.1.

*c. Translation at clause level*

Now and then the Isaiah translator has provided a rendering at clause level, conveying the message of a Hebrew clause in his own words, without sticking to the original words or phrases. The next three examples can illustrate this:

1:23	ורִיב אֶלְמָנָה לְאִיבּוֹא אֱלִיהֶם and the widow's cause does not come before them	καὶ κρίσιν χηρῶν οὐ προσέχοντες. and not paying attention to the widows' cause
23:13	אֲשׁוּר יִסְדֵּה לְצִיִּים Assur destined her for wild animals	καὶ αὕτη ἡρήμωται ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων This too has been made desolate (left) without the Assyrians <sup>67</sup>
37:34 (etc.)	נִאֻמֵּי יְהוָה (This is) the revelation of the Lord	τάδε λέγει κύριος. These things says the Lord

Translation at clause level does not occur so often in the LXX of Isaiah. This may seem odd for a translation that has regularly been characterised as “free.” However, in the next paragraph we will see that our own idea of a “free” translation, namely translation at clause level—or paraphrase—entails something different from the free style of rendering of the Isaiah translator. This observation is in line with what James Barr has remarked in his much-acclaimed treatise, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, which is that the modern ideal of a free translation—“the idea that one should take a complete sentence or even a longer complex, picture to oneself the meaning of this entirety, and then restate this in a new language in words having no necessary detailed links with the words of the original”—scarcely existed in antiquity.<sup>68</sup>

*d. Rearrangement*

The free style of rendering that the Isaiah translator has applied in his translation with regularity, and at which I have hinted in the preceding section, pertains to a particular method, which, even if it is far from a straightforward word-for-word (or phrase-for-phrase) translation, does not involve paraphrase either. In this way of translating most separate Hebrew words or phrases do have a counterpart in the Greek, but these are semantically and/or grammatically often different from their Hebrew source. Also, the way in which they are joined together into one sentence deviates from the *Vorlage*, resulting in a text that not only has a different syntax but also a different content as compared to the original one. In

<sup>67</sup> NETS translates by “this too has been made desolate by the Assyrians.” For the translation with “... left without the Assyrians,” see van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre*, 66–67.

<sup>68</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, 281.

the present study I shall call this method—by lack of a better term—“rearrangement.”<sup>69</sup> Passages in LXX Isaiah that have been rearranged often display the following features:

- The translator has made a selection from the words of his *Vorlage*: some he does render, others not; with the chosen words he composes a new sentence.
- Besides omitting, the translator may also *add* words if this suits the internal structure of the new sentence or its content. Sometimes one word in the source text has received two counterparts in the translation (“double translation”),<sup>70</sup> or two synonymous expressions have been reduced to one (“condensation”).<sup>71</sup>
- In rearranged sentences the translator has frequently rendered words not in a literal or faithful way but in an associative way; that is, with the help of expressions that are related to the original only indirectly, through a semantic or formal link. Those expressions may belong to another grammatical category (e.g. a verb becomes a noun), or have an entirely different connotation from the original words. In LXX Isaiah, especially formal association occurs abundantly (particularly in rearranged texts, but also beyond). This kind of association means that an expression in the translation, even if it does not form a *semantic* equivalent of a word in the source text, when retroverted into the Hebrew, does resemble the original word as regards its *form*, for instance through the replacement of one letter by another, similar, one (for example, in Isa 44:14 ארץ—“cedar” has generated κύριος via ארץ), or through the application of metathesis.<sup>72</sup> In the past, the origin of such alternative readings has often been sought in an error of the translator or in a different *Vorlage*. Yet, in a large number of these cases the translator has probably read words in a different way *on purpose*. Such a deliberate, creative dealing with the form of words has its roots in Jewish hermeneutics. In this the idea prevailed that words in Scripture do not solely have a literal meaning, but also a derivative one, based on formal

<sup>69</sup> Goshen-Gottstein speaks of “reformulation” (*HUB Isa*, passim); I prefer not to use this term, because it may suggest paraphrase. Troxel calls texts that are rendered in a similar way “non-translations” (Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 134).

<sup>70</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>71</sup> See chapter 3.

<sup>72</sup> Hundreds of examples of this kind can be found in LXX Isaiah. Only a few of them can be given here: See e.g. 2:6 מקדם (MT: קדם—“east”) / ὡς τὸ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς (= קדם—“ancient times”); 8:15 צור (MT: imperative of צרר—“wrap up”) / ἀνθρώποι ἐν ἀσφάλεια ὄντες (= צור—“rock”); 9:4(5) בדמים (MT: דם—“blood”) / μετὰ καταλλαγῆς (= דמים—“price”); 16:3 כליל (MT: כליל—“like night”) / διὰ παντός (= כליל—“entire”); תגלי (MT: Pi’el of גלה—“uncover,” “reveal”) / ἀπαχθῆς (= Hif’il of גלה—“take into exile”); 17:5 ורעו (MT: רעע—“arm”) / σπέρμα (= רעע—“seed”); 17:11 וכאב (MT: כאב—“pain”) / καὶ ὡς πατήρ (= כ + אב—“like a father”).

similarities.<sup>73</sup> An outcome of this same way of interpreting biblical texts can be found in the midrashic method of *al tigre*. This method facilitates the reading of a large number of words from Scripture in a different manner, for instance through a change in the vocalisation of the original word, the transposition of its consonants, or the replacement of one consonant by another one that is formally or phonetically related to it. Such manoeuvres were not made by the rabbis because they rejected the accepted or literal reading, but because they held the opinion that a text could contain various meanings. The reading of the *al tigre* often supported their interpretation of the *halaka* or the *aggadah*.<sup>74</sup> The hypothesis that also the translators of the Septuagint made use of similar midrashic procedures has been defended by, among others, Zacharias Frankel, Leo Priejs, van der Kooij, Roger Le Déaut, and Tov.<sup>75</sup>

- In rearranged texts the translator has not always preserved the Hebrew sentence division; he has often made divisions where they are not attested in the MT (though it is not always clear if he has done this intentionally or not), or he has drawn two clauses of his *Vorlage* together into one.
- Neither has he consistently maintained the word order of his parent text (although mostly he has).
- Rearranged passages at times seem to have been created with the purpose of imbuing certain ideas into the text, such as ideological or theological ones. Rearrangement could provide the translator with a means to, on the one hand, stay close to his *Vorlage* (at least, from a formal perspective), and so to respect the Hebrew text, but on the other hand, where it comes to the message, to deviate from the text and to be able to incorporate in it his own thoughts. In such a way, this method could authorise the translator's ideological, theological, or actualising interpretation of the text. Yet, rearrangement has also been applied for other, more "internal" reasons, for

<sup>73</sup> See e.g. the rabbinical principle *מקרא אחד יצא לכמה תעמים*—"One biblical verse or expression is susceptible of many (different) interpretations" (Sanhedrin 34a) (translation from Max Kadushin, *The Rabbinic Mind* [New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1952], 104).

<sup>74</sup> Harry Torczyner, "Al tikrei," *EncJud* 2:776.

<sup>75</sup> Zacharias Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta. Historisch-kritische Studien zu der Septuaginta. Nebst Beiträgen zu den Targumim* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1841), 185–91; Leo Priejs, *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta* (Leiden, Brill: 1948), 35–61; van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 66–67; Roger Le Déaut, "La Septante. Un Targum?," in *Études sur le judaïsme hellénistique. Congrès de Strasbourg (1983)* (ed. Raymond Kuntzmann et al.; LD 119; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1984), 187–90; Tov, *Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 164. For the LXX Isaiah translator's use of midrashic methods, see in addition to van der Kooij (op.cit.), e.g. Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, e.g. 35–37; Baer, *When We All Go Home*, e.g. 16, 22; Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 107–18.

instance in order to make a connection with biblical passages elsewhere,<sup>76</sup> or for stylistic motives.<sup>77</sup>

The way of translating I have just tried to expose has been described by Barr decades ago. In his aforementioned treatise he notes that in ancient Greek Bible translations one often encounters a translation method in which “the lexical elements are ... taken fairly literally and rendered with common or easily understandable equivalences. But the syntactic structure of the Greek sentence is a quite free composition of the translator.”<sup>78</sup> Barr further remarks that it is not unusual in Greek translations from the Hebrew that the translation is on the one hand “literal”—in the sense that it offers an “one-for-one representation” of the Hebrew elements by Greek ones—but at the same time “free,” because the translator in rendering those separate elements allowed himself great liberties. According to Barr many translators in antiquity were neither consistently literal nor consistently free in their way of translating but combined these two approaches in a rather inconsistent way.<sup>79</sup> This image that Barr depicts of ancient Bible translations fits the Septuagint of Isaiah quite well. Also in this translation literal and free rendition are often closely and intricately intertwined.<sup>80</sup>

To make this rather technical exposition somewhat more concrete, let me now offer a few illustrations of rearranged texts in LXX Isaiah:

*Isa 3:10*

MT Isa 3:10

אמרו צדיק כִּי־טוב

Tell the innocent how fortunate they are

LXX Isa 3:10

εἰπόντες Δῆσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστι·  
saying, “Let us bind the just, for he is a nuisance to us.”

The words or phrases of this verse can be aligned in a synopsis in the following way. At the right a proposal is made for the manner in which the Hebrew and Greek may match:

אמרו	εἰπόντες	different mood of corresponding verbs
אמרו	Δῆσωμεν	double translation and formal association (אסרו)
צדיק	τὸν δίκαιον	
כִּי	ὅτι	

<sup>76</sup> See chapter 8.

<sup>77</sup> See chapter 7.

<sup>78</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, 323.

<sup>79</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, 281.

<sup>80</sup> This point is also repeatedly emphasised by Baer. See Baer, *When We All Go Home*, e.g. 15–16, 22, 119, 278.

טוב	δύσχηστος	semantic association (antonym)?
(-)	ἡμῖν	addition
(-)	ἔστι	addition

אמר seems to have received a double translation in the LXX as both εἰπόντες and Δήσωμεν. The latter is an associative rendering, echoing the Hebrew imperative אסר (“bind!”). The relation between טוב and δύσχηστος is somewhat obscure; maybe the translator has opted for a Greek adjective meaning “nuisance” because it forms an antonym to טוב.<sup>81 82</sup>

### Isa 5:13

MT Isa 5:13 וכבודו מתי רעב והמונו צחה צמא  
their nobles are dying of hunger, and their multitude is parched with thirst.

LXX Isa 5:13 καὶ πλῆθος ἐγενήθη νεκρῶν διὰ λιμὸν καὶ δίψαν ὕδατος.  
They have become a multitude of corpses because of famine and thirst for water.

וכבודו	καὶ πλῆθος (-) (?)	semantic association + omission of suffix?
(-)	ἐγενήθη	addition
מתי רעב	νεκρῶν διὰ λιμὸν	different vocalisation of מתי
המונו	καὶ πλῆθος (-) (?)	condensation?
צחה	(-)	omission
צמא	δίψαν	
(-)	ὑδατος	addition (explicitation)

The translator has reused the Hebrew expressions וכבודו, צמא, מתי, and רעב, but equipped them with other syntactical functions. וכבודו he may have reproduced with καὶ πλῆθος through a link of the root כבד, which can mean “numerous”,<sup>83</sup> with the idea of a multitude. מתי he has vocalised as מתי (“dead ones”) rather than as מתי (“men”) such as the MT exhibits. Besides, he has supplied ἐγενήθη and ὕδατος, and omitted צחה and המונו. The latter noun means “multitude,” parallel to πλῆθος. It is possible that he has interpreted וכבודו and המונו in the same sense, and collapsed these two expressions together into καὶ πλῆθος.

<sup>81</sup> According to Tov the translator, having rendered אמר with Δήσωμεν, “felt compelled to render טוב antithetically with δύσχηστος (Tov, *Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 139). Troxel thinks “this seems a maneuver of last resort to wrest meaning from confusion” (Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 93).

<sup>82</sup> For a discussion of the rendering of this verse, see Scholz, *Alexandrinische Uebersetzung*, 31; Fischer, *In Welcher Schrift*, 19; Ottley, *Book of Isaiah*, 2:117; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 61; Tov, *Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 138–39; Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation*, 93.

<sup>83</sup> For כבד with this meaning, see e.g. Gen 50:9; Exod 8:20; 10:14; 12:38; Num 20:20. For the possible rendering of כבד with πλῆθος, see Isa 21:15: מלחמה כבד ומופני כבד / καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πεπτωκότων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.

## Isa 16:3

MT Isa 16:3 עשו פליה שיתי כליל כלך בתוך צהרים סתרי נדחים נדד אל־תגלי  
grant justice; make your shade like night at the height of noon; hide  
the outcasts, do not betray the fugitive;

LXX Isa 16:3 πλείονα βουλεύου, ποίει τε σκέπην πένθους αὐτῆ δια παντός.  
ἐν μεσημβρινῆ σκοτία φεύγουσιν, ἐξέστησαν, μὴ ἀπαχθῆς.  
... take further counsel, and make for her a shelter for mourning for  
all time. They flee in darkness at noon, they were astonished; do not  
be taken away.

עשו פליה	πλείονα βουλεύου	
שיתי	ποίει τε	
כליל	δια παντός	different vocalisation
כלך	σκέπην	transposition + omission of suffix
	πένθους	addition?
	αὐτῆ	addition?
בתוך צהרים	ἐν μεσημβρινῆ	
סתרי	σκοτία	semantic association
נדחים	φεύγουσιν	different mood
נדד	ἐξέστησαν	formal association
אל־תגלי	μὴ ἀπαχθῆς	different vocalisation

In this quite complex translation, most Greek words still seem to hide a link to the Hebrew. *πλείονα βουλεύου* (“take further counsel”) might render *עשו פליה* (“grant justice”), which is likewise governed by an imperative, even if the meaning of the two clauses is different. *ποίει τε σκέπην πένθους αὐτῆ δια παντός* derives from *עלך כליל שיתי*, in which *ποίει* reflects *שיתי*, and *σκέπην* translates *עלך* (with omission of the suffix).<sup>84</sup> *δια παντός* echoes *כליל*, read as *כליל* (“entirely”) instead of as *כליל* (“like night”). The appearance of *πένθους* (“mourning”) is striking. A word with a similar sense cannot be found in the Hebrew version. Probably it is an addition, just like *αὐτῆ* (although, alternatively one could connect *πένθους αὐτῆ* to *פליה*, which would have been linked to *אמלל* or *אבל* [= “to mourn”], while *αὐτῆ* would be based on its final two consonants (לה). The source of *ἐν μεσημβρινῆ* is plain, as this phrase forms a fairly literal rendering of *בתוך צהרים*. The succeeding noun—*σκοτία*—is probably related to *סתרי*; compare for this link Dan 2:22 where “hidden things” (*ומסתרתא*) are called “dark things” (*καὶ σκοτεινά*) in the LXX. The verb *φεύγουσιν* (“they will flee”) in all probability renders *נדחים* (“the banished ones”), while *ἐξέστησαν* (“they were astonished”) represents *נדד* (“fugitive”), interpreted as a

<sup>84</sup> For the translation of *עלך* as *σκέπην*, see Gen 19:8; Judg 9:15; Ps 17(16):8; 36(35):8; 63(62):8; 91(90):1; 121(120):5; Isa 25:4; 49:2; Ezek 31:12, 17; Hos 4:13; and 14:8.

form of נוד, which in Aramaic can denote “to be confused.”  $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\chi\theta\eta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  (“do not be taken away”), at last, comes from אֶל-תִּגְלִי, read as though it were a Hif. form of גלה (“to take into exile”) rather than a Pi. form of the same root meaning “to betray.”

However uncertain one remains about the exact moves the translator has made, his achievement is a Greek text with a different syntax and sentence division, the content of which is almost independent from the Hebrew.

### *1.3.3 The limits of a quantitative approach*

The reason why I have paid so much attention to the subject of rearrangement in LXX Isaiah is so as to expose the problem that in passages, which have been rendered according to this method, the identification of pluses and minuses is usually quite complicated. In rearranged sentences it is often unclear how the source text and translation exactly relate to each other. The connection between segments in the Hebrew and Greek is often merely indirect and hence difficult to ascertain, which makes it hard to find out whether and where the text contains pluses and minuses. What is more, elements have in many cases been added or omitted by the translator just because this suited the syntax and/or logic of his newly created sentence. Such kind of additions and omissions cannot always be detached from their context and clarified on their own. Most do not have a function in themselves, but are purely related to and dependent on the new sentence that has been formed.<sup>85</sup> One could even query whether those elements can still be defined as cases of “plus” and “minus.” For these reasons, doubtful “pluses” and “minuses” forming part of rearranged sentences will mostly be excluded from my discussion of the pluses and minuses in the Greek Isaiah. Nonetheless, there are also pluses and minuses in rearranged texts that can be explained separately. See, for example,  $\upsilon\delta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in 5:13 above, which explicates “thirst” and of which an equivalent could likewise be imagined to stand in the Hebrew text. Most of such pluses and minuses in rearrangements which can be classified among the “regular” categories of pluses and minuses that LXX Isaiah displays, will receive treatment in the present study.

The complication mentioned above confronts us with the limits of a quantitative approach. The “unsystematic” way of rendering and the elusiveness that feature in certain parts of the Isaiah translation make it often extremely complicated to ascertain which elements can be identified as pluses and minuses; or, they even make it impossible to speak of LXX Isaiah’s pluses and minuses in an unambiguous manner. Here also lies the reason why the present study cannot offer a complete list of “pluses and minuses” in the Septuagint of

<sup>85</sup> For examples, see  $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$  in 3:10;  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\eta\theta\eta$ , צחה, and  $\nu$  in  $\nu\kappa\beta\omega\delta\upsilon$  in 5:13; and  $\sigma\iota\tau\iota$  in 16:3 above.

Isaiah, let alone that for all those cases an explanation could be provided. This work merely seeks to afford a large collection of examples illustrating certain translation processes, patterns, and tendencies that seem to characterise the Greek Isaiah and that have given rise to the occurrence of pluses and minuses in the translation. Additionally, this research highlights the truth we are faced with when searching for extra or missing elements in the translation, namely that a rather extensive amount of the Greek text of Isaiah does not lend itself to a systematic, quantitative approach, but asks of us a more creative and intuitive way of looking at this intriguing translation.

#### 1.4 *Vorlage* or translator?

One question that turns up each time that pluses and minuses in the Septuagint are subjected to an examination is whether they have been caused by an underlying Hebrew manuscript at variance with the MT, or by the translator himself who has added or omitted elements to or from his text. Septuagint scholars have approached this issue in different ways. On the one side, there are those who hold the opinion that prior to establishing the source of a variant to be a different *Vorlage*, one should be able to exclude the possibility that the plus or minus was the translator's own accomplishment. So, first one has to check whether or not the deviation may have come into being by a mistake of the translator (or copyist), a certain translation technique that he has applied, or perhaps a specific interpretation he wanted to incorporate into his text, and only if these options seem implausible, may one postulate that the plus or minus was already present in the translator's Hebrew manuscript. Scholars who take this position, are, *inter alia*, John W. Wevers, Staffan Olofsson and Tov.<sup>86</sup> On the opposite side are the ones who contend that the explanation for a plus or a minus first has to be looked for in a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. One of them is Anneli Aejmelaeus who reasons as follows:

Now, knowing that the translators considered the text they translated to be authoritative Scripture and, on the other hand, that most of them, after all, were fairly literal, it would seem to be a good rule of thumb to start with the assumption

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<sup>86</sup> John W. Wevers, "The Use of Versions for Text Criticism. The Septuagint," in *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)* (ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos; Textos y estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" 34; Madrid: Instituto "Arias Montano," 1985), 20–21; Staffan Olofsson, *The LXX Version. A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (ConBOT 30; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990), 72; Tov, *Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 18, 40.

that larger divergences from the MT mainly come from the *Vorlage*, and only exceptionally and with imperative reasons to attribute them to the translator.<sup>87</sup>

A balanced way of dealing with this question, as most of these scholars (including Aejmelaeus) themselves acknowledge, is to study and evaluate each and every individual case of plus or minus on its own, only after a thorough analysis has been made of the translation character of the work in which it is found. When a translation turns out to be quite literal, this may be an argument to seek the origin of its pluses and minuses in the first place in a different *Vorlage*. When, on the contrary, it appears rather free, one may first try to identify the extra or missing elements as innovations of the translator. Since the Septuagint of Isaiah clearly belongs to the second group—that of “free” translations—this gives rise to the presumption that the preponderance of its pluses and minuses may stem from the translator himself.<sup>88</sup> This is in line with the outcome of the present study, which seems to indicate that most of LXX Isaiah’s pluses and minuses fit within one of the several categories I have found of translation techniques that have been applied frequently in this translation, for which reason it is not necessary to attribute them to a Hebrew text differing from the MT. However, this surely does not imply that I exclude the alternative, namely that any one of them might actually still be the result of a different *Vorlage*. All pluses and minuses which have been labelled under a particular flag in this work should be considered as *possibly*—and not necessarily—explicable in the way suggested.

### 1.5 An outline of this study and a discussion of the method of analysis

A categorisation of the pluses and minuses of the Greek Isaiah can give a more objective and precise insight into the way in which the translator has dealt with his Hebrew text. In view of this fact, I have attempted to classify LXX Isaiah’s

<sup>87</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus, “What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?,” *ZAW* 99 (1987): 68. Eugene Ulrich also maintains that one should first take into consideration whether the Hebrew parent text of the LXX may have been different from the MT before one decides to deal with an intervention of the Isaiah translator; see e.g. Eugene Ulrich, “Light from 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> on the Translation Technique of the Old Greek Translator of Isaiah,” in *Scripture in Transition. Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Rajja Sollamo* (ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 197–98.

<sup>88</sup> This fits with the scholarly consensus that the *Vorlage* of LXX Isaiah was probably not very different from the MT; see e.g. Fischer, *In Welcher Schrift*, 8; Otley, *Book of Isaiah*, 1:51; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 46; van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 29; idem, “‘The Servant of the Lord.’ A Particular Group of Jews in Egypt According to the Old Greek of Isaiah. Some Comments on LXX Isa 49,1–6 and Related Passages,” in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah. Festschrift William A.M. Beuken* (ed. J. van Ruiten and M. Vervenne; BETL 132; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 384; idem, *Oracle of Tyre*, 12.

extra and missing elements, the results of which are shown in this study. In doing this, I have sought to elaborate on the classification of pluses and minuses Ziegler has made, though also to complement and enhance his work where necessary. In this way, I have arrived at eleven categories to account for the large majority of the pluses and minuses to be found in the Greek Isaiah. Each one of these groups will be discussed in one of the next eleven chapters. The order of these categories will be as follows:

- To begin with, the nine categories of translation *techniques* will be described. Initially techniques will be described which are applied universally in translations, and which cause only a small change in the source text and its meaning. These are: explicitation, implicitation,<sup>89</sup> the addition or omission of particles, and free translation. Next follow some techniques which are less common, yet seem to be quite typical of the translator of Isaiah. These techniques often produce a more considerable change in the text. They concern the categories of double translation, condensation, the amelioration of rhetorical figures and anaphoric translation. The chapter on anaphoric translation will extend its range to other parts of Scripture.
- The section on translation techniques will end with one chapter dealing with some other minor factors that may have motivated the translator to add or omit elements, such as his supposedly deficient understanding of the Hebrew, his tendency to improve obscure Hebrew texts, and his ideological or theological convictions.
- After the section on translation techniques, one chapter will follow on pluses and minuses that may have come about through the *error* of the translator.
- The third and final section of this work will deal with extra and missing elements that might have a *different Vorlage* underlying. In this section a comparison between the cases of plus and minus in LXX Isaiah and the Isaiah Scroll from Qumran will also be included.

Thus, the structure of this study can be expressed in a scheme as follows:

Pluses and minuses possibly caused by the translator	chapters 2–11
translation techniques	chapters 2–10
translation mistakes	chapter 11
Pluses and minuses possibly caused by a different <i>Vorlage</i>	chapter 12

<sup>89</sup> The terms “explicitation” and “implicitation” are not found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, but have been coined in the field of translation studies. For a further explanation of them, see chapters 2 and 3.

When examining the pluses and minuses of LXX Isaiah, one is confronted with an extensive amount of material. This has forced me to limit my discussion of each separate case. On account of this, the analysis may occasionally run the risk of appearing somewhat superficial, especially as compared to some other publications on LXX Isaiah that in a very detailed and elaborate way have examined one or two passages of the Isaiah translation. However, the concise style of the present study is the consequence of my choice to treat as large as possible a number of instances of plus and minus in the Greek Isaiah rather than only a selective few.

A second restriction of this study is that it will mainly attempt to discover which translational *tendencies* or *patterns* are disclosed by the Greek translation. The processes leading to pluses and minuses which will be described, will include linguistic and stylistic aspects (that is, cases in which elements have been added or omitted for the sake of a proper use of the Greek language), literary aspects (additions and omissions meant to embellish the Greek text), translation technical aspects (such as the avoidance of redundancy), and contextual and intertextual exegesis and harmonisation. However, it will leave aside a thorough content analysis of the translation, and will thus not try to answer the question as to why the translator may have applied such a specific way of translating from the perspective of the message and content of the wider discourse. Similarly, this study will only sparingly continue into the possible deeper theological, ideological, or actualising motives behind the moves of the translator.

Besides translational patterns, this work will—as mentioned—also pay attention to the relation between the Greek Isaiah and its possible Hebrew *Vorlage*, and try to find out which pluses and minuses may have been the result of the translator's use of a different Hebrew text. But also as concerns this topic, restrictions of room have stopped me from elaborating every detail. The *Vorlage* issue is treated globally throughout and at the end of every chapter, and also separately in chapter 12.

#### *Text editions used*

The Greek text of Isaiah I have employed for this study reflects the critical edition of Ziegler, unless indicated otherwise. Also for the other books of the Septuagint I have used the Göttingen editions for as far as these are already available. The English translation of the Greek comes from *NETS*, except for some occasional changes, which I have indicated in the footnotes. Hebrew citations derive from *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, while the English translation of the Hebrew generally follows the *New Revised Standard Version*.