

XV CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATION FOR SEPTUAGINT AND  
COGNATE STUDIES

# SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES

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Number 64



XV CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATION FOR SEPTUAGINT AND  
COGNATE STUDIES

Munich, 2013

*Edited by*

Wolfgang Kraus, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Meiser



**SBL PRESS**

**Atlanta**

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies.  
Congress (15th : 2013 : Munich, Germany) | Kraus, Wolfgang, 1955- editor.  
| Meer, Michaël N. van der editor. | Meiser, Martin, editor.  
Title: XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and  
Cognate Studies, Munich, 2013 / edited by Wolfgang Kraus, Michaël N. van  
der Meer, and Martin Meiser.  
Description: Atlanta : SBL Press, [2016] | Series: Septuagint and cognate  
studies ; number 64 | Includes bibliographical references and index.  
Identifiers: LCCN 2016011781 (print) | LCCN 2016012794 (ebook) | ISBN  
9781628371383 (pbk. : alk. paper) | ISBN 9780884141624 (hardcover : alk.  
paper) | ISBN 9780884141617 (ebook)  
Subjects: LCSH: Bible. Old Testament.  
Greek--Versions--Septuagint--Congresses.  
Classification: LCC BS744 .I58 2016 (print) | LCC BS744 (ebook) | DDC  
221.4/804--dc23  
LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2016011781>

Printed on acid-free paper.



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## Introduction by the Editors

*Wolfgang Kraus*  
*Michaël N. van der Meer*  
*Martin Meiser*

The fifteenth congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS) was held at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in München (Munich) from the first until the third of August, 2013, three days before the main Old Testament congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT). The IOSCS congress was held under the presidency of Professor Jan Joosten. Practical matters were organized by dr. Michaël N. van der Meer in close cooperation with Professors Christoph Levin and Martin Arneth, respectively the president and the secretary of the IOSOT congress. The present volume contains a large number of the papers read during the IOSCS congress.<sup>1</sup>

Those present during the congress will undoubtedly remember the hot temperatures (well above 30 degrees Celsius), as well as the lively conversations not only during daytime, but also at night in the beer gardens of the city. Impressive was the permanent exposition in the university building devoted to the memory of Sophie and Hans Scholl, members of the students' resistance movement *Die weiße Rose* against the nazi-regime.

The congress contained fifty-nine papers that covered a wide range of Septuagintal issues. A special plenary session was devoted to the theme of Septuagint vocabulary. No doubt thanks to the initiative of professors Jan Joosten and Eberhard Bons (Strassbourg) to launch a Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint,<sup>2</sup> renewed attention is given to Septuagint lexicography. The present volume therefore contains a large section of papers devoted to Septuagint lexicography.

Out of the fifty-nine papers read at the congress, forty-six are published in this volume. Five out of the eleven papers not published here have

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1. Details about the IOSCS and IOSOT congresses are still available online, see: <http://www.en.iosot2013.evtheol.uni-muenchen.de/index.html> and especially: <http://www.en.iosot2013.evtheol.uni-muenchen.de/program/ioscs/index.html>.

2. See <http://www.htlseptuagint.com/>.

appeared already in the *Journal for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*.<sup>3</sup> The papers not included in this volume will appear in other journals or volumes.

The production of the present volume coincides with a change in editorship. The last three congress volumes have been edited with great care and dedication by Melvin K. H. Peters. It is probably not without reason that his competence and skills could only be matched by a team of three editors. We wish to express our gratitude and admiration for his work and our other predecessors. As nonnative speakers, we are aware we are unable to fully reach the standards set by our predecessors as far as English language and style conventions are concerned. Instead, we hope to serve scholarship by grouping the papers and enhancing the accessibility of the wealth of data contained in these papers by means of several indices.

As new editors of these congress proceedings, we felt the need to organize in a systematic way the growing number of papers presented in these volumes.<sup>4</sup> The tripartition of the present volume into the sections “textual criticism,” “philology,” and “interpretation and reception” reflects the arrangement of the papers into three parallel sessions.

Scholars who have pleaded for a return to central questions of Septuagint research<sup>5</sup> will be pleased to see a large part of the papers devoted to issues of textual criticism and syntax of the Septuagint. The first of sixteen papers dealing with text-critical issues deals with the so-called Antiochene text of Joshua (“Der antiochenische Text im Buch Josua<sup>LXX</sup> und seine Bedeutung für die älteste Septuaginta—Eine erste Reevaluation”). Marcus Sigismund reevaluates the text-critical value of this text-form in the light of recent discussions concerning the Antiochene text of the historical books.

Seppo Sipilä (“How to Find Out the Transgressor? A Textual Problem of Josh 7:14–18”) also studies the Old Greek Joshua, but he deals with the specific text-critical problems of Josh 7:14–18. Dismissing the common explanation of *parablepsis* for the shorter Greek text of these verses as problematic, Sipilä raises the possibility of a later expansion of the Hebrew text in order to balance the instructions and executions concerning the transgressor.

Turning to the book of Judges, Nathan LaMontagne is “Reconsidering the Relationship of A and B in LXX Judges” by paying more attention to the Old Greek substratum of the manuscript traditions than hitherto has been

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3. Cécile Dogniez, “Dire le lien dans la Bible grecque: quelques observations sur l’expression de l’attachement et de la proximité,” *JSCS* 46 (2013): 5–18; Gunnar M. Eidsvåg, “The Paleo-Hebrew Tetragram in 8HevXIIgr,” *JSCS* 46 (2013): 86–100; Anthony J. Forte, “Veteris Latinae Ecclesiastici: Apologia pro interprete latino,” *JSCS* 47 (2014): 69–92; Robert J. V. Hiebert, “A ‘Genetic’ Commentary on the Septuagint of Genesis,” *JSCS* 46 (2013): 19–36; Barbara Schmitz, “κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους ‘The Lord Who Shatters Wars’ (Exod 15:3 LXX): The Formative Importance of the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–18 LXX) for the Book of Judith,” *JSCS* 47 (2014): 5–16.

4. See the volumes of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth congresses (SCS 54, 55, 59) with respectively seventeen, twenty-four, and fifty contributors.

5. See, e.g., the review by Theo van der Louw of the previous IOSCS Congress volume in *RBL* 7 (2013), [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/9117\\_10051.pdf](http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/9117_10051.pdf).

done. Rather than positing two revisions of one original translation, LaMontagne argues that the Old Greek behind the Hexaplaric A text and the version behind the B text of Judges were originally different translations.

Anneli Aejmelaeus demonstrates the difficulties with the rule of *lectio difficilior* on the basis of “A Case Study from the Septuagint of 1 Samuel 14:47” as sample of her work on the critical text edition of the Old Greek of 1 Samuel for the Göttingen edition. The paper elucidates the methodological issues dealing with evaluating the manuscript tradition with special attention to the role of the Codex Vaticanus and the Lucianic text.

Jean Koulagna also provides a sample of text-critical work, in this case the critical reconstruction of an eclectic Hebrew text of 1 Kings for the project Hebrew Bible: Critical Edition (formerly known as The Oxford Hebrew Bible). According to Koulagna, the Old Greek text, often preserved in the Antiochene recension, is instrumental in detecting different literary editions of the book, as samples from 1 Kgs 2:1 and 3:1 demonstrate.

Staffan Olofsson notes a remarkable shift in the translation of the Hebrew word רשע in the Old Greek Psalter from either *ἀσεβής* or *ἁμαρτωλός* in the first part of the Psalter to the consistent use of *ἁμαρτωλός* only in books 2–5 of the Psalter. Although Olofsson does not go as far as to challenge the homogeneity of the Old Greek Psalter as the product of a single translator, he argues that the change is significant enough to call for an explanation.

The contribution of Lorenzo Cuppi, “Scribes and Translators,” is devoted to Prov 8:31, where the value of the Antinoopolis Proverbs papyrus and the ancient Latin and Sahidic versions prove helpful in restoring not only the original Greek text but also that of its Hebrew *Vorlage*.

John Meade discusses the “Significance of RA 788 for a Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Job.” He demonstrates that this recently rediscovered tenth century catena manuscript is the (indirect) ancestor of another important catena manuscript, RA 250. Meade describes the characteristics of the new Greek manuscript and discusses several significant examples for establishing the text of the Hexaplaric fragments of Job.

Peter J. Gentry argues that an answer to the question “Did Origen Use the Aristarchian Signs in the Hexapla?” can only be answered when we distinguish between an original Hexapla and a later, shortened, Tetrapla, and when we study the colophons of the Syro-Hexapla, which is derived from this later version. Although much remains uncertain, Gentry is inclined to answer the main question positively.

Edgar Kellenberger continues the research on the versions of the Daniel stories he presented in the previous IOSCS congress volumes. In this contribution he examines not only the Greek and Syriac narrative variants of the “Bel and Draco” story, but actually all extant versions. Given the variety and extent of the variants, Kellenberger concludes that not apparently oral and written transmission developed alongside one another.

Although the daughter versions have always been in the focus of the research published in the IOSCS congress volumes, the present volume is particularly rich in studies devoted to the less studied versions of the Septua-

gint, particularly the Caucasian versions. Jouni Harjumäki provides a fresh overview of “The Armenian of 1 Samuel.” Harjumäki singles out linguistic differences between the (Lucianic-Hexaplaric) Greek and (fifth century CE) Armenian versions, such as the preverbs and particles, in order to describe the translation technique of the Armenian translator. He concludes his list of samples with some interpretative readings of the Armenian version.

Peter Cowe also discusses the Armenian version, in particular “The Strata of the Armenian Version of Cantica Examined for Contrasting Translation Technique and Witness to their Greek Parent Texts.” For a number of biblical books a division in the textual tradition of the Armenian Bible can be discerned between an older stratum (Arm1) aligning with the Old Greek, Theodotion, and the Peshitta and a later revision (Arm2) aligning with the Hexaplaric revision. Cowe further examines the translation technique for the two strata of the Song of Songs as well as the impact of Antiochene exegesis upon the first stratum.

The work on the Vetus Latina is represented by Bonifatia Gesche, who edits the Vetus Latina edition of 1 Esdras. She examines the Old Latin translations of that book and their relation to their Greek *Vorlage* in the light of the studies that trace Old Hebrew readings in Kings and Sirach via the Old Greek preserved in the Old Latin. The question is more easily raised than answered since the variants between the Latin and Greek of 1 Esdras can also be explained on the basis of inner-Latin and contextual developments.

Natia Dundua explores “The Textual Value of the Old Georgian Version of Ecclesiastes,” which she collated for the forthcoming Göttingen edition of the Septuagint of Ecclesiastes. Whereas the Old Georgian used to be dismissed as a translation from the Armenian and for that reason not relevant for the textual history of the Septuagint, more recent studies have demonstrated the direct dependence of the Old Georgian upon the Old Greek rather than the Armenian Bible. Dundua adduces examples for this new insight from the book of Ecclesiastes.

This reevaluation of the Old Georgian is mainly due to the critical work by Anna Kharanauli. In this volume, she demonstrates the direct dependence of the Old Georgian translation of Amos from the Old Greek. Since the idea that the Old Georgian derives from the Armenian remains tenacious among recent scholars, she employs the metaphor of “battling myths” (reminding the innocent reader of St. George and the dragon) when she tries to answer the question “What Language Was the Georgian Amos Translated From?” On the basis of a thorough analysis of the Old Greek, Armenian, and Georgian versions, she argues that certain mistakes and structural and semantic calques of Greek words leave it beyond doubt that the Old Georgian translation was made from the Greek rather than the Armenian.

Reinhart Ceulemans examines the text-critical value of the quotations of the Septuagint by the Greek Church Fathers, in particular Theodoret’s commentary on the Psalms, which is very important for the study of the Antiochene text of the Psalms. Unfortunately, a modern critical edition of that commentary is still lacking. On the basis of selected passages from the Psalter, Ceulemans shows the shortcomings of the old edition in Migne’s

*Patrologia graeca* as well as the need for such a new, critical reedition of that commentary.

The second section of this volume brings together sixteen papers related to the theme of philology: Septuagint syntax and semantics. The first of these papers explores the broad and largely unexplored research area of “The Septuagint and Egyptian Translation Methods.” Here James Aitken compares the Greek translations of Hebrew Scripture with contemporary Greek translations of Egyptian-Demotic texts, in particular the bilingual papyri from the archive of Theban undertakers. He discusses parallels between the two groups of literal translation techniques regarding word order, lexical consistency, parataxis, and subtle variations in case of interpretative renderings. A close examination of these parallels may help Septuagint research to move beyond the opposition of the Septuagint translators either as court dragoman (Rabin) versus the learned scribes (Van der Kooij).

Research on Septuagint syntax is presented by Takamitsu Muraoka. In his contribution “Passivization in Septuagint Greek,” he examines how active voice clauses in the Septuagint are converted to passive formulations. He pays particular attention to pseudo-bitransitive verbs, that is, verbs that both in active and passive voice emerge with an accusative.

Raija Sollamo examines “Reflexive Pronouns in the Greek Pentateuch.” Since Hebrew does not have reflexive pronouns, this study has to depart from the traditional procedure in studies of Septuagintal translation technique by starting with the target text, rather than the source text. Sollamo shows that the Greek translators were well aware of the reflexivity in the parent text but used Greek reflexive pronouns sparingly. The study has implications for the reconstruction of the critical text of the Septuagint, since reflexive and possessive or personal pronouns are not always distinguishable in Greek manuscripts without aspiration.

Philippe Le Moigne studies another syntactical feature known as the absolute nominative or *nominativus pendens* in the Greek translation of Isaiah (“Pour une poétique du nominative absolu dans la LXX d’Ésaïe”). This grammatical phenomenon in both the Hebrew and Greek texts of Isaiah is often not recognized and has led to unnecessary corrections.

William A. Ross discusses the “Lexical Possibilities in LXX Research” after the groundbreaking studies of John Lee. The exponential increase in publications of documentary papyri and the technological developments that allow for retrieval of these new data call for “revision and expansion” of this type of research.

Marieke Dhont discusses the “Literary Features in the First Cycle of Speeches in LXX Job.” Given the relatively free translation style of the Old Greek of Job, it is useful to look for stylistic phenomena in the Greek text as another aspect of the translation technique. Dhont describes features such as symmetry, chiasmus and adding or eliminating repetition.

In the absence of a comprehensive study of “Translation Technique in the Minor Prophets,” W. Edward Glenny surveys recent studies related to this topic, for example, by Joosten, Gelston, Van der Kooij, Muraoka, Dogniez,

Dines, Bons, Theocharous, as well as his own publications. Together these studies help to form a tentative encompassing description of the topic.

Several contributions in the present volume focus on the semantics of a particular Septuagintal lexeme. Daniela Scialabba tries to find an answer to the question “What Does the Noun ἀγνόημα Mean in Judith 5:20?” (oversight or serious sin?) by contrasting the use of this noun in this passage with its use in other biblical and nonbiblical contemporary Greek sources.

Arie van der Kooij focuses “On the Use of ἀλλόφυλος in the Septuagint,” which characterizes most of the Septuagintal books as default rendering for the Philistines. The difference in usage between 1 and 2 Maccabees helps to understand the meaning of the word in other (cluster of) books in the Septuagint as either hostile foreigners or inhabitants of the Hellenistic coastal cities in Seleucid times. The ambivalent use of the word in the Old Greek Isaiah may suggest that its distinctive Septuagintal use originated with this translation.

The close connection between the study of the semantics of the Septuagint and the New Testament are exemplified by “A Semantic Investigation of Desire in 4 Maccabees and Its Bearing on Romans 7:7.” Andrew Bowden examines the semantic field of ἐπιθυμία and explains how this concept is related to other words for passion and desire in 4 Macc and Rom 7.

In order to understand the background of an uncommon Greek expression in the Septuagint, one needs to resort not only to contemporary Greek literature or underlying Hebrew phrases, but also to the Aramaic linguistic influence. This explanation would account for the unprecedented use of the phrase ἵνα τί for למה, an equation or “neo-linguistic phrase” first coined by the translators of the Pentateuch and then standardized within and beyond the Greek Pentateuch, as James A. E. Mulroney (“The Standardisation of Translation Choice for למה within LXX Pent: ἵνα τί as a Neo-Linguistic Phrase”) demonstrates.

Patrick Pouchelle shows how a close study of “The Use of νοθετέω in the Old Greek of Job” has ramifications for the presumed identity of the Greek translators of Job and Proverbs. Pouchelle points out that the Greek translator of Job deliberately departed from the equation יסר-παιδεύω, found in the Greek Pentateuch and the Old Greek of Job, and employed νοθετέω for Hebrew יסר and בן hitpolel as well. He traces the origin of this unusual equation to Deut 32:10 but in the version attested by the Samaritan Pentateuch (בגן).

Chrisopher Fresch operates on the interface between syntax and semantics when studying “The Peculiar Occurrences of οὖν in Septuagint Genesis and Exodus.” This Greek particle has no Hebrew counterpart; rather it has a discourse-pragmatic function to mark both continuity and development. Following Aitken, Fresch suggests that the literary context of discourse offered the Greek translators slightly more freedom to introduce genuine and contextually motivated Greek particles than in other text types.

Eberhard Bons examines a so-called *vox biblica*, a word peculiar to the Greek Bible, in “The Meanings of the Noun σκάνδαλον in the Book of Judith.” A close examination of the literary context helps to understand the meaning of this word in three quite different passages (5:1, 20; 12:2) and

throws light on the question whether the Greek of Judith is the result of a translation of a Semitic original or molded in a Septuagintal style.

Septuagint semantics is not restricted to the retrieval of the meaning of uncommon and rare Greek words and expressions, but also the description of very frequent Greek words. In “A Case Frame Description of the Usages of *τίθημι* in the Septuagint,” Paul Danove distinguishes between twelve usages of this common Greek verb on the basis of usages of transference, benefaction, modification, compulsion, and assignment.

The section “philology” concludes with an essay by Miika Tucker who is interested in “Using Recurring Hebrew Phrases to Evaluate a Septuagint Translation” with “Jeremiah 11:1–14 as a Case Study.” That passage lends itself for such a comparison given the high density of so-called deuteronomic formula’s. A comparison between the Greek renderings in Deuteronomy, Kingdoms, and Jeremiah not only shows how much the Greek Pentateuch served as standard for later translations, but also the close correspondence between the Greek versions of Kingdoms and Jeremiah.

The third and final section in this volume brings together fourteen papers loosely connected to the themes of “Interpretation and Reception.” The section opens with a new interpretation by Ekaterina Matusova of the Letter of Aristeas as a parabiblical reworking of Deut 30:1–5 and 4:5–8 (“Deuteronomy Reworked, or Composition of the Narrative in the *Letter of Aristeas*”). Matusova locates Aristeas in the broad stream of parabiblical reception of the Pentateuch known from Qumran and Hellenistic Jewish compositions. She holds the Aristeas letter to be an elaboration of the themes of return from captivity and the preeminence of Jewish legislation.

Jason M. Zurawski approaches the interpretation and reception of the Jewish instruction from a different angle. In tracing the developments “From *Musar* to *Paideia*, from *Torah* to *Nomos*,” Zurawski is able to describe “How the Translation of the Septuagint Impacted the Paideutic Ideal in Hellenistic Judaism.” The shifts in meaning from chastisement (מוסר) to the contents of instruction (παιδεία) and from instruction (תורה) to custom and law (νόμος) enabled Second Temple Jews such as Aristobulus and Philo to present their pedagogy in philosophical terms rather than a set of particularistic laws intended for a small minority.

In his opening lecture of the congress, Jan Joosten addresses the question of “Legal Hermeneutics and the Tradition Underlying the Septuagint,” amplified by the subtle changes in the Greek text of the law of the Hebrew slave, Exod 21:2–11, *vis-à-vis* the Hebrew original. Whereas many scholars have explained the divergences in the Greek text with a direct appeal to Palestinian halakah, Joosten argues that a reading of the Greek text within its own literary context makes it more likely to think of a different (Alexandrian?) halakic milieu underlying the legal hermeneutics of this passage.

Michaël van der Meer probes into the “Literary and Textual History of Joshua 2,” a passage with large quantitative variants between MT and LXX. Whereas many scholars are inclined to ascribe the large pluses in MT to a later Hebrew editor or redactor, van der Meer tries to show that the Greek text in fact reflects a harmonistic reaction to an even larger, but much earlier

redaction of Josh 2:1–8, 16–23. The shorter Greek text then presents itself as stylized reformulation of the layered Hebrew text.

Although interpretation and reformulation are more likely to be found in the less literal translations of the Septuagint, sometimes theological exegesis seems to overrule a literal rendering such as the Greek Judges. Sven Lesemann discusses “Ein Fall von *theological exegesis* in LXX Ri 8,32a” where the A-text seems to reflect difficulties with the reading “Und Gideon starb in einem guten Greisalter” (MT, LXX-B) because of Gideon’s alleged apostasy. Lesemann finds parallels for the revision in the A-text in rabbinic literature and Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*.

Martin Meiser looks for the reasons behind the Greek version of Kings and locates “The Septuagint Translation of the Books of Kings in the Context of the History of Early Jewish Literature.” In order to do so, Meiser describes the history of revision, reception, and reworking of the book of Kings during the exilic, postexilic, Persian, Hellenistic, and early Roman periods with special attention to rewritten compositions such as Chronicles, the writings of Eupolemus, Sirach, and Josephus as well as several fragmentary works found among the Qumran scrolls. Alongside this development of reworking the authoritative writings runs a development of progressive canonization which crystallizes into the literal Greek translation of Kings.

Petr Chalupa (“Erzählung und Gesetz im Buch Esther”) examines the relationship between narrative and law in the different versions of Esther (MT, LXX, Alpha-text, Josephus). Chalupa shows how the emphasis on Persian legislation decreases in the Old Greek and Alpha-text versions of the book of Esther, whereas for Josephus the whole narrative is presented as the consequences of those laws.

The history of interpretation and reception of the Septuagint does not end in late Antiquity, but continues up until today, as Thomas J. Kraus makes clear. In “Harry Potter—Septuaginta—Mythologie: Der Basilisk—Fabelwesen, König der Schlangen, Inkarnation des Bösen oder was?” he explores the traditions regarding an unusual lexeme in the Septuagint of Ps 90 and Isa 59: the βασιλισκος. This exploration surveys not only the contemporary Hellenistic background of the Septuagint, but also the early Christian and later medieval adaptations of the word in order to end in Hogwarts’s chamber of secrets.

Johann Cook offers a sample of his work in progress on “An Exegetical Commentary on LXX Proverbs” with Prov 1:1–4 as short example. Within the broad range “Between Text and Interpretation,” Cook deals with issues regarding provenance, literary character, themes, textual history and theology of the Old Greek version of Proverbs.

Seth A. Bledsoe (“‘Strange’ Interpretations in LXX Proverbs”) studies one of the themes in the Greek Proverbs, that is, the references to foreigners and strangers (Hebrew זר and נכרי). The Greek translator seems to have altered the negative connotations consistently into a more neutral one (ἀλλότριος). This observation has implications for the presumed anti-Hellenistic stance of the Greek translator.



Mario Cimosá and Gillian Bonney discuss the theme of “Hope in the LXX Version of Job and in Some Texts of the Fathers of the Church.” The authors connect this hope with the theme of resurrection from the dead and trace this theme in the Greek addition to Job 42:17a, the Testament of Job and the commentaries on Job by John Chrysostomus and Olympiodorus of Alexandria. They also place this belief in the wider context of ideas about life after death in the ancient and modern world.

Abi T. Ngunga explores another theological theme, that of “*πνεῦμα* in the Old Greek of Isaiah.” On the basis of a careful examination of four selected passages (LXX Isa 25:4–5; 44:3–4; 57:15–16; 63:10–14) Ngunga reaches the conclusion that the Greek translator made several exegetical moves when dealing with the theme of the “spirit” (חַיְהוּ—*πνεῦμα*) in order to comfort the Jewish community in Alexandria.

Jelle Verburg also examines the several subtle moves of the Greek translator of Isaiah, here with respect to Isa 2:6–21. He too detects actualizing renderings reflecting the needs and tensions of Second Temple Judaism in the middle of the second century BCE.

The final essay in this volume, written by Gert Steyn, is devoted to the “Dodekapropheton Quotations in Matthew’s Gospel.” The ten quotations differ often from the extant textual witnesses of the Greek Dodekapropheton and may reflect a testimonium collection. A study of the quotations in the Gospel of Matthew reveal the way the author of this gospel adapted and integrated these quotations in his literary composition.

As before, this collection of the proceedings of the IOSCS congress reflects the current trends in Septuagint research. This volume brings together the contributions of member from some fifteen different countries and reflects the work of several major long-standing research projects (Septuaginta-Unternehmen, Vetus Latina, Biblia Hebraica Quinta, Hebrew Bible Critical Edition, Hexapla project, Septuaginta Deutsch, La Bible d’Alexandrie, Septuagint Commentary series, Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint) as well as many individual projects. As before, the volume gathers the works of both seasoned and starting scholars, which bears testimony both to the vitality and durability of Septuagint research. The volume follows loosely the abbreviations and conventions set out in the *SBL Handbook of Style*.<sup>6</sup>

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6. Society of Biblical Literature, *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014).



## Textual Criticism



# Der antiochenische Text im Buch Josua<sup>LXX</sup> und seine Bedeutung für die älteste Septuaginta—Eine erste Reevaluation

*Marcus Sigismund*

**Abstract:** Since recent research on the books of Ruth, Judges, and 1–4 Kingdoms reevaluated the Antiochene text, whose proto-Lucianic elements seem to be close to the Old Greek, a fresh examination of this textform in Joshua<sup>LXX</sup> is indicated, not least because of Joshua's important canonical position between the Pentateuch and the following historical books. Against this canonical background, the paper will first evaluate the manuscript grouping. Then the identification of the recension as the antiochene one will be rechecked by a database-driven comparison with Theodoret of Cyrus's Joshua quotations. Finally, the paper will look at some characteristics of the Antiochene textform, calling into question the text-historical implications.

## EINLEITUNG

Schon alleine aufgrund seiner kanonischen Einordnung (sei es im jüdischen Tanach oder im christlichen Alten Testament) partizipiert das Josuabuch mit- samt seiner z.T. komplexen Text- und Literargeschichte sowohl an Eigenheiten des Pentateuchs als auch der folgenden Geschichtsbücher.<sup>1</sup> Das macht die

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1. Ich gehe dabei stillschweigend von der gängigen Anordnung in MT und LXX aus. Dass es möglicherweise eine abweichende Anordnung gegeben haben mag, die Ijob zwischen Joshua und Richter stellte, ist für die Fragestellung des vorliegenden Beitrages unerheblich, da die erhaltenen biblischen Text-Zeugen alle die „herkömmliche“ Anordnung bieten. Vgl. aber, die genannte abweichende Ordnung bietend, Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus* 23 sowie die s.g. Bryennios-Liste (d.i. Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchat Library 54, fol. 76 recto) mit Josua zwischen Leviticus und Deuteronomium, gefolgt von Numeri, Ruth

Beschäftigung mit den frühen textlichen Formen des Josuabuches inhaltlich wie textgeschichtlich besonders interessant, aber gleichfalls besonders problematisch. Zu den in diesem Zusammenhang besonders spannenden Textformen der Josua-Überlieferung zählt (wie in fast allen Geschichtsbüchern) der sogenannte antiochenische Text der Septuaginta, der in der älteren Forschung zumeist mit dem Märtyrer Lukian von Antiochien in Verbindung gebracht wurde<sup>2</sup> und daher auch heute noch vielfach als lukianischer Text bezeichnet wird.

Die zweipolige Partizipation wird im Fall dieser Textform besonders deutlich. Denn während das Buch Josua inhaltlich doch recht stark an den Pentateuch und dort besonders an das Buch Deuteronomium anknüpft, handelt es sich bei der antiochenischen Textform um einen Zweig der griechischen Textgeschichte, der am profiliertesten in den folgenden Geschichtsbüchern der Richter, 1–4Königtümer sowie den Chronikbüchern erkennbar ist.<sup>3</sup> Da die Forschung der vergangenen Jahre nachvollziehbare Gründe gegen die Existenz einer antiochenischen Textform im Pentateuch vorgebracht hat, fordert die Grenzposition des Buches Josua zwischen Pentateuch und den Geschichtsbüchern zu einer Reevaluation der Frage auf, ob eine antiochenische Textform im Buch Josua<sup>LXX</sup> überhaupt existiert, und wie ihre Charakteristika ggf. zu beschreiben sind.

Würde sich die antiochenische Textform, wie wir sie aus den anderen Geschichtsbüchern kennen, eindeutig nachweisen lassen, hätte dies weitreichende Folgen: zahlreiche Untersuchungen der vergangenen Jahre haben nachweisen können, dass die Besonderheiten dieser Textform nicht notwendigerweise auf eine Rezension durch Lukian zurückgehen müssen, sondern vielmehr—zumindest in großen Teilen—bereits wesentlich älter sind und mit nicht geringer Wahrscheinlichkeit an die ursprüngliche Septuaginta zurückreichen.<sup>4</sup> Wären die

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Ijob und Richter (dazu: Jean-Paul Audet, „A Hebrew-Aramaic List of Books of the Old Testament in Greek Transcription,“ *JTS* n.s. 1 [1950]: 135–54).

2. Eine fundierte Skizze der Forschungsgeschichte zum antiochenischen Text findet sich in Jong-Hoon Kim, *Die hebräische und griechische Textformen der Samuel- und Königebücher. Studien zur Textgeschichte ausgehend von 2Sam 15,1–19,9*, BZAW 394 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 4–32.

3. Ein klares Profil dieser Textform ist auch erkennbar im Buch Ruth und in Esra-Nehemia; ebenso ist in den prophetischen Werken eine antiochenische Textform evident. Vgl. hierzu u.a. die bei Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 236–38 zusammengetragene Literatur zum Thema.

4. Vgl. hierzu insb. die einschlägigen Arbeiten von Siegfried Kreuzer: „Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta. Forschungsgeschichte und eine neue Perspektive,“ in *Der Antiochenische Texte der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer und Marcus Sigismund, DSI 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 23–56; „Das frühjüdische Textverständnis und die Septuaginta-Versionen der Samuelbücher: Ein Beitrag zur textgeschichtlichen und übersetzungstechnischen

Charakteristika der antiochenischen Textform im Buch Josua analog zu denen in den weiteren Geschichtsbüchern, müsste man letztendlich auch nach den textgeschichtlichen Konsequenzen fragen, die ihrerseits sicherlich zu Änderungen in der Textrekonstruktion—die sich bislang faktisch an der sog. ägyptischen Rezension rund um den codex Vaticanus orientiert—Anlass geben würden.<sup>5</sup>

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Bewertung des Antiochenischen Textes und der *Kaige*-Rezension an Hand von 2Sam 15,1–12,“ in *La Septante en Allemagne et en France: Septuaginta Deutsch und Bible d’Alexandrie*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus und Olivier Munnich, OBO 238 (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires Fribourg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 3–28; „Translation and Recensions: Old Greek, Kaige, and Antiochene Text in Samuel and Reigns,“ *BIOSCS* 42 (2009): 34–51; „Towards the Old Greek: New Criteria for the Evaluation of the Recensions of the Septuagint (especially the Antiochene/Lucianic Text and the Kaige-Recension),“ in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Ljubljana, 2007*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 55 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 239–53. Vgl. auch die oben (Anm. 2) zitierte Monographie von Kim. Die Komplexität der Frage nach alten und jungen Bestandteilen der Antiochenischen Textform zeigt eindrücklich auf: Philippe Hugo, „Die antiochenische ‚Mischung‘: L zwischen Altem und Neuem in 2Samuel,“ in *Der Antiochenische Texte der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer und Marcus Sigismund, DSI 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 109–32.

In diesem Zusammenhang wird gerne vergessen, dass bereits 1940 H. Dorrie die Meinung vertrat, dass der sog. **g**-Text keine beabsichtigte Rezension, sondern eine geschichtlich gewordene, in sich uneinheitliche Textform sei, die vor dem Hintergrund der origenistischen Streitigkeiten am Ende des 4. Jh. n.Chr. stark protegiert und propagiert wurde (Heinrich Dörrie, „Zur Geschichte der Septuaginta im Jahrhundert Konstantins,“ *ZNW* 39 [1940]: 57–110). Diese These harmoniert mit der aktuellen Forschung insofern sehr gut, als sie sowohl die evidenten alten Eigenschaften der Textform, als auch die mutmaßlich jungen Bestandteile erklären würde.

5. Unabhängig von der textgeschichtlichen Frage im engeren Sinne hat Julio Treballe Barrera in jüngerer Zeit anhand von Beispielen aus den Büchern Josua und Richter eindrucksvoll aufgezeigt, wie fruchtbringend es sein kann, wenn man nicht nur Text- und Literarkritik in der Betrachtung eines biblischen Textes zusammenbringt, sondern dabei auch in die textgeschichtliche, genauerhin rezensionale Tiefe einer Version eindringt (Julio C. Treballe Barrera, „A Combined Textual and Literary Criticism Analysis: Editorial Traces in Joshua and Judges,“ in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Hans Ausloos, Benedicte Lemmelijn, and Marc Vervenne, BETL 224 [Leuven: Peeters, 2008], 437–63). Dass der antiochenische Text ausweislich Treballe Barreras‘ Untersuchung eine ganz wesentliche Schlüsselposition in der Frage von Redaktion und Edition des Buches Josua (wie auch des Buches der Richter) einnimmt (vgl. ebd. passim, insb. das Fazit p. 463), kann niemanden verwundern, der sich schon einmal intensiver mit dieser Textform auseinander gesetzt hat.

## 1. DIE HANDSCHRIFTENGRUPPEN DES ANTIOCHENISCHEN TEXTES

## 1.1. DER ANTIOCHENISCHE TEXT IN JOSUA

Die handschriftlichen Zeugen des Buches Josua lassen sich auf Grund von Leitfehlern recht deutlich in Gruppen einteilen. So haben sich denn auch die Textgruppierungen, wie sie Margolis in verschiedenen, seiner Edition<sup>6</sup> vorangehenden Arbeiten<sup>7</sup> zusammengestellt hat, nicht nur durch die zeitlich parallel entstandene Untersuchung von Pretzl<sup>8</sup> bestätigt, sondern sich auch in nachfolgenden Untersuchungen, insb. von Procksch<sup>9</sup>, Smith<sup>10</sup> und Den Hertog<sup>11</sup> bewährt.<sup>12</sup>

Demnach zerfällt die antiochenische Textform (Ant, bei Margolis mit dem Sigel S versehen; ich verwende beide Siglen im Folgenden synonym abhängig vom Kontext)<sup>13</sup> in zwei große Gruppen—S<sub>a</sub> und S<sub>b</sub>—, die wiederum kleinere Textzeugengruppen bilden. Auch diese bestätigen sich durch die weiteren Untersuchungen.<sup>14</sup> Abweichungen der Zuordnung einzelner Handschriften sind selten

6. Max L. Margolis, *The Book of Joshua in Greek* (Paris: Geuthner 1931–1938; repr. 1974); ders., *The Book of Joshua in Greek: Part V: Joshua 19,39–24,33*, ed. Emanuel Tov, Publications of the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation in trust at the American Academy for Jewish Research (Philadelphia: Eisenbrauns, 1992).

7. Zu nennen sind hier besonders: „Specimen of a New Edition of the Greek Joshua,“ in *Jewish Studies in Memoriam of Israel Abrahams, Adolf Holzhausen's Successors* (New York: Printers to the University, 1927), 307–23; „The Grouping of the Codices in the Greek Joshua,“ *JQR* n.s. 1 (1910–11): 259–63; „The K Text of Joshua,“ *AJS* 28 (1911–1912): 1–55; „The Washington MS of Joshua,“ *JAOS* 31 (1911): 365–67.

8. Otto Pretzl, „Die griechischen Handschriftengruppen im Buche Josua untersucht nach ihren Eigenarten und ihrem Verhältnis zueinander,“ *Bib* 9 (1928): 377–427. Vgl. auch ders., „Der hexaplarische und der tetraplarische Septuagintatext des Origenes in den Büchern Josua und Richter,“ *ByZ* 30 (1929–1930): 262–68.

9. Otto Procksch, „Tetraplarische Studien. II Iosua, Richter, Ruth,“ *ZAW* 13 (1936): 61–90.

10. Gary V. Smith, „An Introduction to the Greek Manuscripts of Joshua: Their Classification, Characteristics and Relationships“ (Ph.D. diss., Dropsie University, Philadelphia, 1973).

11. Cornelis G. den Hertog, „Studien zur griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua“ (Ph.D. diss., Gießen, 1996). Vgl. zum folgenden auch dort die Übersicht S. 5.

12. Die Vorarbeiten von Udo Quast für die Göttinger Edition des Buches Josua sind bislang nicht publiziert, dürften das Gesamtbild aber bestätigen.

13. Vgl. Margolis, „Specimen,“ 312: „S is the Syrian (Antiochian) recension.“

14. Vgl. insb. die Untersuchung von Smith (s. Anm. 10), bei dem die antiochenische Rezension als Familie III bezeichnet wird. Anhand einer Untersuchung von Kap. 15 bestätigt Smith, dass Ant in Untergruppen zerfällt; Ant selbst besteht aus (ebd. p. 40): den Mss. d g n p t 74 76 84 und der lat. Version VL. Untergruppen sind g n (d.s. Ra 54 75) und d p t 74 76 84 (wobei d die Gruppe in Jos 23,14 verlässt); diese Gruppe zerfällt wiederum in die Kleingruppen: d p (d.s. Ra 44 106); t (d.i. Ra 134) 74 76 84. Zu der Gruppierung bei Smith sind noch (die in Kap. 15 nicht vertretenen Mss.) zuzufügen: K w



und liegen zumeist darin begründet, dass eine Handschrift die Textform im Verlaufe des Buches wechselt, oder die betreffende Handschrift in einer Untersuchung nicht berücksichtigt wurde.

## 1.2. VERGLEICH ZU ANDEREN BÜCHERN

Vor diesem Hintergrund ist ein Vergleich mit den Zeugen der antiochenischen Textform in den umgebenden biblischen Büchern aufschlussreich, zeigt ein solcher doch auf, dass sich die antiochenische Zeugen-Gruppe des Buches Josua (Margolis S bzw. Pretzl *d*) mit Handschriftengruppen in den Büchern Deuteronomium und Ruth deckt.<sup>15</sup> Insbesondere Wevers *I*-Gruppe im Deuteronomium deckt sich ziemlich genau mit Margolis *k*-Gruppe im Josuabuch. Auch Margolis *t*-Gruppe stimmt genau mit Wevers Gruppe *t*, die Gruppe Margolis *f* mit Wevers Gruppe *d* überein.<sup>16</sup>

Da die Kirchenväter, welche als Referenzpunkt für eine antiochenische Textform fungieren—namentlich Johannes Chrysostomos und Theodoret von Kyros—Wevers zufolge in ihren Pentateuchziten einen Mischtext verwenden,<sup>17</sup> und als Konsequenz hieraus Ant in Buch Deuteronomium nicht nachweisbar ist, hat die Parallelität der Zeugengruppen zunächst keine Bedeutung für das Buch

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(d.i. Ra 314) 118 (K gehört im Wesentlichen zu g n; w geht mal mit gn, mal dagegen; der nächste Verwandte von w ist 118 [vgl. ebd. S. 43]).

15. Vgl. zum Folgenden John William Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy*, MSU 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978). Dabei stimmt Margolis Untergruppe *k* im Wesentlichen mit Wevers Gruppe *n* überein. Eine Ausnahme ist W<sup>1</sup>, die (fragmentarische) Washingtoner Unzialhs., die jedoch ihren Charakter beim Übergang vom Deuteronomium zum Buche Josua ändert (vgl. so schon Margolis, „The Washington MS of Joshua,“ insb. 365).

16. Die Margolis Untergruppe *w* stimmt dabei genauestens mit Wevers Gruppe *b* überein, da die Zwillingshandschriften 19 und 108 bis Jos 2,18 der Gruppe S zugerechnet werden können. Für die Gruppe *b* hat Wevers insbesondere ein Bemühen um einen korrekten griechischen Stil als charakteristisches Merkmal festgestellt. Das aber wäre ein typisches Merkmal für die antiochenische Textform. Zudem sind die Mss. 19 und 108 wohlbekannte Vertreter des Ant in den Königtümern.

17. In der Tat lässt sich in den Übersichten Wevers (*Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy*, 25–30) verfolgen, dass Thdt/ Chrys und die Gruppe *n*, die Wevers in Deut als potentielle lukianische Hauptgruppe ausmacht, öfter auseinander gehen (vgl. zur Gruppe ebd., 17–39, hier insb. 17). Allerdings ist *n* an den 65 Stellen, an denen Thdt und Chrys mit nur einer bis drei Gruppen gehen, in 22 Fällen vertreten, was immer noch gut ein Drittel ausmacht. Auch Wevers Gruppe *d* zeigt einen statistisch sehr hohen Wert an Übereinstimmungen zu Thdt/Chrys. Alle potentiellen Ant-Gruppen zusammen bieten daher im Buch Deuteronomium in der Korrelation zu Thdt/Chrys ein durchaus signifikantes Ergebnis.

Josua. Jedoch bestätigt sich die Konstanz der Zeugengruppen auch in den beiden auf Josua folgenden Geschichtswerken:

So existiert eine antiochenische Gruppe im Buch Richter.<sup>18</sup> Ihr Text ist offenkundig pre-hexaplarisch und bietet nach derzeitigem Wissen die beste Bezeugung für die Old Greek.<sup>19</sup> Als sichere Mitglieder dieser Gruppe lassen sich die Mss. K Z g l n w (d.s. K Z 54 59 75 314) bestimmen.<sup>20</sup> Mit Ausnahme von Z sind dies alles Zeugen der antiochenischen Textform, die wir auch im Buch Josua vorfinden, wo die antiochenische Manuskriptfamilie freilich etwas größer ausfällt.

Im Buch Ruth sieht Udo Quast den antiochenischen Text (dort freilich unter dem Label „lukianische Rezension“) in den Hss. 19(ab Ruth 4,11)-54-59-75-82-93-108(ab Ruth 4,11)-127-314 und Theodoret repräsentiert. Rezensionsuntergruppen bilden *d*: 107-125-610 und *t*: 74-76; 134-344; 799.<sup>21</sup> Auch hier ist die Ähnlichkeit von Josua und Ruth in der Zusammensetzung der Zeugengruppen bis in die Untergruppen hinein augenscheinlich.

Wenngleich diese Konstanz der Handschriften-Gruppierungen nicht ungeprüft auf die Textformen der einzelnen Handschriften umgebrochen werden darf, so ist es doch für die Betrachtung des Buches Josua aufschlussreich, dass sich die Gruppeneinteilungen der materiellen (d.h. handschriftlichen Basis) auch über Josua hinaus bewähren. Denn da sich oft sogar die Charakterisierungen der (Unter-)Gruppen bei Margolis und Wevers decken, darf diese Gruppe als eine verlässliche Größe betrachtet werden. Mit Blick auf den syrischen bzw.

18. Zu verweisen ist hier auf: Walter R. Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments*, HSM 23 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980).

19. So die Untersuchungsergebnisse von Bodine (op. cit.). Ibid, 134: „A conclusion of primary importance from the study of the variants ... is that the Lucianic text of Judges is the most consistent representative among the Greek families of the earliest Greek translations extant for that book.“ (Ibid, 135): „L is the most consistent witness to the OG of Judges.... It is to the L text that one must turn in Judges for his first recourse in seeking the rendering of the Old Greek.“ Zu verweisen ist in diesem Kontext auf die besondere Bedeutung der Vetus Latina; diese geht in Richter oft mit Ant, ist nach dieser Textform der beste Zeuge für die ursprüngliche Septuaginta, und könnte in einzelnen Varianten sogar der einzige Zeuge für die OG-Lesart sein. Vgl. Siegfried Kreuzer u.a., „Kritai“, in *Septuaginta Deutsch. Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, ed. Martin Karrer und Wolfgang Kraus, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 657–700, hier: 660.

20. Dies ergibt sich aus der Schnittmenge der bisherigen Gruppenzuweisungen. Nach Alfred Rahlfs wird der antiochenisch-lukianische Text geboten von den Hss.: (44) 54 (58) 59 75 (82 106 134) 314 (344) (vgl. so zu Beginn des Richterabschnittes in Alfred Rahlfs und Robert Hanhart, *Septuaginta, editio altera* [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006], 405), nach Billen (dort Gruppe A-II; vgl. Kreuzer, „Kritai“, 659): K Z g l n o (d.i. 82) w und ergänzende Gruppe d p t (v [d.i. 344]).

21. Udo Quast, *Ruth*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 4.3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 45.

antiochenischen Text haben wir in Josua also eine in sich schlüssige Textgruppierung vorliegen.

## 2. DER ANTIOCHENISCHE TEXT—HISTORISCH-KRITISCHE VERGEWISSEUNG

### 2.1. HINFÜHRUNG

Als charakteristisches Merkmal der antiochenischen Textform im Buch Josua machen die älteren diesbzgl. Untersuchungen—analog zu Beobachtungen in anderen biblischen Büchern—die Verbesserung des griechischen Textes nach stilistischen und mitunter auch sachlichen Gesichtspunkten aus. Margolis bezeichnet die Korrektur hin zu einem „Greek style, as shown by the substitution of Attic grammatical forms for Hellenistic“ sogar als ganz herausragendes Merkmal („outstanding characteristic“).<sup>22</sup> Auch nach Pretzl betrachtete es Lukian, als vermeintlicher Schöpfer dieser Textform, „als seine Aufgabe, die bestehende Übersetzung dem Sinn nach zu verbessern und sprachlich zu glätten.“ Allerdings scheint Pretzl auch schon das Problem dieser Einschätzung zu sehen, denn er fährt fort: „Da das Josuabuch aber sprachlich nichts zu wünschen übrig ließ, so war ... seine Arbeit gering.“<sup>23</sup>

Eine Korrektur nach dem (proto-)masoretischen Text ist nach Margolis und Pretzl nicht Ziel der antiochenischen Textform. Indes lassen sich solche Tendenzen durchaus nachweisen, und sie lassen sich mehrheitlich recht schlüssig erklären. Denn nach der gegenwärtigen Forschung handelt es sich um Übernahmen aus den sog. *recentiores*.<sup>24</sup> Zumindest konnte Bieberstein nachweisen, dass der antiochenische Text in keinem einzigen Fall über die ‘tres’ hinweg unmittelbar auf den (proto-)masoretischen Text (MT) zurückgreift. Insofern scheinen die vermeintlichen Anpassungen an MT auf der Orientierung insb. Theodotions (selten Symmachus und Aquilas) an der hebr. Version des Josuabuches zu beruhen.<sup>25</sup>

Sticht jedoch die sprachliche Verbesserung—als das herausragendste Merkmal dieser Textform—angesichts des postulierten Textes der Old Greek kaum hervor, und lassen sich die Anpassungen an den hebr. Text aus den *recentiores* heraus erklären, so stellt sich die Frage der Zuordnung bzw. Benennung der bislang als antiochenisch charakterisierten Zeugengruppe und

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22. Margolis, „Specimen“, 312–13.

23. Pretzl, „Die griechischen Handschriftengruppen“, 122ff.

24. Also aus den sog. jüngeren jüdisch-hellenistischen Übersetzung des Aquila, Symmachus und Theodotion.

25. Vgl. hierzu ausführlich Klaus Bieberstein, *Lukian und Theodotion im Josuabuch. Mit einem Beitrag zu den Josuarollen von Hirbet Qumran*, BN Beihefte 7 (München: Institut für Biblische Exegese, 1994), 51–74; Fazit ebd. 70.

ihres Textes neu. Diese kann in einem ersten Schritt nur über einen Abgleich mit den entsprechenden Kirchenväterzitaten erfolgen.

Der in diesem Kontext zuweilen vorgebrachte Einwand, die Verwendung dieser Textform bei antiochenischen Kirchenvätern bewiese lediglich, dass dieser Text in Syrien resp. im geographischen Kontext von Antiochia verwendet wurde (nicht aber die Existenz der antiochenischen Rezension, wie wir sie z.B. aus 1–4Königtümern kennen), ist sachlich nachvollziehbar, gleichwohl methodisch problematisch, da er als Vorbedingung voraussetzt, dass es sich bei der antiochenischen Textform um eine editorische Revision Lukians handelt, die in allen Büchern die gleichen Charakteristika aufweist. Der Versuch, den antiochenischen Text alleine oder doch zumindest primär aufgrund der Charakteristika der Lesarten klassifizieren zu wollen, wäre daher genauso problematisch wie seine Zuordnung aufgrund eines Abgleiches mit Zitaten von Kirchenvätern.<sup>26</sup>

Daher sollte zunächst eine geographische Einordnung der Textform erfolgen, und Charakteristika aus dieser Textform in einem zweiten Schritt autonom erhoben werden. Treffen diese Charakterisierungen mit denen der antiochenischen Textform in anderen Büchern überein, ist der Beweis für die Existenz des antiochenischen Textes erbracht. Falls nicht, ist nach möglichen Gründen für diesen Unterschied zu fragen, der keinesfalls a priori gegen die Möglichkeit eines spezifischen antiochenischen Textes—im geographischen Sinne—spricht.

## 2.2. ANALYSE

Der Abruf der auf den Daten der *Biblia Patristica* aufgebauten Datenbank „*Index of Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Early Christian Literature*“<sup>27</sup> zeigt auf, dass das Buch Josua nur bei zwei Vertretern, die man im engeren Sinne als antiochenisch bezeichnen könnte, zitiert wird: Johannes Chrysostomus und Theodoret von Kyros. Dabei ist der Editionsstand des ersteren zum Großteil veraltet.<sup>28</sup> Vor allem aber handelt es sich um Zitate in Schriften, die sich

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26. Das größere Problem liegt m.E. in der theoretischen Möglichkeit, dass der betreffende Kirchenvater ausgerechnet für dieses Buch oder die Büchergruppe eine Vorlage verwendet, die er von einer Reise mitgebracht hat oder die er anderweitig zugesandt bekam, und die daher nicht dem Text entspricht, wie er in Antiochien umlief. Dies würde jedoch in der Summe der Lesarten auffallen.

27. <http://www.bibindex.mom.fr/index.php> (Abruf: 26.11.2013). Verantwortlich ist das Institut des Sources Chrétiennes. Das Projekt wird gefördert von der *L'Agence nationale de la recherche*.

28. Vor dem Hintergrund dieser problematischen Ausgangslage betrachtet die Zitate des Johannes Chrysostomos methodisch sensibel: Seppo Sipilä, „John Chrysostom and the Book of Joshua,“ in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Cambridge 1995*, ed. A. Taylor, SCS 45 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1997), 329–54.

eigentlich mit neutestamentlichen Texten oder Psalmen beschäftigen, so dass ein Quereinfluss aus diesen Texten nicht gänzlich ausgeschlossen werden kann.<sup>29</sup> Als verlässliches Abgleichinstrument steht somit nur Theodoret zur Verfügung, der aber ohnehin auch in anderen biblischen Büchern als Kronzeuge einer antiochenischen Textform fungiert. Glücklicherweise sind Theodorets *Quaestiones* zum Josuabuch seit geraumer Zeit vorbildlich ediert,<sup>30</sup> so dass man hier ein einigermaßen verlässliches Bild gewinnen kann,<sup>31</sup> und weshalb sich die folgende statistische Analyse auf dieses Werk beschränkt.<sup>32</sup>

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29. Die grundsätzlichen Probleme bei der Verwendung von Kirchenväterzitaten finden sich sehr schön skizziert in: John W. Wevers, *Genesis*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum I (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 29–30. sowie in: ders., „Die Methode,“ in *Das Göttinger Septuaginta-Unternehmen*, ed. Septuaginta-Unternehmen der Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 12–19; hier 14.

30. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus, *Questiones in Octateuchum: English and Greek*, Greek text revised by John F. Petruccione, English translation with introduction and commentary by Robert C. Hill, LEC 2 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007). Sie greift unmittelbar zurück auf die erste kritische Edition von N. Fernández Marcos und A. Sáenz-Badillos (1979).

31. Die Thdt-Edition berücksichtigt 31 Ms. in drei Hauptrezensionen, die wiederum in klar erkennbaren Untergruppen zerfallen. Die Theodoret-Tradition bildet damit ein quantitativ wie qualitativ wertvolles Gegenstück zur Josua-Handschriften-Tradition.

32. Freilich bleibt ein Blick auf die weitere Theodoret-Zitate angebracht. Nicht zuletzt aufgrund dieser weiteren Zitate hat Seppo Sipilä („Theodoret of Cyrrhus and the Book of Joshua: Theodoret’s *Quaestiones* Revisited,“ *Text* 19 [1998]: 157–70) eine Verbindung des Theodoret zum antiochenischen Text negiert, und dem Kirchenvater die Verwendung eines Mischtextes unterstellt. Die Belege (*ibid.*, 163–65) sind aber höchst diskutabel. So verweist Sipilä auf ein mögliches Zitat von Josua 1,5 in einem Brief des Theodoret (SC 111,111; die Identifikation der Stelle durch den Herausgeber der Briefe, Y. Azéma, *ebd.* in Anm. 1). Gleichwohl weicht der Wortlaut—οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ οὐδὲ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω—vom Text des Jos—καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω σε οὐδὲ ὑπερόψομαι σε—derart deutlich ab, dass man bestenfalls von einem freien Zitat sprechen könnte. Das Zitat findet sich dagegen wörtlich in Hebr 13,5 und Philo, *De confusione Linguarum* § 166. Überdies notiert Sipilä in einer Fußnote selbst, dass die Quelle des Zitates ebenso in Gen 28,15 und insb. in Deut 31,6 gesucht werden könnte. Dies ließe sich (zumindest für einen Teil des Zitates) um Deut 31,8 erweitern. Tatsache ist, dass sich der Wortlaut des Theodoret nur im Hebr und bei Philo wiederfindet. Es ist daher nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass diese Autoren hier eine mündliche Tradition aufnehmen. Diese mag ihren Ursprung in Jos 1,5 haben, jedoch kann sie nicht für weitere textkritische Folgerungen herangezogen werden. Gegen die textkritische Verwendung spricht auch, dass sich dieses Zitat auch im Hebräerkommentar des Thdt findet, dort im (allerdings nur der veralteten PG-Edition zu entnehmenden) Wortlaut οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω. Die von Sipilä (*op.cit.*) im Appendix S. 169 zu Jos 7 gelistete Referenz von Theodorets *Quaestiones in I Regum* (§ 33) betrifft vor allem Jos 7,25 und ist als Paraphrase textkritisch nicht auswertbar.

Die folgende Analyse beruht auf Daten des DFG-Projektes „*Erforschung des ältesten Textes und der rezensionalen Aktivitäten des Buches Josua (LXX)*“.<sup>33</sup> Kern des Projektes ist eine native XML-Datenbank, welche alle rezensionsrelevanten Aktivitäten im Buch Josua verzeichnet. Neben der statistischen Auswertung der rezensionellen Prozesse intendiert das Projekt zahlreiche Möglichkeiten der unmittelbaren Nutzung und Nachnutzung, wie u.a. eine rezensionsorientierte Webedition des griechischen Josuabuches oder aber einer analogen, automatisch per XSL-FO generierten Printausgabe.<sup>34</sup>

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Gleiches gilt für die Passagen aus dem Jesajakommentar (SC 295, 244/ 8° sect., 180/ c. 28,21 = Paraphrase zu Jos 10; SC 276,318/ 3° sect., 748–749/ 9,1 = Paraphrase zu Jos 19,10–16.32–39; SC 315, 318/ 20° sect., 357–360/ 65,10) sowie für die weiteren bei Sipilä genannten Belegstellen. Im Falle von *Interpretatio in psalmos CXVIII* (PG 80, 1840A) zeigt sich dabei schön das Problem bzw. die Freiheit mancher Belegstellen, da es wie ein Zitat erscheint, aber die ursprünglich in Jos 13,33 in 3.Sg. formulierte Aussage durch die Verwendung der 1. Sg. Gott in den Mund legt. Ggf. als stark gerafftes Zitat von Jos 2,9–10 verstanden werden könnte Thdt, *Quaestiones in Exodum*, interrog. 12 (ed. John F. Petruccione und Robert C. Hill, p. 246; vgl. auch zur Verdeutlichung der Editionsproblematik zahlreicher Kirchenvätertexte den wesentlich schlechteren Text bei PG 80, 241s.). In diesem Fall wären aber im vermeintlichen Zitat zahlreiche Singulärlesarten zu postulieren, so dass hier ein paraphrasierendes Vorgehen des Thdt wahrscheinlicher ist. Dies gilt umso mehr, als die gleiche Josua-Passage sich nochmal in seiner *Interpretatio Jonae prophetae* (PG 81,1720BC) mit leicht veränderten Wortlaut aufgegriffen findet. Auch hier lassen sich mehrere Lesarten nicht in Deckung mit dem Variantenspektrum der biblischen Handschriften-Tradition bringen. Ein reiner Verweis auf Jos 7 ist Thdt, *In Osee II* (PG 81, 1564D), auch *In Osee V* (PG 81, 1576A) fasst in äußerst raffender Paraphrase den Inhalt insb. von Jos 4,20 und Jos 5,3 zusammen. Lediglich ein kurzes Zitat von Jos 1,2 bei Thdt, *Interpretatio epistolae ad Hebraeos*, IV (PG 83,700A) kann als wörtliches Zitat markiert werden. Dieser Text entspricht jedoch variantenlos sowohl der rekonstruierten OG als auch dem antiochenischen Text und ist daher ohne weitere Signifikanz.

33. Das Projekt ist Teil des übergreifenden Projektes „Rekonstruktion der ältesten Textform der Septuaginta (Old Greek) und ihres sprachlichen und theologischen Profils an Hand ausgewählter Texte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung neuerer textgeschichtlicher und methodischer Aspekte,“ durchgeführt unter Leitung von Prof. Siegfried Kreuzer am *Institut für Septuaginta und biblische Textforschung der Kirchlichen Hochschule Wuppertal/Bethel*. Das Projekt startete im Januar 2013 und ist auf insgesamt drei Jahre angelegt.

34. Dabei folgen die beiden hier genannten Editionen dem Hauptziel des Projektes, die Aktivität der Textformen zu verstehen. Der Apparat dieser Editionen verzeichnet daher lediglich rezensionsrelevante Varianten und die Textformen nach Margolis (bzw. darüber hinausgehend wichtige Untergruppen). Das ist, wenn man so will, quantitativ ein Schritt zurück hinter den umfangreichen Apparat von Brooke/McLean (B-M). Jedoch werden die textgeschichtlichen Aktivitäten durch die Reduktion auf die Textformen wesentlich besser sichtbar. Die elektronische Edition und weitere elektronische Tools

Der *Leittext* der Datenbank legt als Arbeitstext die Edition von Margolis zugrunde, bereinigt diesen aber um die Konjekturen und offenkundige Fehler. An den wenigen Stellen, an denen die Handausgabe der Septuaginta (Rahlfs/Hanhart [RaHa]) von Margolis abweicht, wird eine eigene Entscheidung getroffen (und diese separat dokumentiert). Als *rezensionsrelevante Varianten*<sup>35</sup> werden vor allem die Lemmata aus Margolis' erstem Apparat verwendet. Allerdings wurden einige dieser Einträge umgestellt, um deutlicher zu machen, was an diesen Stellen quantitativ oder qualitativ genau geschieht. Die zugehörigen Lesarten werden durch zwei Klassifikationen näher charakterisiert: erstens eine deklarative Klassifikation, d.h. add. om. dif. usw.; zweitens eine eher beschreibende Klassifikation, in der z.B. verzeichnet wird, dass bei einem Wort das Compositum statt des Simplex verwendet wird.

Zum gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkt (11/2013) ist die Datenbank noch auf die Hauptrezensionen, wie sie Margolis rekonstruiert hat, beschränkt. Die elektronische Erfassung zumindest der größeren Untergruppen scheint aber lohnend.<sup>36</sup> Darüber hinaus werden einige wichtige handschriftliche Zeugen, die Margolis noch nicht berücksichtigen konnte (wie etwa die erhaltenen Josua-Abschnitte des codex Sinaiticus<sup>37</sup> oder das Ms. 2648,<sup>38</sup> aber auch die Lesarten

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(u.a. eine elektronische Liste aller griechischen Josua-Hss. mit Sigelkonkordanz und eine Liste der sahidischen Zeugen des Josuabuches) werden im Verlauf des dritten Projektjahres über die Webseiten des ISBTF (<http://isbtf.de> [Abruf: 8.9.2015]) frei zugänglich gemacht.

35. Dabei wird Variante im Sinne der engl. variation-unit verstanden und Lesarten als diejenigen Varianten bzw. readings, die an dieser variation-unit auftreten und dieser zuzuordnen sind. Eine lesenswerte Zusammenfassung der Problematik dieser Begriffe bietet: Eldon Jay Epp, „Chapter 3: Towards the Clarification of the Term ‚Textual Variant,‘“ in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 47–61.

36. Die Erkenntnis, dass man immer auch in die Tiefe einer Textform schauen und die Untergruppen betrachten muss, ist alles andere als neu, darf und muss aber immer wieder neu betont werden. Ein schönes Beispiel hierfür finden wir am Ende von Josua 12,1: folgt man der Edition von Margolis, so wird man am Ende von Josua 12,1 schlicht *καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀραβα ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν* lesen. Aus dem Hauptapparat geht lediglich hervor, dass die ägyptische Textform *τὴν γῆν Ἀραβα κατλ.* liest. Dies ist aber so nicht korrekt (was sich auch erschließt, wenn man die weiteren Apparate dieser Edition durcharbeitet). Auch die Untergruppe S<sub>b</sub> des syrisch-antiochenischen Textes bietet diese längere Form, ebenso die Catenengruppe.

37. Der Text ist im Rahmen des codex-Sinaiticus-Project ediert und zugänglich: [www.codexsinaiticus.com/de/manuscript.aspx](http://www.codexsinaiticus.com/de/manuscript.aspx) (Zugriff zuletzt: 27.11.2013). Eine eingehende Untersuchung der Fragmente des Josua-Textes des codex (Kap. 10 und 11) ist noch desiderat. Nach einer vorläufigen Untersuchung des Projektes steht der Haupttext dem codex Vaticanus sehr nahe, jedoch mit interessanten, d.h. rezensionsrelevanten Randnotizen der frühen Korrektoren.

der Qumran-Zeugnisse) erfasst und mit Bezug zur Fragestellung des Projektes auswertbar gemacht.

*Korrelation von Theodoret und antiochenischem Text*

Grunddaten:

Datenstand: 18.11.2013

Anzahl erfasster Verse gesamt: 663

Anzahl erfasster rezensionsrelevanter Variationseinheiten gesamt: 3331

Anzahl erfasster Lesarten gesamt: 6130

Analysedaten:

Die folgenden Zahlen scheinen absolut betrachtet recht klein. Man muss dabei aber berücksichtigen, dass Theodoret längst nicht jeden Vers zitiert und kommentiert.

Anzahl erfasster rezensionsrelevanter Lesarten von Theodoret: 61

D.h. es gibt 61 Fälle, in denen die Rezensionen deutlich auseinandergehen (entsprechend bei Margolis einen Eintrag in den Hauptapparat bekommen), und in denen Theodoret ein Zeugnis abgibt.

Anzahl rezensionsrelevanter und textformautonomer Lesarten von Ant (Margolis-Gruppe S): 1287

Anzahl erfasster rezensionsrelevanter und textformautonomer Lesarten von Ant/S in Verbindung mit Theodoret: 28

D.h. es gibt 28 Belege für Lesarten des Theodoret, die ausschließlich vom antiochenischen Text bezeugt werden. D.s. 45,9% der Theodoret-Belegstellen!

Die verbleibenden Fälle erklären sich—wenn wir vom gegenwärtigen Textmodell ausgehen<sup>39</sup>—aus dem gemeinsamen textgeschichtlichen Cluster S P C, also jenem Textstadium, in dem sich die ägyptische Gruppe E aus der gemeinsamen LXX-Überlieferung im Cluster E S P C bereits gelöst hat. Denn die Gegenprobe ist eindeutig:

Gegenprobe: Theodoret alleine mit E gegen Ant/S: 1

Gegenprobe: Theodoret alleine mit P gegen Ant/S: 2

Gegenprobe: Theodoret alleine mit C gegen Ant/S: 0

Gegenprobe: Theodoret mit E und P gegen Ant/S: 1

Gegenprobe: Theodoret mit E und C gegen Ant/S: 0

Gegenprobe: Theodoret mit P und C gegen Ant/S: 0

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38. Edition: Kristin De Troyer, „Josua,“ in *Catalogue of the Schøyen Greek Papyri*, ed. Rosario Pintaudi, The Schøyen Collection 1 (Oslo: The Martin Schøyen Collection, 2004), 1–78.

39. Die Entwicklung der griechischen Textformen im Buch Josua findet sich dargelegt u.a. von Bieberstein, *Lukian und Theodotion im Josuabuch*, 28–50.



Die Belegstellen der Gegenprobe sind vor dem Hintergrund der handschriftlichen Bezeugung an diesen Stellen zu bewerten:

- der Fall Theodoret alleine mit E gegen Ant/S liegt vor in Jos 24,20: *lem. επεροις* (reading *επεροις*) hab. E. Alle anderen Rezensionen bieten *αλλοτριους*. M.E. folgt Margolis hier in seiner Rekonstruktion von Ant/S fahrlässig der quantitativen Mehrheit der Ant-Zeugen. Denn die Lesart *επεροις* findet sich durchaus in Ant/S, und zwar—über die verschiedenen Unterrezensionen verteilt—in der VL (L<sub>100</sub>), in Ra 314 (d.i. Margolis w<sub>2</sub>/ B-M w) und Ra 44 (d.i. Margolis f<sub>2</sub>). Will man nicht von einer sporadischen Beeinflussung einzelner Ant-Handschriften durch die E-Tradition ausgehen, so ist es naheliegender, hier eine Beeinflussung der Ant-Tradition durch die (hexaplarische bzw. tetraplarische) Mehrheitslesart der übergreifenden Überlieferung auszugehen, der einige Ant-Zeugen (signifikanterweise mit der VL ein alter Zeuge) entgangen sind. Theodoret bezeugt hier also mit Ant-Einzelzeugen die alte, später kontaminierte Ant-Lesart, die zweifelsohne (da mit E zusammengehend) die der OG ist.<sup>40</sup>

- der erste Fall Theodoret alleine mit P gegen Ant liegt vor in Jos 1,4: *lem. αντιλιβανον* (reading add. *τουτον* sub Asteriskus) hab. P. Hier trägt schlicht Margolis' Hauptapparat, denn die Lesart wird auch von der antiochenischen Untergruppe S<sub>b</sub> bezeugt, die im Übrigen in der handschriftlichen Bezeugung quantitativ weitaus breiter aufgestellt ist, als die vermeintlich bessere antiochenische Gruppe S<sub>a</sub>.

- der zweite Fall Theodoret alleine mit P gegen Ant liegt vor in Jos 24,19: *lem. δυνησθε* (reading *δυνησεσθε*) hab. P. Die Lesart *δυνησεσθε* findet sich auch in der antiochenischen Handschrift Ra 127 (d.i. Margolis k). Da sich bislang aber keine systematischen Korrelationen von Ra 127 und Theodoret aufzeigen ließen, ist hier eine Beeinflussung beider Zeugen durch hexaplarisches/ tetraplarisches Material wahrscheinlich.

- der Fall Theodoret mit E P gegen Ant liegt vor in Jos 2,19: *lem. θυραν της οικιας* (so auch Thdt gegen *θυραν του οικου* bei der antiochenischen Textform). Hier weicht Theodoret von seiner normalen Vorlage ab. Über die Gründe kann man nur spekulieren. *του οικου* findet sich jedenfalls als Variante in Form einer Addition zum folgenden *εξω* im codex N. Die komplette Phrase addiert vor *θυραν της οικιας* ausweislich der Edition von Brooke/McLean (als Alternativlesart?) der antiochenische Zeuge d (d.i. Margolis f<sub>2</sub>/Ra 44). Nach codex M ist *θυραν της οικιας* eine Lesart von *οι λ*. Denkbar ist daher eine direkte oder indirekte hexaplarische Beeinflussung der Vorlage des Theodoret; denkbar ist aber auch, dass die Alternativlesart *του οικου* in der frühen Überlieferung des antiochenischen Textes in den Haupttext geriet. Theodoret wäre dann der einzige

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40. Der Autor des vorliegenden Beitrages erwägt daher auch, in der zugrundeliegenden Datenbank die Rezensionshauptlesart entsprechend anzupassen.

Zeuge des ursprünglichen antiochenischen Textes, welcher der OG entsprochen hat. Jedoch ist der Vers insgesamt als Beleg problematisch, da Theodoret τῷ ὅρκῳ durch τῷ λόγῳ ersetzt, und damit eine Singulärlesart bietet.<sup>41</sup> Theodoret hat somit offenkundig selbst in den Wortlaut des Verses eingegriffen, oder folgt hier einer abgelegenen Lesart, deren Textformzugehörigkeit nicht mehr zu evaluieren ist, im Zweifelsfall aber auch eine isolierte Sonderlesart in einer anderweitig nicht erhaltenen Seitenüberlieferung des Ant darstellen könnte.<sup>42</sup>

Neben diesen Belegstellen existieren 19 Variationseinheiten, in denen entweder das Bezugslemma rezensionsrelevante Varianten kennt, die Theodoret-Lesart aber auf dem ersten Blick zu keiner der Rezensionen zugeordnet werden kann, oder in denen Theodoret eine Singulärlesart zu bieten scheint. Diese Variationseinheiten hier zu diskutieren, würde den Rahmen des Beitrages sprengen.<sup>43</sup> Folgendes Beispiel ist aber typisch: so bietet Jos 5,15 mit der Omission von νυν eine vermeintliche „Alleinstellungslesarten“, die sich nicht mit einer Rezension zu decken scheint. Dieser erste Eindruck berücksichtigt indes nur die Korrelation mit den von Margolis rekonstruierten Lesarten der Hauptrezensionen. Bei genauerer Betrachtung der Rezensionsuntergruppen und Einzelzeugen wird offenkundig, dass Theodoret hier durchaus seiner antiochenischen Texttradition treu bleibt, denn alle Kleinfamilien der antiochenischen Untergruppe S<sub>b</sub> bieten diese Omission ebenfalls.<sup>44</sup>

Darüber hinaus existieren weitere Lesarten des Thdt, die sich nicht auf ein rezensionsrelevantes Lemma beziehen. Wenngleich textgeschichtlich interessant, sind sie im Sinne der vorliegenden Fragestellung unerheblich.<sup>45</sup>

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41. In diesem Zusammenhang sei an eine Regel der neutestamentlichen Textkritik erinnert: „The Singular Reading is prevented by its very nature from usefulness in establishing group relationships of manuscripts“ (zitiert nach: Ernest C. Collwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* [Leiden: Brill, 1969], 104).

42. Von keinerlei Beweiskraft für unserer Fragestellung ist der Hinweis Sipiläs („Theodoret and the Book of Joshua“, 164), dass Theodoret ἂν statt ἔαν (wie die Mss. d[44] g[54] n[75] p[106] w[314]) liest. Vielmehr zeigt gerade dies auf, dass die antiochenische Tradition hier uneinheitlich ist. Man könnte daher auch andersherum festhalten, dass Theodoret hier der Textlinie folgt, die sich etwa in den Hss. 118 127 (beide Gruppe S<sub>a</sub>) oder (mit Ausnahme von 44 und 106) in allen Hss. der Gruppe S<sub>b</sub> findet.

43. Die entsprechende Untersuchung bestätigt aber durchgehend (mit Ausnahme weniger echter Singulärlesarten) die Verwendung des antiochenischen Textes durch Ant.

44. Nämlich 1 f und 2, ferner einige nicht zur antiochenischen Textform zählenden prominenten Zeugen wie codex V und Justin. Laut B-M omittieren auch Or-lat, Cyp-Ed sowie die aethiopische, die sahidische und die armenische Version das νυν.

45. Freilich sprechen auch die durchgehend in keiner Weise gegen Theodoret als Zeugen des Ant. Dies gilt auch für die bei Sipilä („Theodoret and the Book of Joshua“, 165) diskutierte Phrase in Jos 23,13: Mit der Omission von καὶ εἰς ἄλους in σκάνδαλα καὶ εἰς ἄλους ἐν ταῖς πλευραῖς geht Thdt zusammen mit den Hss. g n (d.s. 54 75), d.h. den

In der Summe des Materials ist festzuhalten, dass sich an den rezensionsrelevanten Stellen alle Theodoret-Lesarten seines Oktateuch-Kommentares aus dem syrisch-antiochenischen Text heraus erklären lassen. Mehr noch: rund die Hälfte der Lesarten lassen sich ausschließlich aus der antiochenischen Textform heraus erklären. Im Sinne einer in einem spezifischen geographischen Umfeld rezipierten Textform ist daher—zumindest bis neuentdeckte Quellen das Gegenteil beweisen—die von Margolis mit S gekennzeichnete Textform mit höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit die in Antiochien umlaufende, und darf daher als antiochenische Textform gekennzeichnet werden.

### 3. CHARAKTERISTIKA DER ANTIOCHENISCHEN TEXTFORM

#### 3.1. METHODISCHE VORBEMERKUNGEN

Folgende methodische Aspekte bedürfen der Nennung.

(1) Man könnte es fast als ein Axiom der bisherigen Forschung am antiochenisch-lukianischen Text bezeichnen, dass die Charakteristika dieser Textform in Josua mit jenen in den anderen biblischen Büchern, insb. jenen der Königtümer identisch sein müssten. Andernfalls läge kein antiochenisch-lukianischer Text vor. Diese Denkweise ist obsolet, sobald man sich von der Annahme einer durchgreifenden, für alle Bücher identischen Revision durch eine historische Person, hier namentlich Lukian, löst. Denn handelt es sich nicht

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wichtigsten gr. Zeugen der antiochenischen Subrezension S<sub>a</sub>. Mit der gleichen Zeugengruppe liest Thdt in diesem Vers auch *σκῶλα* (gegen *εἰς βολίδας* rell.).

Weitere in diesem Kontext von Sipilä (ebd., 165–66) angesprochene Varianten, sind als rezensionsrelevant in der Datenbank erfasst und Teil der Auswertung. Dies gilt z.B. für die antiochenische Variante *πλευραῖς* (Margolis und RaHa rekonstruieren *πτέρναις*). Sieht man davon ab, dass sie eine der zahlreichen Belege ist, dass Thdt Ant zitiert, so findet sich die Variante auch analog in der VL, vor allem aber bei Aquila, Symmachus und Theodotion. Daher sollte offen diskutiert werden, ob dies nicht die Lesart der OG ist. Ebenfalls aus Ant heraus erklärt sich die Omission von *τοῦ* vor *ἐξολεθρεῦσαι* (gegen Sipilä, ebd., 165), denn diese rezensionsrelevante Omission wird von den Rezensionen S (dort Subrezension *k*) und P geboten. Die Notiz von Sipilä (ebd., 166) Ant bzw. S lese *γνώσει γινώσκετε* statt *γινώσκετε* wie die OG (nach RaHa) und Thdt ist zu modifizieren. In der Tat entspricht dies dem ersten Apparat von Margolis, jedoch lesen *k* und VL die kürzere Lesart, so dass sich die Thdt-Lesart auch hier aus Ant ableiten lässt! Die erweiterte, vermeintlich spezifisch antiochenische Form findet sich überdies auch in anderen Gruppen! In der Tat schwer zu erklären ist die erweiterte Phrase Ant/S *ἐξολεθρεῦσαι ἔτι* statt *ἐξολεθρεῦσαι* OG (Rekonstruktion RaHa)/ Thdt. Sipilä erklärt die Langform mit „correction intended to give increased clarity to the text“ (ebd., 166). Das ist aber eher unwahrscheinlich, da es sich um die Mehrheitslesart (rell. sine Rezension E) und nicht um einen rezensionsspezifischen Eingriff handelt. Denkbar ist daher auch der versehentliche Ausfall in einem frühen Textstadium der Rezension E.

um eine bewusste und zielgerichtete Revision, sondern um eine durch den textgeschichtliche Prozesse entstandene Rezension, so ist nicht zwangsläufig gegeben, dass alle Eigenschaften in allen Büchern gleich aufscheinen. Vielmehr ist es sogar wahrscheinlich, dass die unterschiedlichen Übersetzungsweisen der OG in den verschiedenen alttestamentlichen Büchern zu ganz diversen, mal stärker, mal geringer ausfallenden textgeschichtlichen Änderungen geführt haben.

(2) Methodisch in der bisherigen Literatur kaum je eigens reflektiert ist die Tatsache, dass man nach dem gegenwärtigen textgeschichtlichen Modell zwei Profilkomplexe ausmachen kann: dies ist zum einen das Profil, welches aus der gemeinsamen Genealogie von S P C M resultiert. Hierzu sei angemerkt, dass einige dieser Übereinstimmungen aus sekundären Kontaminationen (d.h. z.B. hexaplarische Einflüsse auf Ant) herrühren können, und somit nicht zwingend Charakteristika des gemeinsamen genealogischen Verlaufs darstellen müssen. Zum anderen lässt sich ein Profil erkennen, welches aus den Lesarten besteht, die ausschließlich von Ant geboten werden. Zur Bestimmung der Charakteristika einer Textform sind solche Lesarten naturgemäß am aussagekräftigsten. Wenn im Folgenden von Charakteristika des antiochenischen Textes die Rede ist, so bezieht sich dies daher auf die zweite Profilkategorie.

(3) Ein ebenfalls nie explizit reflektiertes Problem ist das der Referenzlesart. Jegliche Form von Textkritik kommt nicht umhin, irgendeinen Text als Leittext zu nehmen. Für eine schlichte elektronische Edition wäre es zwar möglich, statt eines vorgegebenen Lemmatextes eine Leerstelle zu postulieren, die dann aus den verschiedenen Lesarten gefüllt werden könnte. Aber selbst diese Leerstellen müssten ihren Referenzpunkt in irgendeiner (die Leerstelle umgebenden) Textvorlage finden. Umso größer ist das Problem, wenn das Ziel in der Beurteilung von Textformen liegt. Denn diese Beurteilung muss zwangsläufig immer in Bezug auf die vermutete Old Greek Lesart bzw. eine Lesart der anzunehmenden Vorlage erfolgen. Setzt man eine andere Leitlesart zugrunde, so ändert sich auch automatisch die Bewertung.

Die folgende exemplarische Betrachtung von Charakteristika möchte daher die zu beobachtenden Phänomene schlicht benennen, und noch keine textgeschichtliche Wertung abgeben. Wenn sie entsprechende Optionen aufzeigt, dann nur, um die Problematik der textgeschichtlichen Interpretation zu verdeutlichen, und mögliche textgeschichtliche Alternativen zur vorherrschenden Meinung darzulegen.

### 3.2. SIMPLEX UND KOMPOSITUM

Zu den mutmaßlichen Charakteristika des antiochenischen Textes<sup>46</sup> gehört im stilistisch-grammatikalischen Bereich die Abweichung von der Old Greek bzw.

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46. Vgl. hierzu allg. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 230–31; spezieller u.a.: Joseph Ziegler, *Duodecim Prophetæ*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 87–88; ders., *Isaisas*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum

der Tausch von Simplex und Kompositum (insb. bei Verben), freilich ohne dass dabei eine spezifische Richtung bzw. Vorliebe der antiochenischen Textform offenkundig ist. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um eine kleinere sprachliche Absetzung oder eine geographisch bedingte Eigenart.

Lässt man das oben angesprochene Problem des Referenzpunktes außer Acht, so lässt sich klar dokumentieren, dass das Buch Josua in der Frage von Änderungen gegenüber der postulierten Old Greek bei Simplex und Kompositum rein statistisch gesehen keine Ausnahme macht:

Zwar ist die Zahl dieser Änderungen (Datenstand: 18.11.2013) absolut betrachtet recht klein, da bei insgesamt 3331 erfassten rezensionsrelevanten Varianten gerade einmal 42 Änderungen von Simplex/Kompositum erfolgen. Aber bei diesen 42 Fällen ist der antiochenische Text 27 Mal die einzige ändernde (oder eben die einzige die ursprüngliche Lesart bewahrende?) Textform.<sup>47</sup> Hiervon sind 14 Fälle (ausgehend vom Referenztext) Zufügungen der Vorsilbe, 13 Mal fällt die Vorsilbe weg.<sup>48</sup> In vier weiteren Fällen teilt sie sich die Änderung mit der

Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 14 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939), 87 (vgl. aber auch ebd., 68, wonach der Wechsel von Simplex und Kompositum ebenfalls typisch für die hexaplarische Überlieferung ist); ders. *Ezechiel*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 16.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952), 54–55; Werner Kappler, *Maccabaeorum liber II*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 14 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 21; Quast, *Ruth*, 47 u.ö. (insgesamt kommt es in Ruth eher zu Wechsel der Komposita; dies aber auch bei der hexaplar. Gruppe; vgl. ebd., 44).

47. Zufügung der Vorsilbe: 1,6: lem. διελεις (reading αποδιελεις); 3,6: lem. επορευοντο (reading προεπορευοντο); 8,1: lem. δεδωκα (reading παραδεδωκα); 8,7: lem. πορευσεσθε (reading εισπορευσεσθε); 10,6: lem. συνηγμενοι (reading επισυνηγμενοι); 10,25: lem. ισχυετε (reading κατισχυετε); 10,33: lem. σεσωσμενον (reading διασεσωσμενον); 13,7: lem. μερισον (reading διαμερισον); 15,3: lem. εκπορευεται 1° (reading εκπεριπορευεται); 15,18: lem. εβοησεν (reading ανεβοησεν); 19,34: lem. συναψει (reading επισυναψει); 19,48: lem. θλιβοντα (reading εκθλιβοντα); 22,22: lem. γνωσεται (reading διαγνωσεται); 23,5: lem. αποστελει (reading επαποστελει).

Wegnahme der Vorsilbe: 6,10: lem. αναβοησαι (reading βοησαι); 6,13: lem. εισπορευοντο (reading επορευοντο); 7,3: lem. εκπολιορκησατωσαν (reading πολιορκησατωσαν); 8,9: lem. ενεκαθισαν (reading εκαθισαν); 10,9: lem. επιπαρεγενετο (reading παρεγενετο); 11,8: lem. διασεσωσμενον (reading σεσωσμενον); 15,47: lem. διοριζει (reading οριζει); 16,7: lem. διεκβαλει (reading εκβαλει); 16,8: lem. διεξοδος (reading εξοδος); 18,4: lem. διαγραψατωσαν (reading γραψατωσαν); 18,10: lem. ενεβαλεν (reading εβαλεν); 22,7: lem. εξαπεστειλεν (reading απεστειλεν); 24,12: lem. εξαπεστειλεν (reading απεστειλεν).

48. Hinzuzufügen sind noch acht Belege, an denen im Vergleich zum Leittext eine Vorsilbe zugefügt (fünf Mal) bzw. weggenommen (drei Mal) wird, diese Änderung jedoch nur ein Teil der Modifikation ist: 2,9: lem. δεδωκεν (reading παρεδωκεν); 2,24: lem. παρεδωκεν (reading δεδωκεν); 10,14: lem. συνεπολεμησεν τω (reading επολεμει υπερ του); 10,34: lem. επολιορκησεν (reading εξεπολιορκουν [vgl. hier auch die reading von P:

konstantinopolitanischen Rezension C. Auch diese Fälle sind typisch für ein fehlendes Prinzip: zweimal wird die Vorsilbe weggenommen (Jos 7,22: lem. *εγχεκρυμμενα* [reading *κεκρυμμενα*]; Jos 10,9: lem. *εισεπορευθη* [reading *επορευθη*]), zweimal eine hinzugefügt (Jos 10,40: lem. *σεσωσμενον* [reading *διασεσωσμενον*]; Jos 16,7: lem. *ελευσεται* [reading *διελευσεται*]).<sup>49</sup>

Es gibt aber auch zwei Fälle, die methodisch hellhörig werden lassen: in Jos 16,6 (lem. *διελευσεται* [reading *ελευσεται*] hab. E) vermerkt Margolis den Wechsel vom Kompositum zum Simplex für die ägyptische Rezension, sieht dort also die rezenzionale Aktivität.<sup>50</sup> Nicht erkennbar ist, wieso ausgerechnet hier die Änderung—die sonst immer der antiochenischen Textform unterstellt wird—bei der ägyptischen Textform erfolgt sein soll. Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass Margolis sich hier schlicht nach der Mehrheitslesart richten. Genausogut wäre aber denkbar, dass E die ursprüngliche Lesart bewahrt hat, und die anderen Textformen einer alten antiochenischen Lesart (vorliegend im Cluster S P C) folgen. Gleiches gilt für Jos 18,4 (lem. *ηλθοσαν* [reading *διηλθοσαν*] hab. E). Eine Entscheidung fällt bei beiden Variationsstellen schwer, aber deutlich wird an solchen Belegen, dass jede Änderung am Leittext bzw. an dessen Rekonstruktion zu einer Änderung des statistischen Befundes führt.

Löst man sich vom Ziel textgeschichtlicher Schlussfolgerungen, so lässt sich freilich als Beobachtung festhalten, dass die antiochenische Textform in der Frage von Simplex und Kompositum statistisch betrachtet recht häufig eigene Wege geht (in 27 von 42 Fällen, d.s. 64,3 %; nimmt man die multiplen Fälle [s. Anm. 48] hinzu, so ergibt sich ein Wert von 70%). Wie immer man die Frage in Hinblick auf die Old Greek entscheiden mag, so ist deutlich, dass der antiochenische Text hier eine eindeutige Charaktereigenschaft besitzt.

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*εξεπολιορκησεν*); 11,8: lem. *κατεκοψεν* (reading *εκοψαν*); 15,19: lem. *δεδωκας* (reading *εκδεδοσαι*); 18,2: lem. *οι ουκ εκληρονομησαν* (reading *οις ου κατεκληρονομηθη*); 23,3: lem. *εκπολεμηςας υμιν* (reading *συνεκπολεμησας αυτους μεθ υμων*). Zu beachten ist ferner die Ant-Doppellesart *διηλθον και ηλθον* (vgl. reading *ηλθον* P C) für *ηλθοσαν* in 18,4.

In 17,13 bietet Ant mit der ägyptischen Rezension E die von Margolis rekonstruierte OG-Lesart *εξολεθρευσοι* gegen C (reading *ολεθρευσει*). In Jos 21,40B (Margolis) bzw. 21,42b.c (RaHa) bietet alleine Ant die die von Margolis rekonstruierte OG-Lesart *κατωκησεν* gegen *ωκησεν* E P C.

Aus Gründen der methodischen Konsequenz nicht beachtet sind in dieser Auswertung die durchaus interessanten Fälle, wo ebenfalls eine Kompositumform statt des Simplex gewählt wird, wo aber zugleich ein anderes Verb verwendet wird wie etwa in 4,10: lem. *ενετειλατο* (reading *ελαλησεν*) hab. S; oder in 16,8: lem. *πορευσεται* (reading: *παρελευσεται*) hab. S C.

49. Zweimal geht Ant mit P C (und der Rekonstruktion von RaHa): 10,27: lem. *εκυλισαν* (reading *επεκυλισαν*); 15,7 (freilich in grammatisch-phänomenologischen Zuordnung diskutabel): lem. *προσαναβασεως* (reading *προσβασεως*).

50. Auch RaHa favorisiert das Kompositum als Lesart der OG.

Diese Eigenschaft wird quasi ergänzend bestätigt durch eine Sichtung der Fälle, wo sich die Vorsilbe eines Verbs ändert, wenngleich das Ergebnis da weniger deutlich ist: Für eine Änderung der Vorsilbe beim Verb finden sich 24 Belege.<sup>51</sup> Elfmal geht der antiochenische Text alleine,<sup>52</sup> in zwei weiteren Fällen wird die Änderung bereits im Cluster S P C M vorgenommen.<sup>53</sup> Es gibt jedoch auch neun Fälle, an denen der antiochenische Text keine Änderung vornimmt, sondern die Änderung der Vorsilbe bei anderen Textformen zu notieren ist.<sup>54</sup> In einem Fall geht Ant mit der ägypt. Rezension E gegen P C M.<sup>55</sup>

### 3.3. ATTISCHE FORMEN

Zu den quasi „klassischen“ Charaktermerkmalen der antiochenischen Textform gehört die vermeintliche Korrektur ihrer Vorlage nach einem guten griechischen, attizistisch geprägten Stilempfinden. Dieses wiederum machen fast alle damit befassten Textkritiker in der Substitution hellenistischer grammatischer Eigenarten durch entsprechende attische fest.<sup>56</sup> Zumindest im deutschen Sprachraum (wahrscheinlich aber auch darüber hinaus) hat diese Charaktereigenschaft des antiochenischen Textes (die Tendenz zur Attisierung)

51. Auch hier hinzuzufügen sind die Belege, wo die Differenz der Vorsilbe nur ein Teil der Abweichung ist: 12,4: lem. υπελειφθη (reading ος κατελειφθη).

52. 7,3: lem. αναγαγης (reading εξαγαγης); 7,17: lem. ενεδειχθη (reading ανεδειχθη); 7,18: lem. ενεδειχθη (reading ανεδειχθη); 8,27: lem. συνεταξεν (reading προσεταξεν); 8,29: lem. συνεταξεν (reading επεταξεν); 9,4: lem. κατερρωγοτας (reading διερρωγοτας); 14,4: lem. κατοικειν (reading παροικειν); 19,13: lem. παρελευσεται (reading παρελευσεται); 22,2: lem. επηκουσατε (reading εισηκουσατε); 22,3: lem. ουκ εγκαταλειοπατε (reading ου καταλειοπατε); 22,32: lem. απεστρεψεν (reading επεστρεψεν).

53. 2,16: lem. αποστρεψωσιν (reading αναστρεψωσιν); 8,24: lem. απεστρεψεν (reading επεστρεψεν).

54. 2,23: lem. και υπεστρεψαν (reading επεστρεψαν) hab. P; 7,12: lem. επιστρεψουσιν (reading υποστρεψουσιν) hab. E; 7,14: lem. δειξη (reading ενδειξη) hab. P<sub>2</sub> C; 7,14: lem. δειξη (reading ενδειξη) hab. P<sub>2</sub> C; 9,24: lem. ανηγγελη (reading απηγγελη) hab. C; 10,24: lem. προσπορευεσθε (reading προπορευεσθε) hab. E P C; 19,13: lem. παρελευσεται (reading περιελευσεται) hab. E P C; 22,2: lem. επηκουσατε (reading υπηκουσατε) hab. P C; 24,2: lem. κατωκησαν (reading παρωκησαν) hab. C. Hinzuzuzählen ist wohl auch: 9,2: lem. εκπολεμησαι (reading εις το πολεμησαι) hab. P.

55. 15,18: lem. εισπορευεσθαι (reading εκπορευεσθαι).

56. Vgl. Margolis, „Specimen,“ 313. Ihm ist in vielem Bruce M. Metzger (*Chapters in the History of the New Testament Textual Criticism*, NTS 4 [Leiden: Brill, 1963; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1963], 1–19 und 24–27) gefolgt. Ausgehend von der seinerzeit noch üblichen Annahme, dass der antiochenische Text eine späte lukianische Redaktion darstelle, beobachtet auch Metzger, dass hellenistische Formen und Ausdrücke verändert wurden. Konkret verweist er auf die Beispiele (Metzger, *Chapters in the History*, 26): ἐλάβοσαν (Ant: ἔλαβον); εἶπαν (Ant: εἶπον); τὸ ἔλεος (Ant: ὁ ἔλεος); ἐγενήθη (Ant: ἐγένετο).

durch die Arbeiten von Alfred Rahlfs zu den Geschichtsbüchern nahezu dogmatischen Rang erhalten.<sup>57</sup>

Die Frage ist aber, ob diese Charakterisierung—zumal im Buch Josua—so zutrifft. Dort lassen sich zwar in der Tat zahlreiche Stellen notieren, in denen der antiochenische Text eine vermeintlich attische Form verwendet.<sup>58</sup> Jedoch geht die antiochenische Textform in den wenigsten Fällen alleine. Oft ist die Mehrheitslesart eine attische.

Stärker noch als die Frage von Simplex und Kompositum wirft auch dies die Frage des Referenzpunktes auf. Wird eine Old Greek mit gutem, literarischem Griechisch in Teilen der handschriftlichen Tradition an den hellenistischen Umgangsstil angepasst, oder wird eine stilistisch sehr hellenistische Old Greek in Teilen der Überlieferung sprachlich „verbessert“?

Alleine auf Basis der vermeintlichen Attizismen wird sich diese Frage kaum lösen lassen. Aber angesichts der methodischen Hintergrundfrage scheint ein Blick auf einige Details dieses Themenkomplexes gerechtfertigt. Dabei darf verwiesen werden auf die nach wie vor eindruckliche Untersuchung von Smith,<sup>59</sup> der anhand zahlreicher Beispiele aufzeigt, dass alle Textformen sowohl hellenistische als auch attische Lesarten bieten, wenngleich in unterschiedlichen Maßen. Smith stellt in einer Übersicht fest (S. 102–108), dass die ägyptische Gruppe, bei ihm family 1, „is the strongest user of the Hellenistic grammatical endings.... Sometimes only part of family 1 supports the Hellenistic readings. Manuscripts B and r show the most consistent use of these Hellenistic endings.“<sup>60</sup> Mit Blick auf die antiochenische Textform stellt er fest, dass die Hss. g und n (d.s. Ra 54.75) selten hellenistische Verbformen verwenden, d p t 47 76 84 sowie w 118 regelmäßig.<sup>61</sup> Smith schließt daraus: „If the subgroup g n represents a purer text than d p t 74 76 84 and w 118, which it seems to, then the Atticizing of verbs which this group of MSS undertakes can be validly considered a characteristic of the editors method.“

Die Argumentation von Smith ist zunächst in sich schlüssig. Aber angesichts des methodischen Problems des Referenzpunktes stellt sich unvoreingenommen die Frage, ob eine abweichende textgeschichtliche Interpretation a priori ausgeschlossen werden kann. Denn wie Smith in seinen Übersichten selbst herausarbeitet, wird der überwiegende Teil der vermeintlich attisierenden Lesarten von einer breiten Masse der Zeugen und daher quer über alle Textformen jenseits der ägyptischen Kerngruppe hinweg bezeugt. Ist es angesichts dieser

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57. Vgl. u.a. Alfred Rahlfs, *Lucian's Rezension der Königebücher*, Septuagintastudien 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911; 2nd ed.: Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 294.

58. Der Klassiker ist die dritte Person Plural im Aorist: att. -ov für hell. -οσαν.

59. Smith, „Introduction“ (s. o. Anm. 10).

60. Ibid., 108.

61. Zahlen und Belegstellen bei Smith, „Introduction“, 108.



Bezeugung nicht denkbar bzw. sogar wahrscheinlicher, dass in einer frühen Phase der ägyptischen Textform eine Kontaminierung<sup>62</sup> durch hellenistische Formen stattgefunden hat?

Setzt man diese Überlegung als Arbeitshypothese zugrunde, so lassen sich selbst innerhalb der antiochenischen Textform potentielle „hellenisierende“ resp. vulgarisierende Kontaminierungsprozesse feststellen: bekanntermaßen ist es ein Zeichen hellenistischen Sprachgefühls, den Aorist-Medium durch Aorist-Passiv zu ersetzen, wofür ein typisches Beispiel die Änderung von *εγενετο* zu *εγενηθη* wäre.<sup>63</sup> Vorausgesetzt, die ägyptische Gruppe rund um codex B böte die OG, dann müsste man erwarten dürfen, dass Ant als vermeintlich attisierende Rezension wenn möglich *εγενηθη* zu *εγενετο* wandelt, oder aber zumindest peinlichst darauf achtet, dass der Aorist-Medium erhalten bleibt. Was wir aber vorfinden, ist ausgerechnet die hellenistische Substitution von *εγενετο* durch das passive *εγενηθη* (9 Fälle), und das auch noch in der vermeintlich den antiochenischen Text am reinsten überliefernden Gruppe g n (bzw. S<sub>a</sub>)!<sup>64</sup>

Die hieraus ableitbare Gegenthese zum traditionellen textgeschichtlichen Modell wäre folglich die, dass die OG des Buches Josua ein sprachlich sehr anschauliches Griechisch bot (quasi eine noch stark attisch geprägte literarische Koine bzw. ein sog. literarisches Großattisch/ Great Attic),<sup>65</sup> welches im Laufe der frühen handschriftlichen Tradition durch Formen der vulgärgriechischen Koine

62. Ich formuliere bewusst „Kontaminierung“ und nicht „Revision“, da z.B. codex Vaticanus in einigen wenigen Fällen attische Formen bietet, was gegen eine systematische Bearbeitung spricht.

63. Vgl. hierzu immer noch maßgeblich Henry St. John Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 238–39.

64. Formen von *εγενετο* in Josua laut Smith („Introduction“, 111): 53 Fälle (die dort angegebene Zahl 52 ist ein offenkundiges Versehen). Formen des hellenistischen *εγενηθη* (Aor.-Passiv) finden sich im codex Vaticanus 24 Mal, Formen des attische *εγενετο* (Aor.-Medium) 29 Mal. Ant verhält sich nach der Auswertung von Smith folgendermaßen: *εγενετο* hin zu *εγενηθη* geändert bei g n 9 mal, drei Mal in d p t 74 76 84; *εγενετο* behalten bei g n 20 Mal (von 21 Gesamtfällen), 26 Mal (von 29 Gesamtfällen) bei d p t 74 76 84; *εγενηθη* behalten hat Ant in 18 Fällen (von 24 Gesamtfällen).

65. Vgl. Robert Browning, „Von der Koine bis zu den Anfängen des modernen Griechisch“, in *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie* (ed. Heinz-Günther Nesselrath; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1997), 156–68, dort: 156: „Die Eroberung Persiens durch Alexander d. Gr. und die anschließende Gründung griechischer Städte ... in Kleinasien, Syrien, Mesopotamien, Ägypten und darüber hinaus machte das ‚ausgedehnte‘ Attisch zum allgemeinen Verständigungsmittel (κοινή διάλεκτος) ... Die literarische Koine zeigte verschiedene Stilebenen und verschieden großen Einfluß der attischen Literatur.“ Zum Begriff „Großattisch“ und der Abgrenzung zur gesprochenen Sprache vgl. Francisco R. Adrados, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache. Von den Anfängen bis heute* (Tübingen: Francke, 2002), insb. § 243–45 auf pp. 171–73.

kontaminiert wurde. Dies geschah besonders stark in der ägyptischen Textform. Die antiochenische Textform weist solche Kontaminierungen ebenfalls auf, allerdings in weit geringerem Umfang und in den Untergruppen in unterschiedlich ausgeprägtem Maße. Insofern sind attische Formen ein Charakteristikum der antiochenischen Gruppe. Jedoch nicht, weil diese Folge eines rezensionalen Eingriffs sind, sondern Folge eines stärkeren Beharrungsvermögens.<sup>66</sup>

Letztendlich wird hier (wie in vielen anderen Fragen auch) die Masse der Belege und die Korrelation der Einzelergebnisse den Ausschlag für eine der textgeschichtlichen Optionen geben müssen. Für sich alleine genommen vermag das Phänomen attischer Formen keinen unumstößlichen Anhaltspunkt für die textgeschichtliche Einordnung der antiochenischen Textgruppe zu geben, da die Verteilung von vermeintlich hellenistischen und attischen resp. attizistischen Formen über die Textformen hinweg einfach zu inkonsequent ist. Ohne korrespondierende Indizien ist ihre textgeschichtliche Aussagekraft daher recht begrenzt.<sup>67</sup>

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66. Weitere Beispiele unterstützen dies, wie z.B. die von d g n in Jos 15,63 und von der ganzen Textform in Jos 17,12 gebotene alte attische Form  $\eta\delta\upsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$  (statt  $\eta\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ ). Vgl. hierzu Smith, „Introduction,“ 129 (dort abweichende Versnummer) und Thackery, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 219–20. Die Form hat an beiden Stellen u.a. auch der codex Alexandrinus! Die  $\eta\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\eta$ -Form ist nach Thackery Ionisch.

Zur Unterfütterung der vorgestellten Option sei anfügen, dass die Annahme eines guten, literarischen Griechisch der OG sehr gut mit einer möglichen Datierung ins dritte vorchristliche Jahrhundert, wie sie in Teilen der gegenwärtigen Forschung vertreten wird (vgl. pars pro toto Michaël N. van der Meer, „Provenance, Profile, and Purpose of the Greek Joshua,“ in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Leiden, 2004, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 54 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006], 55–80, hier: 57–58), harmonieren würde, weist doch die ptolemäischen Kanzleisprache den Papyri zufolge in lexikalischer, morphologischer und syntaktischer Beziehung eine weitgehende Übereinstimmung mit attischen Schriftstücken des 4. Jh. v.Chr. auf (vgl. Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Bd. I (Laut und Wortlehre), I. Teil (Einleitung und Lautlehre), zweite Auflage bearbeitet von Hans Schmoll [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1970], 1–3). Es würde auch erklären, warum wir kein reines Attisch vorfinden, sondern u.a. auch ionische Einschläge. Z.B. findet sich in Josua die Lautgruppe -ττ- statt ionisch -σσ- nicht. Genau die gleiche Eigenart finden wir auch bei Thukydides und Antiphon (vgl. Klaus Strunk, „Vom Mykenischen bis zum klassischen Griechisch,“ in *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie*, ed. Heinz-Günther Nesselrath [Teubner: Stuttgart, 1997], 135–55, hier: 155).

67. De facto ist die Fragestellung noch komplizierter, als hier skizziert. Denn die vermeintlichen attischen Formen können sowohl der frühen literarischen κοινή διάλεκτος entstammen, als auch im Zuge etwa der attizistischen Bewegung der römischen Kaiserzeit in den Text eingedrungen sein (vgl. zusammenfassend Browning, „Von der Koine bis zu den Anfängen,“ 162). Letztendlich könnte aber auch manche attizistische Form in gewissen Teilen der handschriftlichen Tradition von einem byzantinischen Kopisten verursacht worden sein. Vgl. zum frühen griechischen Mittelalter (ca. 600–1100 n.Chr.) das Statement von Browning, „Von der Koine bis zu den Anfängen,“ 163:

Dennoch darf die auffällige Häufung vermeintlicher attischer Formen als Charakteristikum der antiochenischen Überlieferungsgruppe festgehalten werden. Wie schon zuvor bei dem Phänomen des Wechsels von Simplex und Kompositum harmoniert die Charakteristik der antiochenischen Textform auch in diesem Aspekt mit den Eigenschaften des antiochenischen Textes in anderen Büchern.

#### 4. FAZIT

Als vielleicht wichtigstes Fazit lässt sich festhalten, dass eine auf breiter statistischer Basis und unter Berücksichtigung der neueren Editionen angelegte Korrelation der antiochenischen Textform und des Textes des Theodoret eindeutig den geographischen Sitz dieser Rezension belegt. Ebenso finden sich die seitens der älteren Forschung herausgearbeiteten Eigenschaften dieser Textform mithilfe des modernen elektronischen Instrumentariums grundsätzlich bestätigt. Gleichwohl sind diese Charakteristika ggf. mit Rücksicht auf die jeweiligen Untergruppen unterschiedlich zu beschreiben und zu bewerten. Ganz allgemein sollte der vermeintliche Attizismus als Eigenschaft des antiochenischen Textes neu diskutiert werden.

Auch scheint es angesichts der aufgezeigten methodisch-hermeneutischen Unwägbarkeiten fraglich, ob die herausgearbeiteten Eigenschaften zwingend zum aktuell gängigen textgeschichtlichen Modell führen, oder nicht alternative Optionen zu erwägen sind. Vor dem Hintergrund des aktuellen Forschungsstandes in 1–4Königtümer und den oben aufgezeigten (wie auch weiteren) statistischen Beobachtungen scheint es jedenfalls lohnend, die verschiedenen Rezensionen des Josuabuches mit einer verstärkten methodischen Sensibilität neu zu evaluieren, und nach den textgeschichtliche Konsequenz zu fragen.

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„Einige literarische Texte der Zeit zeigen Schwankungen zwischen dem Purismus der Attizisten und der Volkssprache.“



# How to Find Out the Transgressor? A Textual Problem of Joshua 7:14–18

*Seppo Sipilä*

**Abstract:** In chapter 7 of the book of Joshua, we encounter the first setback during the entrance to the Promised Land. After the successful capture of Jericho, the Israelites attacked Ai, but failed to conquer it. The reason for the failure was that the Lord was angry, because an individual had stolen things devoted to the Lord. Verses 7:14–18 explain how the people found out the transgressor. The MT includes oddities in these verses. The instructions in verses 14–15 and the way people executed them in verses 16–18 do not match in details. Verses 16–18 include terminological inconsistencies and the ancient witnesses do not match. These things form the basics of the textual problem. My paper analyses the problem, suggestions how to solve it, and the consequences if we accept one suggestion over another.

## 1. PROBLEMS AND METHODS

Chapter 7 of the book of Joshua deals with a military setback and a burning problem that it created. How was it possible that the Israelites could not conquer the city of Ai? Scholars have suggested that the narrative of the setback and the narrative concerning the reasons and consequences of the setback did not originally occur together. Rather the narrative about the reasons and consequences was added to the narrative about the setback at a later stage,<sup>1</sup> meaning that the text of the chapter has a complex history.

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1. See, e.g., Kari Latvus, *Jumalan viha: Redaktiokriittinen tutkimus Joosuan ja Tuomarien kirjojen jumalakuvasta*, Suomen eksegeettisen seuran julkaisuja 58 (Helsinki: Suomen eksegeettinen seura, 1993), 95.

My aim in this paper is to discuss the contribution that the OG might have on the understanding of the complexities of the textual history. As my title suggests, I shall concentrate on a limited part of the chapter. This is because I think the section including verses 7:14–18 acts as a good illustration of the complexities of the history.

Verses 14–18 are linked together in a way that affects the evaluation of the textual history. In verses 14–15, God gives instructions as to how to solve the problem created by the military setback. The reason for the setback was a crime committed by an individual and the way to solve the problem was to execute the transgressor. God's instructions meant that in order to find out the transgressor a screening through casting lots should take place. In verses 16–18, the instructions are then carried out by screening the entire nation. This structure of the text creates an expectation that the instructions are followed in detail when the screening takes place. Even if this expectation may turn out to be a red herring, it will affect the evaluation of the textual history in one way or another.

When we work with the OG and consider the contribution that it may have in our understanding of the history of a given text, several well-known issues are highlighted. The wording of the OG is a hypothesis based on a critical assessment of the textual material at hand. Because the OG is a translation, one can neither reconstruct nor evaluate it without taking into the account its nature as a translation. However, we do not know—in the strict sense of the word—how the Greek text was made nor do we know from which kind of a Hebrew text, *Vorlage*, it was made.

Without considering these three not completely known issues (the wording of the OG, the way it was translated, and the wording of the Hebrew parent text), the consideration of the contribution of the OG escapes any disciplined study.<sup>2</sup>

Two major opinions have dominated the discussion of the role of the OG in the textual history of the book of Joshua over the years. Either the OG is seen as inferior as compared with the MT or the OG is seen as the most relevant version and perhaps even more important than the MT. The focus of the discussion has been on the relationship between the OG and the MT. The other issues have received relatively little attention, except from those who have specialized in LXX studies. However, the situation is not as black and white as a brief description like this suggests. Scholars have proposed that both texts, the OG and the MT, contain elements that look like later developments.<sup>3</sup> It may well be that the best way to understand the relationship between the OG and the MT is not to follow the model of the older studies and assume a simple chronological order of the texts in a sense that one of them is older than the other one. Perhaps

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2. See Anneli Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993), 77–80.

3. See, e.g., Martin Rösel, “The Septuagint-Version of the Book of Joshua,” *SJOT* 16 (2002): 5–23, esp. 6.

a model of different editions of the book would work better, because it would allow us to consider later elements in both texts and not only in one of them.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. THE TEXTS

The MT of verses 7:14–18 is not free from problems. The question is about small but not insignificant differences between the instructions in verses 14–15 and the execution of the instructions in verses 16–18.

Table 1: The Text of the MT

| Instructions |                           | screening |                                        |
|--------------|---------------------------|-----------|----------------------------------------|
| verse        |                           | verse     |                                        |
| 14           | ונקרבתם בבקר לשבטיכם      | 16        | וישכם יהושע בבקר ויקרב את ישראל לשבטיו |
|              | והיה השבט אשר ילכדנו יהוה |           | וילכד שבט יהודה                        |
|              | יקרב למשפחות              | 17        | ויקרב את משפחת יהודה                   |
|              | והמשפחה אשר ילכדנה יהוה   |           | וילכד את משפחת הזרחי                   |
|              | תקרב לבתים                |           | ויקרב את משפחת הזרחי לגברים            |
|              | והבית אשר ילכדנו יהוה     |           | וילכד זבדי                             |
|              | יקרב לגברים               | 18        | ויקרב את ביתו לגברים                   |
| 15a          | והיה הנלכד בחרם ישרף באש  |           | וילכד עכן בן כרמי בן זבדי בן זרח למטה  |
|              | אתו                       |           | יהודה                                  |

There are four issues that a careful reader will notice when looking at the narration in verses 16–18. Firstly, Judah is called a clan in singular (משפחה) in verse 17. At the end of verse 16, Judah is called a tribe (שבט). The change of the term is surprising, if one expects the formulaic language to be used systematically. Based on the formulaic language, the reader would expect to see “the tribe of Judah” at the beginning of verse 17 as well.

The second issue is that in case of the clan of Judah the narrator does not tell the reader into which parts the clan is divided in the screening. Based on the other turns, one would expect to find after Judah “by clans” (למשפחות) or something similar.<sup>5</sup>

4. Emanuel Tov, “The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,” in *Studies in Bible*, ed. Sara Japhet, ScrHier 31 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986), 321–39, here 337; or Leonard Greenspoon, “The Book of Joshua—Part 1: Texts and Versions,” in *CurBR* 3 (2005): 237–38. The basis for this notion comes from the observation that both texts, the MT and the OG, include elements that look like later developments. Such observation makes it difficult to set the two texts into any chronological order.

5. See Syriac and Carl Steuernagel, *Übersetzung und Erklärung der Bücher Deuteronomium und Josua*, HKAT 1.3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900), 178.

The third issue concerns the use of the verb לָכַד. In verses 16–18, the verb appears in *niphal* (וַיִּלְכְּדוּ) except in the second sentence in verse 17 where *qal* (וַיִּלְכְּדוּ) is used. The question is again about the formulaic language. Why does the verb form change?

The fourth issue concerns the selection out of the clan of Zerahites. According to the instructions, out of the clan a household (בֵּית) is to be selected and after that an individual (גִּבּוֹר) out of the household (see v. 14). Verse 18 does reflect the instructions but the end of verse 17 does not. From the clan of Zerahites, individuals (לְגִבּוֹרִים) were brought near, not households.<sup>6</sup> We may say that the differences, as disturbing as they may be,<sup>7</sup> hardly affect the meaning of the MT.

The OG is a different case. The main texts by Margolis and Rahlfs-Hanhart agree with each other and with the Codex Vaticanus except in one place. This place includes the major difference between the OG and the MT in our passage. The place is at the end of verse 17 and at the beginning of verse 18.

Margolis in his detailed analysis of the major difference came to the conclusion that the original wording of the OG was corrupted very early and that practically all our existing sources to the Greek text—Codex Vaticanus included—suffers from the early corruption.<sup>8</sup> The corruption that Margolis spoke about concerns a section of the text not in Codex Vaticanus.<sup>9</sup>

Table 2: The Text in Codex Vaticanus, Rahlfs-Hanhart, Margolis, and the MT

|      | B                                  | Ra                                 | Margolis                                    | MT                                                 |
|------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 17aα | καὶ προσήχθη<br>κατὰ δῆμους        | καὶ προσήχθη<br>κατὰ δῆμους        | καὶ προσήχθη<br>κατὰ δῆμους                 | וּיִקָּרַב<br>אֶת מִשְׁפַּחַת יְהוּדָה             |
| 17aβ | καὶ ἐνεδείχθη<br>δῆμος ὁ Ζαραεὶ    | καὶ ἐνεδείχθη<br>δῆμος Ζαραί       | καὶ ἐνεδείχθη<br>δῆμος Ζαραεὶ               | וַיִּלְכְּדוּ<br>אֶת מִשְׁפַּחַת הַזֹּרְחִי        |
| 17bα | καὶ προσήχθη                       | καὶ προσήχθη                       | καὶ προσήχθη                                | וּיִקָּרַב<br>אֶת מִשְׁפַּחַת הַזֹּרְחִי           |
| 17bβ |                                    |                                    | κατ'οἴκους<br>καὶ ἐνεδείχθη<br>οἶκος Ζαυρεὶ | לְגִבּוֹרִים<br>וַיִּלְכְּדוּ<br>זְבַדִּי          |
| 18a  |                                    |                                    | καὶ προσήχθη                                | וּיִקָּרַב<br>אֶת בֵּיתוֹ                          |
|      | κατὰ ἄνδρα                         | κατὰ ἄνδρα                         | κατὰ ἄνδρα                                  | לְגִבּוֹרִים                                       |
| 18b  | καὶ ἐνεδείχθη<br>Ἀχαρ υἱὸς Ζαυβρεὶ | καὶ ἐνεδείχθη<br>Ἀχαρ υἱὸς Ζαυβρεὶ | καὶ ἐνεδείχθη<br>Ἀχαρ υἱὸς Ζαυρεὶ           | וַיִּלְכְּדוּ<br>עֵכָן בֶּן בְּרַמִּי בֶן זְבַדִּי |

6. But see the Syriac.

7. See, e.g., Cornelis G. den Hertog, “Studien zur griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua” (PhD diss., Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, 1996), 80.

8. Max L. Margolis, “Man by Man, Joshua 7,17,” *JQR* 3 (1913): 329–30.

9. The text of Vaticanus is taken from the edition by Brooke and McLean.



Margolis explained that the section in question is missing from Vaticanus due to a *homoioteleuton*. The accidentally omitted text appears according to Margolis in MS 55 and in Ethiopic and Coptic versions, the Coptic one being the most important of the three.<sup>10</sup> He even stated that it is “an easy matter to restore the archetype of B” by the help of the above mentioned sources.<sup>11</sup> This is because the text found in 55 Aeth Copt cannot be based on the Hexaplaric text.<sup>12</sup> Therefore it must be earlier than the Hexaplaric text. For Margolis the earlier means that the text is to be identified with the OG.<sup>13</sup>

Margolis’s reconstruction is not as simple as he would have liked his readers to believe. He did not follow the text of 55 Aeth Copt as it is, but took into account only part of its text. It is not immediately clear why Margolis left out *δῆμος ὁ Ζαραι* before *κατ’οἴκους* at the end of verse 17 found in the previously mentioned sources. One would have expected him to accept this also as the part of the OG. He also leaves out *οἶκος Ζαμρει* from the beginning of verse 18. This reading is not in the Hexaplaric sources. In fact, the words appear only in Ethiopian and Coptic versions. No extant Greek manuscript contains them.<sup>14</sup> According to Margolis’s explanation they should be part of the OG, because it does not come from the Hexaplaric material. On the other hand, if we would accept the last named reading as part of the OG, Margolis’s explanation about a *homoioteleuton* in Vaticanus would become impossible. This is the reason why Margolis’s reconstruction of the Greek text is not reliable. Accordingly, we may hold the text of Vaticanus as a good representative of the OG as is done in Rahlfs-Hanhart edition. By accepting Vaticanus as a representative of the OG, one gains an additional benefit. We normally assume that the Greek text deviating from the MT is a good candidate for the OG.<sup>15</sup>

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10. Margolis did not know P.Bodm. 21, but only the Coptic text in BL 17183, the later matching with his reconstruction, but the former not. BL 17183 reads ⲁϣⲱ ⲁϣⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϣ ⲙⲡⲏⲓ ⲛⲁⲙⲃⲣⲉⲧ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲱⲙⲉ.

11. Margolis, “Man by Man,” 329.

12. The criticism by den Hertog *Studien zur griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua*, 79–81 misses the point, because den Hertog does not seem to be familiar with Margolis’s basic argument.

13. During the last hundred years, our understanding about the complexities of the history of the Greek text has changed in such a way that one cannot any more assume that a prehexaplaric text would automatically be the OG as Margolis still could do. For the text of Joshua, see, e.g., Kristin de Troyer, “23. LXX, Joshua (MS 2648),” in *Papyri graecae Schøyen (PSchøyen I)*, ed. R.Pintaudi, *Papyrologica florentina* 35 (Firenze: Gonnelli, 2005), 132–36.

14. The whole verse 18 is missing from 55.

15. This is one of the so-called Lagardian principles, see Paul A. de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1863), 3.

## 3. HEBREW AS THE OLDER VERSION OF THE TEXT

Before one can evaluate the relationship of the Hebrew and the Greek texts, one must compare them. As the section in verses 7:17b $\beta$ –18a is the part of the text that the OG does not have, it is best to start there. A look at the case suggests that the scribe's eye jumped from לגברים in verse 17a $\beta$  to the same word in 18a, a typical case of parablepsis creating an omission of the words in between.<sup>16</sup> This was suggested by Johannes Hollenberg already in 1876, but he did not hold it likely.<sup>17</sup> It is also possible that the error was triggered by the verb ויקרב. This possibility was suggested by Carl Steuernagel in 1900.<sup>18</sup> A majority of scholars that has discussed our passage would agree on the parablepsis explanation. A typical example would be Dominique Barthélemy's *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien testament*. As he formulated it, the question is about "une mutilation accidentale" in the OG.<sup>19</sup> Barthélemy, however, did not express very clearly how he thought the parablepsis had happened. Perhaps he thought that it was not necessary.

Table 3: The Hebrew and the Greek Compared

|              | OG                                 | MT                          |
|--------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 16aa         | καὶ ὤρθησεν Ἰησοῦς                 | וישכם יהושע בבקר            |
| 16a $\beta$  | καὶ προσήγαγεν τὸν λαὸν κατὰ φυλάς | ויקרב את ישראל לשבטיו       |
| 16b          | καὶ ἐνεδείχθη ἡ φυλὴ Ἰουδα         | וילכד שבט יהודה             |
| 17aa         | καὶ προσήχθη κατὰ δήμους           | ויקרב את משפחת יהודה        |
| 17a $\beta$  | καὶ ἐνεδείχθη δῆμος ὁ Ζαραεὶ       | וילכד את משפחת הזרחי        |
| 17ba         | καὶ προσήχθη κατὰ ἄνδρα            | ויקרב את משפחת הזרחי לגברים |
| 17b $\beta$  |                                    | וילכד זבדי                  |
| 18a          |                                    | ויקרב את ביתו לגברים        |
| 18ba         | καὶ ἐνεδείχθη Αχάρ                 | וילכד עכן                   |
| 18b $\beta$  |                                    | בן כרמי                     |
| 18b $\gamma$ | υἱὸς Ζαμβρι υἱοῦ Ζαρα              | בן זבדי בן זרח              |
| 18b $\delta$ |                                    | למטה יהודה                  |

16. On parablepsis, see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 2nd rev. ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 238–40. Parablepsis is a handy term in cases where the reason for omission is not limited to the beginning or to the end of a word or a phrase.

17. Johannes Hollenberg, *Der Character der alexandrinischen Übersetzung des Buches Joshua und ihr textkritischer Werth*, Wissenschaftliche Beilage zu dem Oster-Programm des Gymnasiums zu Moers (Moers: Eckner, 1876), 13.

18. Steuernagel, *Übersetzung und Erklärung der Bücher Deuteronomium und Josua*, 178.

19. Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien testament*, vol. 1, OBO 50.1 (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 7.

The theory that the MT is better text and that the OG suffers from a corruption is a well-known one but problematic. No matter, how we understand the mechanism that created the corruption, the corruption does not explain the precise difference between the MT and the OG. If we suppose that the parablepsis was created by the prepositional phrase לגברים, we need to notice that the Hebrew ויקרב את־משפחת הזרחי לגברים and the Greek καὶ προσήχθη κατὰ ἄνδρα do not easily match. The object of the Hebrew verb is not visible in Greek. The theories based on parablepsis from לגברים to another לגברים normally do not explain how the additional difference came to be. The same applies to the theory that the parablepsis was created by the verb ויקרב. The problem in this case is that the Hebrew ויקרב את ביתו לגברים and the Greek καὶ προσήχθη κατὰ ἄνδρα do not match. The object of the Hebrew verb is not visible in the Greek and the fact calls for an additional explanation.

I suppose that the most obvious additional explanation lies in the translation process. Maybe it was the Greek translator that left out the object of the verb ויקרב? In theory, the Greek grammar does not require making the Greek counterpart for the Hebrew object explicit. This is because everyone would understand that the grammatical subject for the passive verb προσήχθη is the same as in the previous sentence, δῆμος ὁ Ζαραεὶ. As the grammar allows ellipsis, the translator could have—at least in theory—made the subject implicit. But did he and how could we know it? Since our only source for the translation process is the result, the translation, we must look at it. In the Greek text of Joshua, the verb προσάγω appears ten times. In eight cases, the verb appears in the active and twice in the passive voice. In every other case except the two with the passive voice, the OG follows the MT very closely. Thus, for example, in Josh 8:23 ואת מלך העי תפשו חי וקרבו אתו אל יהושע—καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Γαι συνέλαβον ζῶντα καὶ προσήγαγον αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἰησοῦν. Greek grammar would have allowed the translator to omit the object αὐτόν, but he did not do so. The two cases with the passive voice appear only in verse 7:17. Because one cannot exclude the possibility that the Greek translator's Hebrew *Vorlage* deviated from the present MT in this verse, it is difficult to argue with confidence what has happened. We need to keep in mind, however, that the Greek translator allowed himself some flexibility in formulating the Greek and did not always follow the Hebrew *Vorlage* word for word,<sup>20</sup> an observation that can be made also at a

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20. See, e.g., Theo A.W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*, CBET 47 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), esp. 17, who supports the idea that the Greek translator (at least in the case of chapter 2 of the book) operated in an economic way, something already suggested by James Barr, *Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, MSU 15, NAWG Philologisch-historische Klasse Jahrgang 1979 Nr. 11 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979) and others in more general terms. When van der Louw targets some comments of his colleagues and calls them “strange” (p. 5), he and his colleagues might

more general level when speaking about the Septuagint translators as a whole.<sup>21</sup> In our case, I take this to mean that the translational cause for the nonexistence of the explicit subject in Greek is possible but not compelling.

Nonetheless, discussions about the translation procedures are often totally lacking from the studies on our passage.<sup>22</sup> I take this as an indication that there is a methodological problem connected with the parablepsis theory, and it seriously weakens the credibility of the theory. Therefore one should hesitate to assume that the MT is the older and more original form of the text. An assumption of a parablepsis cannot easily explain the origin of the different text in the OG.

#### 4. GREEK AS THE OLDER VERSION OF THE TEXT?

Perhaps, then, it is the OG that is intact and the MT represents a text that is further developed? The Greek text in verses 7:14–18 is not particularly difficult. It is only different from the verses 14–15 and shorter than the MT of verses 16–18. The instructions—also in the Greek text—include four steps, but the screening in the Greek text includes only three. In fact, the difference from verses 14–15 may suggest the authenticity, but the simplicity and clearness when compared with verses 16–18 in the MT may not. The crucial question concerns the so-called difficulty.<sup>23</sup> How should we apply the rule of *lectio difficilior* in this case? Connected with this question is another question about the relationship between verse 14–15 and verses 16–18. How much emphasis must we put on the structure of instructions and their execution when evaluating the text? However, this might be premature thinking. Maybe more clarity can be reached by comparing the texts more closely?

In verse 16aα, the Hebrew idiom שכם בבקר is rendered with ὁρθρίζω. It is possible that the translator included the Hebrew prepositional phrase בבקר to his

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be speaking about different things. For van der Louw, the “exotic” character of the Greek translation in Joshua is a sign of the lack of experience as translator and therefore also the lack of competence as translator (p. 17). The colleagues, when speaking about the competence are signalling that the translator was able to produce a good number of grammatically correct “free” renderings despite his literal Greek version. Therefore, the main focus is in his command of Greek.

21. See, e.g., Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators*, 66–67.

22. To my knowledge Margolis, “Man by Man,” is the only study where the issue is discussed. Margolis had the well-known critical view of the Greek translator, and accordingly he explains that the lack of the subject is due to the “translator’s method of condensation” (331).

23. Richard D. Nelson Nelson, *Joshua: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 98 supports the parablepsis theory from one לגברים to another לגברים and declares the MT as a more difficult text.

Greek verb, even though in every other case our translator also used the adverb *πρωτ* as a formal equivalent for the Hebrew phrase.<sup>24</sup>

In verse 16aβ, the Greek counterpart for Israel is *ὁ λαός*. As the difference is perhaps mainly stylistic, it is difficult to say whether the difference came about through the translation process or not.<sup>25</sup>

Also in verse 16aβ, the Hebrew *לשבטיו* is represented by *κατὰ φυλάς* in Greek. The Greek does not include a visible counterpart for the possessive suffix in Hebrew, and it is possible that the translator made it implicit. In Greek, the meaning is the same whether a pronoun appears or not.

Starting in verse 16b, the Greek uses the passive voice. At the beginning of verse 16, Joshua is the subject and the actor, but from the middle of verse 16 onwards his role in the Greek text is downplayed. The use of passive makes the actor invisible and shifts the focus on the one who experiences the action. The formal reason for the use of the passive in Greek is the *niphal* *וילכד*. Once the translator started to use the passive, he used it systematically to the end of the narration about the screening, but this is to my mind only natural.

A much more difficult issue lies with the object found at the beginning of verse 17. The formal counterpart for the *יהודה את־משפחת* is *κατὰ δῆμους*. There seems hardly any connection between the two, and therefore one might think that behind the OG is a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the MT.<sup>26</sup> However, it is not clear as to what kind of Hebrew *Vorlage* we are talking about. It is only clear that the MT as it stands now does not make it explicit that after the tribe (*שבט*) of Judah was selected a further screening targeted on the clans of that tribe. Admittedly, it might also be possible that the translator decided to write like this by interpreting his Hebrew *Vorlage* in a manner resembling the MT, because he felt that the explicit mention of the clans was needed. The difference may be connected with a surprising feature in the MT. At the end of verse 16, the tribe of Judah is called *שבט*, but at the beginning of verse 17, Judah is *משפחה* (in singular). Further on, at the end of verse 18, Judah is *מטה*.

Then, as I have already mentioned, the end of verse 17 and the beginning of verse 18 in the MT is longer than the text in the OG. If we think that the shortness is here a sign of originality (and texts do tend to become longer over time), the reason to add the extra text to the MT must lie in the imbalance

24. Emanuel Tov, "Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings," in *Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography*, ed. Takamitsu Muraoka, SCS 28 (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1990), 122–23 discussing the use of the verb *ῥηριζω* in the LXX describes the use of the adverb *πρωτ* as usual, pleonastic, and following the MT.

25. In chapter 7, the Greek has three times *ὁ λαός* whereas the Hebrew has Israel (7:11, 16, and 24), but in other parts of the book this difference does not appear.

26. See, e.g., Steuernagel, *Übersetzung und Erklärung der Bücher Deuteronomium und Josua*, 178: "*Lies משפחת יהודה oder nach Analogie von v. 16. 17b. 18 und teilweise auch LXX את שבט יהודה למשפחתיו*."

between the instructions and the narration about the screening. The instructed screening should have four steps, so someone added the missing step.

The problem with this explanation is that the supposed addition does not match with the instructions. Thus, perhaps the editor was careless and mixed the terms for individual (גבר) and household (בית) mentioning first the individual and only after that the household. This is unlikely, because we would normally assume that the editors knew what they were doing. Perhaps then the text was somehow corrupted over the time?<sup>27</sup>

In verse 18b, the name of transgressor is Achan in the Hebrew, but Achar in the Greek. Various suggestions as to how to interpret the difference has been put forward, but I think that after Richard Hess's study on the name the matter is settled.<sup>28</sup> It must be so, that the Greek spelling of the name, also found in the MT of 1 Chronicles, is based on a very early editing where the name of the transgressor has been linked to the place of his tomb (the valley of Achor) and to the Hebrew verb "to bring disaster" (עבר).

The genealogy of Achan includes several noticeable elements. In the MT the father of Achan is Charmi, but in the OG he is Zimri.<sup>29</sup> In the screening process neither Charmi nor Zimri appears. Thus, there is an imbalance between the genealogy and the screening. Besides, the version of the genealogy in the OG is shorter than that we found in the MT. The OG version mentions only the father (Zimri) and the grandfather (Zerah), whereas the MT version mentions no less than four forefathers: Charmi, Zabdi, Zerah, and Judah. The list in the MT is connected with the genealogy found in verse 7:1 and also with the one in 1 Chr 2. Zimri mentioned in the OG perhaps matches with that of Zabdi in the MT,<sup>30</sup> only that Zabdi is the grandfather of Achan in the MT, but Zimri is the father in the OG. Then, as I have said, the MT closes the genealogy by connecting the people to the tribe of Judah, and this time the term for tribe is מטה also appearing in verse 7:1.<sup>31</sup>

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27. As suggested, e.g., by Robert G. Bratcher, "The Hebrew Old Testament Text Project and the Translator," *BT* 30 (1979): 329.

28. Richard S. Hess, "Achan and Achor: Names and Wordplay in Joshua 7," *HAR* 14 (1994): 89–98.

29. The Greek Ζαμβρι is the standard rendering for the Hebrew Zimri. The Greek name matches with the Hebrew Zimri in the MT (the potential exceptions being only in Josh 7:1, 18).

30. According to Rod R. Hutton, "Zimri (Person)" *ABD sub loco* the difference in based on the early corruption of the name.

31. Tov, "The Growth of the Book of Joshua," 332 interpreted the end of verse 18 as harmonizing addition in the MT.

Table 4: Genealogies of Achan

| 7:1 MT   | 7:1 OG | 7:18 MT  | 7:18 OG | 1 Chr 2 MT | 1 Chr 2 OG |
|----------|--------|----------|---------|------------|------------|
| עֶכָן    | Αχαρ   | עֶכָן    | Αχαρ    | עֶכָר      | Αχαρ       |
| כַּרְמִי | Χαρμι  | כַּרְמִי |         | כַּרְמִי   | Χαρμι      |
| זִבְדִּי | Ζαμβρι | זִבְדִּי | Ζαμβρι  | זִמְרִי    | Ζαμβρι     |
| זֶרַח    | Ζαρα   | זֶרַח    | Ζαρα    | זֶרַח      | Ζαρα       |
| יְהוּדָה | Ιουδα  | יְהוּדָה |         | יְהוּדָה   | Ιουδα      |

Whereas the genealogy found in the MT matches with that of verse 7:1 and that found in 1 Chr 2, it does not match with the screening. Charmi does not appear in the narration about the screening. In the same way, the genealogy in the OG does not match with the screening. There are three steps in the OG narration and three names on the genealogy, but the names do not match with the narration, nor do they match with the verse 7:1 nor with the genealogy in 1 Chr 2.<sup>32</sup>

As the genealogy found in the OG of verse 7:18 differs from the other versions of the genealogy, there is a strong possibility that it represents an old form of the text. Since in the MT the genealogies in verses 7:1 and 7:18 match, but they correspond with the narration about the screening only with difficulty, I am tempted to think that verse 7:18 in the MT is made to match with verse 7:1 at a later stage of the history of the text.

This conclusion does not match with recent literature on verse 7:18. Mostly the difference between the OG and the MT is explained as a result of shortening during the Greek translation process.<sup>33</sup> In my mind if the translator would have shorted the genealogy, I would have expected it to match with his version of the narration of the screening, but it does not. The contradiction is telling, I think.

Then, if the genealogy in verse 18 in the OG looks like an older form of the text than that in the MT, one can conclude further. If someone changed the wording of the MT in verse 18b maybe the same applies to the end of verse 17 and the beginning of verse 18, too. Starting from the genealogy someone added the missing step between the tribe and the individual. He did not add Charmi to the narration, because the instructions in verses 14–15 do not allow a room for the name. There should be only four steps in the screening process, not five. For me an explanation like this would make more sense than the theory that the OG is a result of parablepsis omitting the end of verse 17 and the beginning of verse 18.

There are difficulties in my conclusion. I have already said that the name Achan must be the original one, not Achar, the Greek name of the man. This

32. Achan is also mentioned in verses 7:24 and 22:20, and in both of these cases he is a son of Zerah. These cases one can bypass, since Achan is identified only with the clan.

33. See, e.g., Cornelis G. den Hertog, “Jesus: Josua / Das Buch Josua,” in *Septuagint Deutsch; Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament 1: Genesis bis Makkabäer*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 630.

means that the text of the OG *as such* cannot be the earliest possible form of the text. In fact, none of our existing texts would be a good candidate for the earliest form of the text.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

Our case is complex.<sup>34</sup> As the MT contains internal tensions and anomalies, one hesitates to say that *one* editor would have created the text starting from something that lies behind the Greek text.<sup>35</sup> This is because the narration about the screening and the instructions on how to do it do not match and the genealogy of Achan does not match with the narration nor with the instructions. Scholars interpret the tensions and anomalies as signs of difficult reading and difficult readings are often more original ones.

I hasten to add that the OG has similar signs of difficulty. The genealogy does not match with the narration, which does not match with the instructions, which do not match with the beginning in verse 7:1. If both texts are difficult, the rule of *lectio difficilior* becomes cumbersome to use. In fact I believe that in cases like this, the concept of difficulty does not help much in evaluating the relationship between the MT and the OG.

At the same time, one must say that the other favourite explanation, namely, an error in a form of parablepsis, does not help much further either. Because of the reasons I have discussed, I do not think that the difference between the MT and the OG at the end of verse 7:17 and beginning of verse 7:18 can be explained by using parablepsis. Another explanation is needed.

Hopefully, I have been able to demonstrate that simple explanations on the relationship between the OG and the MT are problematic. It seems that both traditions, the MT and the OG, carry signs of later development but different from each other. It may well be that the theory of different editions of the book works best in cases like this.

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34. A. Graeme Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Nauē in Codex Vaticanus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 144, says the case represents an “enormously complex text-critical situation.”

35. Samuel Holmes, *Joshua: The Hebrew and Greek Texts* (University Press: Cambridge 1914), 2 concluded that the MT is a result of “the work of *a* subsequent Hebrew scribe” (*italics mine*).



# Reconsidering the Relationship of A and B in LXX Judges

*Nathan LaMontagne*

**Abstract:** There is a consensus, growing from the research of Natalio Fernández Marcos, that the Song of Deborah in Judg 5 represents evidence of two distinct translations into Greek of the original Hebrew. In addition to adding evidence to this consensus, this work examines what it means to the relationship of the A text and the B text of the Greek texts of Judges that they are witnesses to distinct translations of the Hebrew. Specifically, it puts forward the thesis that A is a text later than the B text, because it blends readings from the older Greek translation (OG) with readings from B. This work also examines several passages in Judges outside of the Song of Deborah to see whether the relationship of A and B is the same elsewhere as it is in the Song.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The LXX texts of Judges have not been the subject of very much recent research. LXX Judges is one of the books for which there survives more than one distinct text; unlike other books, though, it is not at all clear how the two types, A and B, are related to one another. Nearly a century of research was done on the subject between 1860 and 1960, but since then only a few articles have been produced. The two texts present a Gordian knot of interconnectedness, and I hope to begin unraveling that here. The primary problem in discussing how A and B are related is in figuring out whether the two texts represent independent translations or whether they are related through revision in some way. There has been considerable discussion on the matter. Let me say that, although a firm conclusion can only be reached on the basis of a fresh examination of all the available texts, such a task would be impossible in the scope of a single presentation.

First, I want to review briefly the research that has been done in the past. Paul Anton de Lagarde is credited with first describing the theory that all of the LXX texts derive from a common "Urtext." Accordingly, for Judges, Otto Pretzl, A. V. Billen, Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, Dominique Barthélemy, Barnabas Lindars, and several others have all presented evidence that this is the case in Judges.<sup>1</sup> Pretzl, in 1927, is instrumental for this insofar as classifying the manuscripts, and Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, in a 1951 work, demonstrated by examining selected passages exactly how he believed B derived from A through revision. Most scholars since Soisalon-Soininen's work have considered the matter closed, the point proven, and the debate unnecessary.

However, de Lagarde noted that for Judges, or at least for the Song of Deborah, there appeared to be two text types, and this was irreconcilable to his basic theory. Following this idea, George Foote Moore in 1895, Charles Cooper in 1948, John Ludlum in an unpublished dissertation in 1957, and David Montalvo, also an unpublished dissertation from 1977 have all presented arguments which through their own careful analysis demonstrate that there are indeed two distinct translations in the book of Judges.<sup>2</sup> Soisalon-Soininen's judgment was based on stylistic principles; if both text types carefully adhere strictly to the MT, more so than any other work in the LXX, then this shows that they share the same thought behind the composition, and only differences in word choices is evidence of editorial activity, not translational activity. He also argued that all of the existing MSS are essentially Origenic in origin and therefore that all the MSS suffer from Hexaplaric contamination. Montalvo and the other's judgment is based on the selection of word choices—that is, if A and B have different words that mean the same thing, and they are used in the same way, and one does not show any demonstrable improvement over the other, then

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1. Paul Anton de Lagarde, *Septuaginta Studien* (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1892). Otto Pretzl, "Septuaginta-Probleme im Buch der Richter," *Bib* 7 (1926): 233–69; A. V. Billen, "The Hexaplaric Element in the LXX Version of Judges," *JTS* 43 (1942): 12–19; I. Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches* (Helsinki: Druckerei der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft, 1951); J. Schreiner, "Textformen und Urtext des Deborahliedes in der Septuaginta," *Bib* 42 (1961): 173–200; J. Schreiner, "Zum B-Text des griechischen Canticum Deborahae," *Bib* 42 (1961): 333–58; Barnabas Lindars, "Some Septuagint Readings in Judges," *JTS* 22 (1971): 1–14; Angel Saenz-Badillos, "Tradición griega y texto hebreo del Canto de Debora," *Sef* 33 (1973): 245–57; Walter Ray Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments*, HSM 23 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1980).

2. George F. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1895), xliii–xlv; Charles M. Cooper, "Theodotian's Influence on the Alexandrian Text of Judges," *JBL* 67 (1948): 66; John Ludlum, "The Dual Greek Text of Judges in Codices A and B" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1957); David E. Montalvo, "The Texts of A and B in the Book of Judges" (Ph.D. diss., Dropsie College, 1977).

these cannot have been the product of revisions—revision necessarily implies some kind of improvement.

Both of these arguments have their merits; both of them have their problems. At the heart of this disagreement, however, lies these telling statistics compiled by David Montalvo:<sup>3</sup>

| Agreement in A and B (num. of words, % of the total text) |                                                |                                                |                            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
|                                                           | Insignificant Agreement<br>(two words or less) | Significant Agreement<br>(three words or more) | Exact Agreement<br>(total) |
|                                                           | Disagreement                                   |                                                |                            |
| A                                                         | 1,767 (11.1%)                                  | 10,106 (63.2%)                                 | 11,873 (74.3%)             |
| B                                                         | 1,767 (11.3%)                                  | 10,106 (64.8%)                                 | 11,873 (76.1%)             |
|                                                           |                                                |                                                | 4,107 (25.7%)              |
|                                                           |                                                |                                                | 3,729 (23.9%)              |

If the two text types are independent translations, how do we explain the nearly three-quarters of the text which is in exact agreement? If they are related through revision, why does one not show any improvement over the other?

The main difficulty, I believe, lies in the fact that in all of these studies, what is being compared is the A text and the B text. These are the two main text types, and these are the types that get compared even though it is universally acknowledged that the A text is not synonymous with the Old Greek (OG). In fact, the OG is frequently buried under the readings of the A text; it is not the basis of A in Rahlfs' version of the LXX, and without a Göttingen edition of Judges, there is no critical text of the OG of Judges in existence. For this reason, A and B are what gets compared, because that is what is available, even though it is far less than optimal.

## 2. ANALYSIS

First, I would like to go through how the OG must be discovered in Judges and what makes it up. The types A and B can be further subdivided into families which began with Lagarde, but refined by Pretzl and Billen, and solidified in a more or less final form by Soisalon-Soininen and Barthélemy. Montalvo added the data of several more manuscripts from the Holmes-Parsons LXX. It has been demonstrated by a wide variety of scholars, on both sides of the debate, that the OG is found most frequently in the AII group and especially in the Old Latin.<sup>4</sup>

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3. Montalvo, "Texts," 43.

4. George F. Moore, "The Antiochian Recension of the Septuagint," *AJSL* 29 (1912): 37–62; Billen, "Hexaplaric Element"; Lindars, "Septuagint Readings"; Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament: Josué, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chroniques, Esdras, Néhémie, Esther*, OBO 50.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982). The problem of the identification of this as "Lucianic" is discussed by Harle, *Les Judges*, 27–28, and is based on the earlier work of Moore. This argument,

However, it is clear from even a cursory examination that the OG is rarely reproduced as the only text of these minuscules; far more often than not, the members of the AII group preserve a text like other members of the A family and alongside that another translation of the same Hebrew which is unlike. These phenomena are called translation doublets, and in Judges, the OG is very frequently found only in these doublets. This is complicated by the fact that a doublet is sometimes preserved several verses away from what is being doubled, and sometimes the doublets can be as short as a single word, making it very difficult sometimes to identify a word or phrase as a doublet rather than merely an addition. The problem of doublets results from the fact that as Soisalon-Soininen described, all of our MSS are post-Origenic. I believe that all of the extant MSS of Judges are, to some degree or another, eclectic—produced by copyists who had several versions of the LXX to choose from. Less preferable readings, if they are copied at all, are copied as doublets in the text or as notes in the margins. This leads to a difficult situation in which there may be places in Judges where no MSS preserve the OG at all.

Now to the question of how A and B are related to each other, and more importantly, how OG is related the each of these. For the purpose of demonstration, I have selected several passages from Judges which I think are illustrative. Many of these selections come from the Song of Deborah in chapter 5, partly because it was the subject of my recently defended dissertation, but mostly because in the Song the minuscules are more careful to preserve variant readings as doublets. Why in the Song, but not elsewhere? First of all, the Song is poetry, and so there is more flexibility in the translation. Second, because the Hebrew text of the Song of Deborah is, possibly, horribly corrupted and barely understood by many readers, both ancient and modern. This means that translations abound, different versions may be irreconcilable, and a copyist who is trying to remain faithful to the library of his community must therefore retain much more in the Song than elsewhere in Judges. In these examples, both A and B are underlined where they agree with the OG. A is also printed in bold where it agrees with B.

3:19

OG

καὶ Αἰγλωμ ἀνέστρεψεν  
ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδωλῶν τῶν ἐν  
Γαλαλοῖς,  
καὶ εἶπεν Ἀωδ τῷ Αἰγλωμ

B

καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπέστρεψεν  
ἀπὸ τῶν γλυπτῶν τῶν  
μετὰ τῆς Γαλαλ  
καὶ εἶπεν Ἀωδ

A

καὶ Εγλωμ ἀνέστρεψεν  
ἀπὸ τῶν γλυπτῶν **μετὰ**  
**τῆς Γαλαλ**  
καὶ εἶπεν Ἀωδ

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that AII represents the oldest strata of Judges, already enjoyed the general consensus of scholars all the way back to G. F. Moore. Montalvo's work did it the favor of compiling the arguments, adding his own data, and strengthening the foundation upon which that argument is based.

λόγος μοι κρύφιος θεού,  
 βασιλεῦς.

καὶ εἶπεν Αἰγλωμ πάντα ἐκ  
 μέσου γένεσθαι,  
 καὶ ἐξήλθον οἱ  
 παραστήκοτες αὐτῷ.

λόγος μοι κρύφιος πρὸς  
 σέ βασιλεῦ.

καὶ εἶπεν Εγλωμ πρὸς  
 αὐτόν σιώπα  
 καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν ἀφ'  
 ἑαυτοῦ πάντα τοὺς  
 ἐφεστῶτας ἐπ' αὐτόν.

λόγος μοι κρύφιος πρὸς σέ  
 βασιλεῦ.

καὶ εἶπεν Εγλωμ πᾶσιν ἐκ  
 μέσου  
 καὶ ἐξήλθον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 πάντες οἱ παραστήκοντες  
 αὐτῷ.

Verses 19 and 24 of chapter 3 are part of the Ehud and Eglon story and depict, respectively, Ehud's deception of Eglon and then the aftermath of Eglon's assassination. The OG is not very hard to reconstruct here; it is mainly the reading which is found in the AII family of manuscripts. Much of the work of identifying doublets has been done by Natalio Fernandez Marcos and Emmanuel Tov. I have added some of my own thoughts to these.<sup>5</sup>

It can be seen in verse 19 that in nearly every single word, the reconstructed OG differs from the text offered by B. The longest agreement between them is καὶ εἶπεν Αωδ λόγος μοι κρύφιος. A, it can be seen, uses many of the words from OG, but its basic structure is the same as that of B.

3:24

OG

καὶ ἀποτιναζάμενος Αωδ  
 ἐξήλθεν καὶ ἐπορεύετο,  
 καὶ οἱ παῖδες Εγλωμ  
 προσήλθον

καὶ αἱ θύραι τοῦ οἴκου  
 κεκλεισμέναι.  
 καὶ εἶπον μήποτε πρὸς  
 δίφρους κάθεται ἐν τῇ  
 ἀποχωρήσει τοῦ κοιτῶνος.

B

καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξήλθεν

καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ  
 ἐπήλθον  
 καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ αἱ  
 θύραι τοῦ ὑπερώου  
 ἐσφηνωμέναι.  
 καὶ εἶπαν μήποτε  
 ἀποκενοῖ τοὺς πόδας  
 αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ταμείῳ τῷ  
 θερινῷ.

A

καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξήλθεν

καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ  
 εἰσῆλθον  
 καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ αἱ θύραι  
 τοῦ ὑπερώου  
 ἀποκεκλεισμέναι.  
 καὶ εἶπαν μήποτε πρὸς  
 δίφρους κάθεται ἐν τῇ  
 ἀποχωρήσει τοῦ κοιτῶνος.

The OG in verse 24 again is not difficult to reconstruct, thanks to a doublet of the first half of the verse reproduced partway through. The doublet runs as printed above from the beginning of the verse through κεκλεισμέναι. The second half of the verse is found in almost all the A family. The agreement between OG and B here totals basically four words: "he left," "the servants," "the doors," and "perchance." Again, the OG produces a text which is in nearly every word different than the text of B; and again, A produces an in-between version, following B in the first half of the verse and OG in the second half.

5. Emanuel Tov, "The Textual History of the Song of Deborah in the A Text of the LXX," *VT* 28 (1978): 224–32; Natalio Fernandez Marcos, ed., *Judges, BHQ* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011).

5:13–14a

| OG                                   | B                                           | A                                     | MT                                      |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| τότε ἐμεγαλύνθη                      | τότε κατέβη<br>κατάλημμα                    | πότε ἐμεγαλύνεν                       | זו ירד שרִיד                            |
| ἡ ἰσχύς αὐτοῦ κύριος<br>ἐπολέμει μοι | τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς λαὸς<br>Κυρίου κατέβη<br>αὐτῷ | ἡ ἰσχύς αὐτοῦ Κύριε<br>ταπεινώσόν μοι | לֹא־יִרְדּוּ עִם<br>יְהוָה יִרְדּוּ־לִי |
| ἐν δυνατοῖς.                         | ἐν τοῖς κραταιοῖς                           | τοὺς ἰσχυροτέρους<br>μου              | בגבורים.                                |
| (14) λαὸς Εφραιμ ...                 | (14) ἐξ ἐμοῦ<br><u>Εφραιμ</u> ...           | (14) <u>λαὸς Εφραιμ</u> ...           | (14) מִנִּי אֶפְרַיִם                   |

The OG in verse 13 can be restored from doublets of verse 14.<sup>6</sup> It hinges in the second half of the verse on the meaning of ירד; B reads ירד־לי meaning “go down for me”; OG reads ירד־לי somehow meaning “fight for me.” It also turns on the placement of מני, which B takes as the first word of verse 14, “From me Ephraim is rooted”; A takes it with בגבורים, “those stronger than me.” The originality of the OG reading however is confirmed by the presence in the A family of λαός at the beginning of verse 14. This does not correspond to any word of the MT, if one takes מני to be the last word of verse 13, as A does. If, however, it is recognized that the OG reading is κύριος ἐπολέμει μοι ἐν δυνατοῖς, then λαός must be explained as the OG instead of reading מני, reads בני, “sons of,” and translates it idiomatically as “people of.” When Origen obelized the phrase in OG (and it is found under the obelus in Syro-Hexapla) and replaced it, he did not realize that λαὸς Εφραίμ rendered more than just the name, believing that מני belonged with the previous verse.

5:15

| OG                                                                                   | B                                                                                                                   | A                                                                                                              |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ἐνισχύοντος Ισσαχαρ μετὰ<br>Δεβορρας<br>εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα<br>ἐξαπέστειλεν πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ | καὶ ἀρχηγοὶ ἐν Ισσαχαρ<br><u>μετὰ Δεββωρας</u> καὶ Βαρακ<br>οὕτως Βαρακ ἐν κοιλάσιν<br>ἀπέστειλεν ἐν ποσὶν<br>αὐτοῦ | [ἐνισχύοντος] ἐν Ισσαχαρ<br><u>μετὰ Δεββωρας</u><br><u>ἐξαπέστειλεν πεζοὺς</u><br><u>αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα</u> |
| ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ διαιρέσεσι<br>μεγάλοι ἀκριβασμοί                                       | εἰς τὰς μερίδας Ρουβην<br><u>μεγάλοι</u> ἐξικνούμενοι<br>καρδῖαν.                                                   | [ἵνα σοι κατοικῆς ἐμμέσῳ<br>χειλέων] ἐξέτεινεν τοῖς<br><u>ποσὶν αὐτοῦ διαιρέσεις</u>                           |

6. This phrase κύριος ἐπολέμει μοι ἐν δυνατοῖς does not appear in v. 13 in any MSS, but I have moved it here from v. 14 where it is found in AI, AII, and Procopius after Ζαβουλων. AI and AII read κύριε ταπεινώσόν μοι τοὺς ἰσχυροτέρους μου here. Τον, “Textual History,” draws attention to the doublet and demonstrates that the two readings derive from the Hebrew: יְהוָה יִרְדּוּ־לִי בַגְבוּרִים. κύριος ἐπολέμει μοι ἐν δυνατοῖς is found in the Syro-Hexapla under the obelisk, indicating that Origen found it unsatisfactory and replaced it with one he found more acceptable.

5:16

ἵνα τί σὺ κατοικεῖς ἐν μέσῳ  
χειλέων;  
τοῦ ἀκούειν συριγμούς  
ἐξεγειρόντων; τοῦ διελθεῖν  
εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ρουβην μεγάλαι  
ἐξιχνιασμοὶ καρδίας.

εἰς τί ἐκάθισαν ἀνὰ μέσον  
τῆς διγομίας;  
τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι συρισμοῦ  
ἀγέλων· εἰς διαιρέσεις  
Ρουβην μεγάλαι  
ἐξετασμοὶ καρδίας.

**Ρουβην μεγάλοι  
ακριβασμοὶ καρδίας.**

**ἵνα τί μοι καθήσαι ἀνὰ  
μέσον των μοσφαιθαμ;  
τοῦ εἰσακούειν συρισμοῦς  
ἐξεγειροντων τοῦ διέλθειν  
εἰς τα τοῦ Ρουβην  
μεγάλοι ἐξιχνιασμοὶ  
καρδίας.**

Verses 15 and 16 of the Song of Deborah are intended to praise the work of those tribes who helped win the Battle, like Issachar, and to castigate those tribes who did little or nothing, such as Reuben. There are several things going on in this verse. First of all, there are several doublets that can be seen in the A text which are bracketed and must be restored to their proper places; but it is not hard to reconstruct the OG above.<sup>7</sup> You may notice that verse 15 of the OG is missing several very crucial pieces; it is unclear why these words are missing, but the AII group is unanimous in their omission, and since the phrase makes sense (although a different sort of sense) even without them, it is reasonable to believe that they were missing in the OG. It is understandable that this translation was thought to be defective and the “missing” pieces inserted by a later hand. The same thing can be seen going on here, that B is almost entirely different than the OG, and A agrees sometimes with one, sometimes with another; frequently it agrees with B where it can be seen that the OG departs from the Masoretic.

5:29–30

OG

φρόνησις ἰσχύος αὐτῆς  
ἀποκριθήσεται αὐτῇ  
ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῇ ἑαυτῇ τοῦς  
λόγους αὐτῆς·

(30) καὶ οὐχ εὐρέθησαν

διεμερίσθη σκύλα μήτρας  
αὐτῆς;  
εἰς κεφαλὴν ἀνδρὸς  
ἐτίτρωσκον δακτύλοι;

ἐν τῷ Σισαρρα ἐστηλώθη  
στίγματα

B

αἱ σοφαὶ ἄρχουσαι αὐτῆς  
ἀπεκρίθησαν πρὸς αὐτήν  
καὶ αὐτῇ ἀπέστρεψεν  
λόγους αὐτῆς ἑαυτῇ·

(30) οὐχ εὐρήσουσιν  
αὐτὸν

διαμερίζοντα σκύλα;  
οἰκτεῖρμων οἰκτειρήσει  
εἰς κεφαλὴν ἀνδρός·

σκύλα βαμμάτων  
τῷ Σισαρα σκύλα  
βαμμάτων ποικιλίας

A

**σοφαὶ ἀρχουσῶν αὐτῆς  
ἀνταπεκρίναντο πρὸς  
αὐτήν καὶ αὐτῇ δε  
ἀπεκρίνατο ἐν ῥήμασιν  
αὐτῆς·**

(30) οὐχὶ εὐρήσουσιν  
αὐτὸν

**διαμερίζοντα σκύλα·**  
φιλιάζων φίλοις  
εἰς κεφαλὴν δυνατοῦ

**σκύλα βαμμάτων  
Σισαρα σκύλα βαμμάτων  
ποικιλίας βαφὴ ποικίλων**

7. Tov, “Textual History,” 228–29.

|                                       |                                  |                                |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
|                                       | βάμματα ποικιλῶν<br>αὐτά.        |                                |
| ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ<br>ἐσκυλεύθη. | <u>τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ</u><br>σκῦλα | περὶ τράχηλον αὐτοῦ<br>σκῦλον. |

Verses 29 and 30 come from the end of the Song of Deborah and are the singer's facetious imagining of what Sisera's mother must think about why Sisera has not returned from battle. A produces a text which is very close to, though not exactly, the text of B. The OG text is found in a doublet in AII, which prints two complete versions of the two verses, A's first and the above text second. It is not difficult to see that they are the OG, especially since the text of AII does not print any part of the A text; instead it prints only the doublet text. Although they share some similarities, the OG shares very little identical verbiage with B. They use some of the same words and some of the same roots. Even so, the two versions of these verses are quite different in the way they interpret what Sisera's mother says. A has chosen a text that is far closer to B than to the OG, and yet still has some unique phrasing.

8:15

OG

καὶ εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
Γεδεων

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, ἰδοὺ,  
Ζεβεαι καὶ Σαλμανα, δι'  
οὓς ὠνειδίσατέ με λέγοντες

μὴ ἡ κεφαλὴ Ζεβεαι καὶ  
Σαλμανα ἐστὶν  
ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου ὅτι δώσωμεν  
σοι ἄρτους καὶ τῇ στρατιά  
σου τῇ ἐκλουμένῃ.

B

καὶ παρεγένετο Γεδεων  
πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας  
Σοκχωθ

καὶ εἶπεν ἰδοὺ  
Ζεβее καὶ Σελμανα ἐν οἷς  
ὠνειδίσατέ με λέγοντες

μὴ χεὶρ Ζεβее καὶ  
Σελμανα νῦν  
ἐν χειρὶ σου ὅτι δώσωμεν  
τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς  
ἐκλείπουσιν ἄρτους.

A

**καὶ παρεγένετο Γεδεων**  
**πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας**  
**Σοκχωθ**

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ἰδοὺ  
Ζεβее καὶ Σαλμανα δι'  
οὓς ὠνειδίσατέ με  
λέγοντες

μὴ **χεὶρ** Ζεβее καὶ  
Σαλμανα **νῦν**  
ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου ὅτι  
**δώσωμεν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν**  
σου τοῖς ἐκλελυμένοις  
**ἄρτους.**

8:15 shows the confrontation between Gideon, after his victory, with those kings who refused to provide quarter to Gideon and his troops. The first phrase in the OG is preserved in a doublet in the middle of the verse that also reproduces several words from the previous verse. The rest of the verse is a faithful reproduction of a text which is common to the AII group but does not appear in other MSS. In this verse, it is not the case that the OG is radically different than the text of B. However, the use of εἶπεν and λέγοντες for אמר as well as the use of ὠνειδίζω for הרה may be stereotyped language and therefore unremarkable, even though they are used in the same forms. It is also noteworthy that the OG in this verse has departed from a literal translation of the Hebrew, substituting αὐτοῦς



for “the elders/men of Succoth” as well as rearranging the words of the phrase and adding the name Γεδεων. A can be seen to be related to both OG and B in this case, though it is much nearer to the latter than the former.

14:14a

OG

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,  
ἐκ στόματος ἐσθίουτος  
ἐξῆλθεν βρώσις  
καὶ ἐκ σκληροῦ γλυκύ.

B

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς  
τί βρωτὸν ἐξῆλθεν  
ἐκ βιβρώσκοντος  
καὶ ἀπὸ ἰσχυροῦ γλυκύ.

A

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς  
ἐκ τοῦ ἐσθοντος  
ἐξῆλθεν βρώσις  
καὶ ἐξ ἰσχυροῦ ἐξῆλθεν  
γλυκύ.

Finally, presuming that poetry tends to retain more variants than prose, I have also included Sampson’s riddle, “Out of the eater came something to eat; out of the strong came something sweet.” As far as similarity goes, B and OG do share the verb ἐξῆλθεν in the first half and lack it in the second half (even though it is present in the MT), as well as its placement, and the word γλυκύ, and βρώσις and βρωτὸν are essentially the same word meaning “meat,” which is not a good match to context. So these verses do show some similarity, but not, I think, enough to demonstrate a relationship through revision.

### 3. CONCLUSION

The evidence of the examples that I have presented I believe demonstrates fairly clearly that if we compare, rather than A and B, OG and B, that we find that the two texts share much less in common than was previously thought. Now, to be fair, what I have presented is a selection of texts, and this is part of the problem. If we compare only some of the data, then of course we get results that only apply for the data we selected. What I have presented are some salient examples from the book—there are more that I could have used but did not. I think that this demonstrates my basic thesis that the OG and B represent independent translations.

That leaves us with two things to address: first, what about all the material in Judges that I have not used as examples? To be fair, much of the rest of Judges does not demonstrate this level of distinction between B and OG. So while the statistics of Montalvo show that A and B are basically 75 percent identical, I would give a rough estimate that OG and B, for the whole of Judges, are about 60 percent identical. That’s a significant reduction, but the 60 percent is still a problem. How then shall I explain that? The problem, as I asserted earlier, is that of the MSS that we have, *none of them are free from contamination*. So much of my material was found in doublets; but a copyist only creates doublets of the material that he thought was distinct enough to keep two copies of—and these are the best and most consistent witnesses to the OG.

But the basis of the text was the A text, so what of all the places where the OG is similar to A but not enough to be worth keeping? They are lost. Quite simply, much of the OG material is lost.

The key to understanding this lies in two places. First of all, there is much of OG preserved in the Song of Deborah. Because the difficult Hebrew text produced so many distinct translations or revisions, there is more doublet material in the Song than elsewhere in Judges. Therefore, the Song of Deborah serves as an excellent test case for studying the OG of Judges. I did a text-critical analysis of the Song of Deborah and have produced what I consider to be a most thorough critical edition of the OG Song of Deborah (which may be published later). Based on my reconstruction of the OG when I compare it with B, the two texts are only about 45 percent identical, and by my method of analysis, a third of that is insignificant agreement of minor words. So discounting that, it means that OG and B only share 30 percent of their significant vocabulary; suddenly, it seems a much more likely case that OG and B are independent translations, and their similarity arises from the harmonization of later scribes whose work obscures the differences between the texts.

So, in my opinion, much of this is caused by the late date and obscure character of the minuscules that are the primary witnesses of the OG. There are however, two uncial witnesses, K and Z, which are fragmentary palimpsests of LXX Judges. I have found that, where the texts from K and Z are readable, they tend to produce a text which is quite distinct in every way from the text of B, and furthermore, this is not found in doublets, but as their primary text. K and Z bear out much more consistently the same thing that I was demonstrating with my examples above. Whereas my examples had to be carefully selected, one cannot read through chapters 19–21 without tripping over such examples in the apparatus. Unfortunately, the uncials are so fragmentary in nature that it is hard to find passages which demonstrate this clearly.

I said there were two things to address—the second is, what is the relationship of A to the OG and to B? Based on what I have presented, it is my belief that the OG and B were independent translations made before the time of Origen, one made early and rendering the Hebrew somewhat freely and a second that was made with greater fidelity to the MT. Origen then compiled these texts, preserving from the OG as often as possible but editing in pieces from the other text or writing new pieces whenever he felt the OG to be deficient. A then is a record of Origen's work and B a record of the second translation. There are alternative explanations, but I tend to believe this, because it does the best job of explaining the situation—it demonstrates how one group reached the conclusion that there were two translations on the basis of vocabulary and how Soisalon-Soininen and other Europeans concluded that there was one translation and two revisions on the basis of its style. The difficulty of their relationship is explained by A being an edited version of OG to bring it into conformity with the MT—which exactly describes the work of Origen.

The book of Judges is certainly in need of more scholarship. As far as I know, the Göttingen edition of Judges is not slated to be released soon, and although work on Judges has been published in LXX Deutsch and La Bible d'Alexandrie, a volume is not yet under way for the SCS. Much work needs still to be done on the text of Judges before moving forward, and I hope that this has made a worthwhile contribution towards that end.



## *Lectio Difficilior* and the Difficulties of the Critical Text: A Case Study from the Septuagint of 1 Samuel 14:47

*Anneli Aejmelaeus*

**Abstract:** This paper concentrates on a case study from 1 Sam 14:47 in which the establishment of the critical text of the Septuagint is extremely difficult. This case study aims at a demonstration of the kinds of criteria by which text-critical decisions can be made as well as an evaluation of the manuscript witness and the role of Codex Vaticanus and the Lucianic text in the textual history of 1 Samuel. *Lectio difficilior* is one of the rules often referred to in the discussion of text-critical problems, but it proves to be of little practical value in truly difficult cases.

Ever since the publication of Dominique Barthélemy's *Devanciers d'Aquila* fifty years ago, questions of textual criticism of the Greek text of Samuel–Kings—or the four books of Kingdoms—have been on the agenda. One of the most central questions has been—and is—where to find the Old Greek in the text-historical maze of these books. A very strong candidate has traditionally been Codex Vaticanus (= B). Another candidate, strongly supported by Barthélemy, especially for the so-called  $\chi\alpha\lambda\gamma\epsilon$  sections, is the Lucianic or Antiochene text (= L).<sup>1</sup>

In fact, much of the discussion concerning textual problems of Samuel–Kings has been conducted as a comparison between the two: B and L. For instance, in discussions concerning readings of the Qumran Samuel manuscript 4QSam<sup>a</sup>—a further factor in the text-critical discussion of the books of Samuel—points of comparison in the Greek textual transmission have regularly

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1. In the four books of Kingdoms, the Lucianic text (for which the siglum *L* is used) is represented by five manuscripts: 19-82-93-108-127 according to Alfred Rahlfs's *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, MSU 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1914),  $\text{boc}_{2\epsilon 2}$  ( $\text{b} = \text{b}' + \text{b}$ ) according to the sigla used in the Cambridge edition of Brooke-McLean.

been B and L.<sup>2</sup> As far as the so-called *καίτε* sections are concerned, this is understandable, as there are often hardly any alternatives to these two textual traditions. In 1 Samuel, however, which is my main concern (as I am working on the critical edition of this book for the Göttingen series), it is a grave error not to consider the rest of the manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> Should it not *always* be considered a grave error not to consider the whole evidence?

Working on the critical edition of 1 Samuel, I have the privilege of being forced to consider the whole evidence. I have the privilege of having at my disposal the readings of

- Fifty-nine manuscripts (of which six have lost large parts)<sup>4</sup>
- Four smaller fragments of early manuscripts.<sup>5</sup>

The Cambridge edition of *Brooke-McLean* offers the readings of thirty-three of these manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> With this selection of manuscripts, Brooke-McLean is nevertheless an excellent, although much neglected tool for textual study. Each of the various textual strands is represented in the apparatus of Brooke-McLean by at least one manuscript, but the manuscripts are listed without any groupings. The full evidence also includes the daughter versions and patristic quotations, which have been collated for Brooke-McLean. The decisions concerning the critical text are, however, mainly reached on the basis of the Greek manuscripts. Readings of the daughter versions are seldom decisive but may at times be significant in giving support to a certain Greek reading. The Greek patristic quo-

2. See, for instance, Frank M. Cross and Richard J. Sailey, "A Statistical Analysis of the Textual Character of 4QSamuel<sup>a</sup> (4Q51)," *DSD* 13 (2006): 46–54; or the textual notes in various commentaries, frequently in P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*, AB 8 (New York: Doubleday, 1980), but also in A. Graeme Auld, *I and II Samuel: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011).

3. This is also emphasized by Philippe Hugo, "Die antiochenische ‚Mischung‘: *L* zwischen Altem und Neuem in 2Samuel," in *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*, ed. S. Kreuzer and M. Sigismund, DSI 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 109–132 (esp. 113).

4. The following manuscripts (the ones not available for the present case study in parentheses) in their preliminary groupings: A B (M) V; *O* = 247-376; *L* = 19-82-93-108-127; *CI* = 98-(243)-379-731; *CII* = 46-52-236-242-313-328-530; *a* = 119-527-799; *b* = 121-509; *d* = 44-68-74-106-107-120-122-125-134-(370)-610; *f* = 56-246; *s* = 64-92-130-314-381-488-489-(762); 29 55 71 158 244 245 318 (342) 460 554 707.

5. The following fragments (which do not include the text discussed in this paper): 842 845 846 867.

6. A B N[V] M a[707] b(=b[19]+b[108]) c[376] d[107] e[52] f[489] g[158] h[55] i[56] i[246] j[243] l[370] m[92] n[119] o[82] p[106] q[120] s[130] t[134] v[245] w[314] x[247] y[121] z[554] a<sub>2</sub>[509] b<sub>2</sub>[29] c<sub>2</sub>[127] e<sub>2</sub>[93].

tations help to locate certain textual strands, and the Latin patristic quotations are useful in filling gaps in the very fragmentary textual transmission of the Old Latin. All in all, Brooke-McLean is a useful tool, its main fault being that it is a diplomatic edition with B as its main text.

On the other hand, there is the manual edition of *Rahlfs*, which has a critical text but was prepared on the basis of very limited evidence. The concept of the large Göttingen edition is to offer a critical text with the full evidence of the textual history in the apparatus—a huge task for the editors, especially in Samuel–Kings where the textual history is so puzzling.

As the work proceeds, it is appropriate to present as samples from the editor's workshop cases in which the decision concerning the critical text is truly difficult, especially cases in which the two traditional candidates for original readings, B and L, are not what they are expected to be and cases in which it is crucial—and interesting—to consider the whole manuscripts evidence.

The example that I wish to discuss in this paper is 1 Sam 14:47 which is part of a summary concerning Saul's reign (vv. 47–48). The MT and the critical text of *Rahlfs* look like this:

1 Sam 14:47

MT וַיִּשְׂאוּ לְדָד הַמְּלוּכָה עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּלְחֶם סָבִיב | בְּכָל־אֹיְבָיו ... וּבְכָל אֲשֶׁר־יָפְנָה יִרְשִׁיעַ

*Rahlfs* καὶ Σαουλ κατακλήρουται ἔργον ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐπολέμει κύκλῳ πάντας

τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ ... οὗ ἂν ἐστράφη ἐσώζετο

It is a question of a summary of Saul's great deeds for the benefit of Israel. As promised in connection with his anointing (1 Sam 9:16, 10:1<sup>LXX</sup>), Saul was victorious in saving Israel from its enemies. What comes in the following chapter (1 Sam 15) and later in 1 Samuel is increasingly critical about Saul, but at this point, his reign is viewed positively, the summary note being probably part of an earlier layer of the book.<sup>7</sup> In the final word of the verse, there is, however, a difference between the MT (יִרְשִׁיעַ) and the Septuagint (ἐσώζετο <

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7. Whatever the date of the various parts of the text, 1 Sam 14:47–48 seems to be the conclusion of a cycle of Saul stories in chs. 9–11, 13, and 14 which did not yet include Saul's rejection or David's recruitment in Saul's army. See Henry P. Smith, *The Books of Samuel*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1898), 125–26, and more recently Walter Dietrich, *The Early Monarchy in Israel: The Tenth Century B.C.E.*, translated by Joachim Vette, BibEnc 3 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 265–66, 273. McCarter, *1 Samuel*, speaks of a Saul Cycle (26–27), but attributes the summary to the Dtr historian (16), as does Timo Veijola, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie: Eine redactionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, AASF B 198 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1977), 79–81; according to Veijola the Dtr historian was not yet critical towards the monarchy (115–19).

*niphal* נִשְׁפַּל<sup>8</sup>, revealing a considerably later tendency in the MT to view Saul's actions more negatively.

My example is in the first sentence of the verse. Both the Hebrew and Greek text are in need of some explanation.

The MT uses the verb לָבַד in an exceptional way: the *qal* usually means “to capture” and occurs frequently in reference to cities being taken possession of by the Israelites. The object “kingship” does not otherwise occur with this verb, and it is unsure what the verb should mean in this connection. Is there perhaps a pejorative connotation, meaning that Saul “seized the kingship” on his own initiative or even violently?<sup>9</sup> If so, this would be the fourth among the different stories about the beginning of Saul's kingship: in chapter 9 he is anointed by Samuel; in chapter 10 he is chosen by lot; in the battle against the Ammonites in chapter 11, Saul acts like a charismatic leader and is made king after the victory. A negative remark saying that Saul “seized the kingship” on his own initiative does not, however, seem to be in place in the context of the otherwise positive summary.

The Greek text of Rahlfs does not make it any easier to understand the sentence. The verb is κατακληρώω (pass./mid. κατακληροῦμαι), as if there had been a *niphal* form of the verb לָבַד, “to be chosen by lot,” as in chapter 10 (vv. 20 and 21) and a few verses earlier in chapter 14 (vv. 41 and 42). The noun ἔργον also presupposes a different Hebrew formulation, namely, מְלָאכָה instead of מְלִיכָה. Furthermore, the syntax of the sentence differs from cases in which someone or something is chosen by lot. It is not clear which one is the subject of the clause: Σαούλ or ἔργον. Takamitsu Muraoka takes Saul as the subject and interprets the case in his dictionary: “allocate and impose tasks on Israel,”<sup>10</sup> which would be a critical remark on Saul (“Saul allocated and imposed tasks on Israel”). A more common interpretation is to consider ἔργον to mean Saul's task as the leader in Israel's campaigns against its enemies, in which case the noun ἔργον would be the subject of the clause—that which is chosen or given by lot—and Σαούλ would be understood as the dative (“Saul was given the task over Israel”). This does not, however, correspond to Hebrew idiom (in which Saul is the subject). All in all, the three words in Rahlfs' Greek text seem to presuppose a different Hebrew *Vorlage*, but the back-translation is not convincing as Hebrew.

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8. The two final verbal forms represent the past iterative usage of the Hebrew imperfect, which this translator normally recognizes, rendering it in main clauses by the Greek indicative imperfect.

9. See the notes to the passage at hand in Bernard Grillet and Michel Lestienne, trans., *La Bible d'Alexandrie: Premier livre des Règles*, introduction and notes by Michel Lestienne (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 266–67, which seem to presuppose this interpretation.

10. Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Dictionary of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 373.



Looking more closely at the manuscript evidence, we notice that Rahlfs is *not following any one manuscript*. Codex Vaticanus and its two satellite minuscules 121-509—that is, the B text—read a longer text, clearly a doublet, in which the two parts—ἐλαχεν τοῦ βασιλεύειν and κατακληροῦται ἔργον—are the renderings of two alternative Hebrew readings (לכד המלכה/לכד המלוכה). Rahlfs chose the latter part for his text.

B 121-509: καὶ Σαοὺλ ἐλαχεν τοῦ βασιλεύειν, (+καὶ 509) κατακληροῦται ἔργον  
(+τοῦ βασιλεύειν 121) ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ

The Lucianic manuscripts (19-82-93-108-127) have almost the same words as B but in a different order.

L.<sup>11</sup> καὶ Σαοὺλ κατακληροῦται τὸ ἔργον τοῦ βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ

The article before ἔργον is probably stylistic improvement by the Lucianic revisor. The combination τὸ ἔργον τοῦ βασιλεύειν also makes the text more easily comprehensible: “Saul was given by lot the office to be the King over Israel.” This is, however, also a doublet combining the renderings of the two variant Hebrew nouns (מלכה and מלוכה). The Lucianic revisor obviously knew the two different readings found also in the B text but combined them in a different way.

How about the rest of the manuscripts? All the remaining, about forty manuscripts read the following without any doublets.

Majority of manuscripts:<sup>12</sup> καὶ Σαοὺλ ἐλαχεν τοῦ (> O 125) βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ

This rendering is also exceptional in some respects. The infinitive in the genitive τοῦ βασιλεύειν translating the noun מלכה is fairly free. The verb λαγχάνω is exceptional, in that it is otherwise not at all attested in the translated books of the Septuagint.<sup>13</sup> Its meaning “to receive, to obtain by lot or by divine will,” “to be appointed or chosen by lot,” however, seems very appropriate in our context. It was used in classical Greek of public offices to which the officers were often chosen by lot.

As for the original translation, it hardly had a doublet, and so the editor of the critical text needs to choose one of the two alternatives: (1) ἐλαχεν τοῦ βασιλεύειν, which is found in almost all manuscripts (only the verb is lacking in L), or (2) κατακληροῦται ἔργον, which is found both in the B text and in the

11. The Lucianic wording is also found in 554<sup>mg</sup>.

12. A V CI CII a d<sup>125</sup> f s 29 55 71 244 245 318 460 554 707

13. The only occurrences are 3 Macc 6:1; Wis 8:19.

Lucianic text. Rahlfs chose the latter, obviously following the *Lagardian principle* according to which the reading that is further removed from the MT—either a free rendering or the rendering of a different Hebrew text—is more probably the original. In this case, however, the first alternative is not particularly close to the MT either. It is a fairly free rendering, and the rare verb *λαγχάνω* is not necessarily the correct equivalent for *לכד* in *gal*.

In fact, the two verbs mean about the same: “to be chosen by lot.” The former case is closer to genuine Greek usage, the latter case having a Hebraistic flavour. If one should apply the criterion of *lectio difficilior* to these cases, it would be very difficult to say which one is more difficult: (1) is more difficult, as it contains a verb that was not otherwise used by the Septuagint translators; (2) is more difficult, as it deviates from the MT.

This raises the question: what could be the criteria by which to establish the critical text?

Let us first look at the Hebrew text. Two different Hebrew nouns are represented by the alternative Greek readings. Kyle McCarter, in his commentary, regards the noun *מלאכה* as more probably the original Hebrew text. His argument is that it is *lectio difficilior* and that the verb *לכד gal* is “a common term for acquiring property.”<sup>14</sup> He interprets the noun in an extraordinary—and doubtful—way as “territory”: “Saul seized territory.” The noun does occur in the meaning “property,” but mostly movable property, like “cattle,” and not immovable. In our context, one could of course consider “property” captured from the enemy: “Saul seized property.” The prepositional phrase *על-ישראל*, however, becomes impossible with any such interpretation of *מלאכה*. McCarter interprets it as “outside of Israel.”<sup>15</sup> In most cases where *על-ישראל* occurs in the books of Samuel, it is used in reference to kingship. This is the most natural alternative in our case too. The summary simply begins with the statement: “Saul (had) acquired kingship over Israel.” I doubt whether there ever was a Hebrew text with the word *מלאכה*. Both *מלובה* and *מלאכה* were well known to the translator: he would not have confused them, but if *מלובה* would have been in defective spelling, it might have been possible to misinterpret it as *מלאכה*.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the Hebrew text does not help us in the decision between the two Greek alternatives. The Hebrew text is not a criterion for the critical text, but it often helps to understand textual developments.

Along with the *internal criteria* concerning the details of the alternative wordings, it is also important to consider the *external criteria*: that is, by which witnesses the alternatives are supported. The more we learn about the

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14. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 253.

15. *Ibid.*, 255.

16. This kind of confusion is suggested by Peter Walters (formerly Katz), *The Text of the Septuagint: Its Corruptions and their Emendation*, ed. D.W. Gooding (Cambridge: University Press, 1973), 332.

relationships between the various strands of textual tradition in a certain book of the Septuagint, the more we are able to say on the basis of the external criteria. The most important aspect in this work is to know about the phenomena that were at work in the textual history: (1) the character of the translation, (2) the different revisions that followed each its own principles, and (3) the affiliations of the manuscripts with each other. The most important question to ask is: *what happened?* How did the various alternative forms come about on the basis of each other? How can the distribution of the variants be explained?

Neither one of the two alternative renderings came about by accident. Whichever is secondary was created on purpose to correct the other one. The problem is: is (1) a correction of (2), or (2) a correction of (1)? Most scholars who have dealt with the case so far (beginning with Julius Wellhausen) consider (1) to be secondary and a correction of (2).<sup>17</sup> Peter Walters regards (1) as a Hexaplaric reading,<sup>18</sup> whereas Sebastian Brock connects it with early Jewish revisional activity.<sup>19</sup>

Let us consider these solutions. Could (1) ἔλαχεν τοῦ βασιλεύειν possibly be a Hexaplaric reading? It does occur in the *O* group (except for the article τοῦ)—as it does in most other groups and witnesses. The problem with the manuscript witness is that it would be extremely exceptional to have a Hexaplaric reading witnessed by practically all manuscripts. Furthermore, it is difficult to see why Origen would have replaced κατακληροῦται, a verb that occurs several times in 1 Samuel, by the extremely rare ἔλαχεν, which does not seem to be a better equivalent of the Hebrew. On the other hand, ἔργον would have required correction, as it does not correspond to the Hebrew text, but this is not the kind of correction Origen was primarily interested in. Origen must have found (1) in his basic text. If he had found the doublet of the B text in his basic text, he would have marked the second part with an *obelos*, and one would expect this to show somehow in the manuscripts. Again, it would be very exceptional if all manuscripts would have omitted the words marked with an *obelos*. We can observe that the omission of the article in *O* is followed by one single manuscript.

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17. Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871), 95.

18. Walters (formerly Katz), *Text of the Septuagint*, 185, 332 (n. 40: “Hexaplaric interpolation”; n. 41: “previous (?) [sic] to Origen and Lucian”). See also Peter Katz, review of *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, by Friedrich Blass, *TLZ* (1957): 111–15 (esp. c. 112), where he argues that Luke 1:9 must have served as a model for 1 Sam 14:47 and not the other way around (cf. Blass, *Grammatik*, §400).

19. Sebastian Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel* (Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford, 1966); published as idem, *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel*, Quaderni di Henoch 9 (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 1996), 163, sees here a sign of the reliability of B.

Unlike Origen, whose primary aim was to mark plusses and minuses, the early revisors that we know from Naḥal Ḥever were interested in changing equivalents of lexical items. These revisors had an exegetical interest, wanting to show the connections between verses that have the same vocabulary. As for the textual transmission, an early correction might have been able to spread into the whole manuscript evidence preserved to us. In 1 Samuel, there are a few cases in which early corrections appear as doublets in the entire manuscript evidence.<sup>20</sup> In fact, it may be extremely difficult to detect an early correction that has spread into the entire manuscript evidence.

What puzzles me in this case is that (1) ἔλαχεν τοῦ βασιλεύειν does not make the impression of being a literal translation, which one would expect in the case of a correction. It does not look like a *καίγε* type correction. It looks more like an original translation. If it were original, its wide distribution would of course be no problem.

Let us compare the two readings from the translation-technical point of view. What are the chances of (1) ἔλαχεν τοῦ βασιλεύειν or (2) κατακληροῦται ἔργον to be either original or revisional?

As for the verb, λαγχάνω does not occur anywhere else in the translated books, and I have not been able to find it in any variant or marginal readings, either. It seems to connect with the usage of the verb לָכַךְ in *niphal* ('to be chosen by lot'). The case at hand is *qal*, but in the consonantal text the cases in *niphal* also look like *qal*. This usage of לָכַךְ "to be chosen by lot" only occurs in three contexts: Josh 7:14–18 and 1 Sam 10:20,21; 14:41,42. The meaning "to capture" (*niphal* "to be captured") is fairly common, but occurs in the books of Samuel only six times: in 2 Sam 5:7, 8:4, 12:26–29.

What could be expected from the translator who was working on the consonantal text of 1 Samuel and could not tell the difference between *niphal* and *qal*? Either he would use the same word as before (κατακληροῦται), or he would choose a word that would seem to fit the context (ἔλαχεν).<sup>21</sup> For sure, this translator did not look for help in other books: none of these alternatives occurs outside 1 Samuel. The only detail in favour of κατακληροῦται is that it is in the

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20. For instance, 1 Sam 15:3, discussed by the present writer in "A Kingdom at Stake: Reconstructing the Old Greek; Deconstructing the Textus Receptus," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Rajia Sollamo*, ed. A. Voita and J. Jokiranta, JSJSup 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 353–66.

21. Whether homophony might have played a part in this case is hard to say, but it would certainly be something to be expected from the translator rather than from a revisor. Emanuel Tov, "Loan-Words, Homophony, and Transliterations in the Septuagint," in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, VTSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 165–94, and James Barr, "Doubts about Homoeophony in the Septuagint," *Text* 12 (1985): 1–77, do not discuss this case.

historical present. This is a point emphasized by Walters.<sup>22</sup> The historical present was clearly a characteristic feature of the original translation. In fact, all but one of the occurrences of this verb in 1 Samuel has exactly this form *κατακληροῦται*. A revisor would hardly have used the historical present, unless he was imitating those other cases in 1 Samuel.

How about the second part? The infinitive τοῦ βασιλεύειν is a fairly free rendering, as it translates a noun by a verbal form. This is nothing exceptional in the books of Samuel: the noun *תִּלְמָה* is rendered by (τοῦ) βασιλεύειν in 1 Sam 16:1, 2 Sam 2:4; 3:17.<sup>23</sup> This could be a feature of the original translation, whereas the revisors normally attempt to represent even grammatical details of the Hebrew text and do this often in accordance with the Masoretic vocalization.

The alternative *ἔργον*, which presupposes either a different Hebrew *Vorlage* or a misinterpretation, is the only detail that clearly diverges from the MT. According to the Lagardian principle, readings that diverge from the MT should be given preference when deciding about the original. The question is: is this enough to make *κατακληροῦται ἔργον* original Old Greek? To every rule there are also exceptions.

In 1 Samuel, the Hebrew text was under constant editing until fairly late, and the Greek text was revised presumably according to the latest Hebrew available. In the Hexaplaric and Lucianic additions of the longer David and Goliath story, which were not original in the Old Greek, we can observe that there have been Hebrew wordings different from the final form of the MT behind some of the additions. Applied to the present case, this would mean that an early revisor *might* have had a Hebrew text different from the MT. If *κατακληροῦται ἔργον* were a correction according to a different Hebrew text (or a defective spelling of *מְלִיכָה*), it might even be motivated by the desire to establish a connection with the “rights of the king” (*תִּלְמָה טַבְשָׁמַי* / τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ βασιλέως) in 1 Sam 8:11–17, according to which the king will use the Israelites and their property “for his own work” (*לְתַבְשָׁמַי* / εἰς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, v. 16). This would certainly mean interpretation of the Hebrew text in a hostile sense, with a translation like the one given by Muraoka to the Greek phrase *κατακληροῦται ἔργον*: “to allocate and impose tasks on Israel”—or even “to impose servitude.” In this context, the prepositional phrase *לְאִשְׁרָאֵל* would be fully idiomatic.

It is interesting that the manuscripts do not contain mixtures of the two readings like *κατακληροῦται τοῦ βασιλεύειν*<sup>24</sup> or *ἔλαχεν ἔργον*, except for the doublets in the B text and in *L*. It seems that the two readings were available as

22. Walters, *Text of the Septuagint*, 185.

23. Examples with other vocabulary: 1 Sam 2:28; 3:2; 16:16.

24. This combination is however found in the Complutensian Polyglot, which mainly follows the Lucianic text, but often corrects it independently according to the Hebrew text (in this case omitting τὸ ἔργον).

alternatives to early copyists of the textual line of B and to the revisors of *L*, and both of them used them differently: the B text adding one after the other, and *L* combining them into one sentence, in which τοῦ βασιλεύειν is used to clarify ἔργον. It is important to realize that these early scribes and revisors had at their disposal different textual traditions that are no longer available to us. That they dealt with them differently shows that they do not depend on each other but found the readings in question in other sources. Our example is not the only one of its kind. As for Origen, it might be that even he knew the two alternative readings from different manuscripts available to him, but he would have chosen for his fifth column the one that he judged to correspond to his Hebrew text.

It is certain that both readings that we have been discussing appeared quite early in the textual history, but then one of them disappeared from all other manuscripts except for the B text and *L*—the two textual strands that are expected to be the most reliable. In this case, both of them fail. As the editor of the critical text, I must admit that in the course of the preparation for this paper my decision has gone back and forth. I started with the idea that ἔλαχεν τοῦ βασιλεύειν is definitely the Old Greek. In the middle, I thought that I must change to κατακληροῦται ἔργον, but at the end I am returning to ἔλαχεν τοῦ βασιλεύειν. It has the whole weight of the manuscript evidence—except that the B text and *L* offer combinations. As far as I have learned to know the translator of 1 Samuel, he would have been capable of producing either one of the alternatives: *either* a fairly free rendering that makes sense in the context *or* a misinterpretation due to his poor knowledge of Hebrew (in the case of לכד) and a false analysis of a word (in the case of מלִיכָה). But in case κατακληροῦται ἔργον should be seen as a purposeful interpretation linking our verse with the “rights of the king” in chapter 8, then it was surely not created by the original translator but rather a revisor. All the different alternatives have their difficulties. The decision is not easy.

# Literary Problems in the Textual Transmission of 1 Kings: The MT and the LXX

*Jean Koulagna*

**Abstract:** The establishment of a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible is not merely a matter of textual criticism. It highlights the interaction and even the nesting of strictly textual problems, on the one hand, and redactional ones, on the other hand. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate literary and theological issues involved in the history and development of the biblical text. It thus shows how the redactional criticism is a valuable tool for textual criticism.

## 1. CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGICAL SETTINGS

The context of this study is the *Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition* (hereafter *HBCE*, previously Oxford Hebrew Bible), which is a critical and eclectic *editio maior* of the Hebrew Bible project. This edition is thus different from diplomatic editions: the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (*BHS*) with its on-going revision under the name of *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (*BHQ*), which reproduces the Leningrad Codex with its *massora magna* and *parva*, and the on-going *Hebrew University Bible* (*HUB*) project that uses the Aleppo Codex as text base.<sup>1</sup>

The goal of the *HBCE* is to construct an eclectic Hebrew text that is likely as old as possible by comparing the Masoretic text (MT) with other Hebrew witnesses and with ancient versions and examining textual variants. Such an operation, is well known in the scientific editions of the Septuagint (such as Brooke-McLean and the on-going Göttingen editions) and the Greek New Testament (the Nestle-Aland edition), for example.

For Kings, this reconstruction of the Hebrew text is based on a comparison and a careful examination of variations between the MT and the main ancient

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1. See *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel I*, vol. 2 (sample copy from Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

versions. Those are the Septuagint and its recensions (especially the so-called Antiochian text) and its translations (the Old Latin, the Hexaplaric Syriac version), and the Aramean versions (the Peshitta). Nevertheless, lessons suggested by the Targum, Josephus's paraphrase of the biblical story in his *Ant.* 8, and those from late secondary versions (Georgian, Ethiopic, etc.) are consulted if relevant or available. The methodology used in our work is therefore based on textual criticism. However, it is clear that literary criticism features, including source criticism, form criticism, and redaction criticism, intermingle very often. This is the concern of this paper.

## 2. DIFFERENT TEXTUAL TRANSMISSIONS: THE MT AND LXX

The Septuagint of 1 Kings (3 Reigns or 3 Kingdoms) presents more or less important divergences compared to the MT. Most of these variants are concentrated in the section that did not undergo the so-called *kaige* revision, that is, 3 Reg 2:12–21:29. The most important are the miscellanies in chapter 2, the addition at the end of chapter 10, and the alternative story of Jeroboam in chapter 12. I will not go into this phenomenon.

In this paper, I will only make some general observations on the variety and nature of problems raised by divergent texts and the interweaving of textual and literary problems. Beyond the translation and transmission, some differences between the MT and the Septuagint refer to the reception of the text and therefore to a transformation process through an editorial activity that, in turn, can reveal chronological matters and more generally, that of text history. Adrian Schenker and others have shown that in many cases, the differences between the MT and the Septuagint originate from a Hebrew model and thus that the text had undergone an earlier editorial work prior to translation.<sup>2</sup>

This, in many cases, points at the hypothesis of different editions of the Hebrew text of the books of Kings, and that can lead to a reconstruction of different archetypes for the same work. The question has been well raised by Zippora Talshir: “When do various text forms cease to be text forms and become different editions? And when do different editions cease to be different editions and become different compositions?”<sup>3</sup>

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2. Adrian Schenker, *Septante et Texte Massorétique dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 2–14* (Paris: Gabalda, 2000); James Donald Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 109–11; Julio C. Treballe Barrera, “The Authoritative Functions of Scriptural Works at Qumran,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1994), 95–110, esp. 103; etc.

3. Zipora Talshir, “Textual Criticism at the Service of Literary Criticism and the Question of an Eclectic Edition of the Hebrew Bible,” in *After Qumran: Old and Modern*



Consequently, although textual criticism and literary criticism operate on different levels, they may be, and in many cases are, connected. For Talshir, this connection is that textual criticism is in the service of literary criticism.

Let us illustrate this with two case studies from 1 Kgs 2:1 and 3:1.

### 3. CASE STUDIES IN THE MT AND THE LXX

#### 3.1. CASE STUDY 1: DAVID'S LAST INSTRUCTIONS TO SOLOMON IN 1 KGS 2:1

| LXX <sup>L</sup>                                                                                                                                                 | MT                                                                                                               |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπέθανε<br>Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐκοιμήθη μετὰ τῶν πατέρων<br>αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνετείλατο τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ<br>Σολομῶντι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ<br>λέγων | וַיָּקֶרְבוּ יְמֵי־דָוִד לָמוּת וַיֹּצֵא אֶת־שְׁלֹמֹה בְנוֹ לְאָמֹר<br>אֶת־שְׁלֹמֹה בְנוֹ לִפְנֵי מוֹתוֹ לְאָמֹר |
| It happened after those things that David died and slept with his fathers. He gave instructions to his son Solomon before his death, saying ...                  | When David was close to death, he told Solomon his son (NET).                                                    |

In this example, the Antiochian text, which has not undergone the so-called *kaige* revision, seems to have preserved the Old Greek. In 1 Kings, the phrase וישכב עם־אבתיו (“he slept with his fathers”) is always a euphemism for “he died.” Its combination with וימת in the Antiochian text cannot originate from the oldest state of the text but obviously reflects a late rewriting due to the intrusion of verse 10 and is perhaps an echo of 1 Chr 22:5: לפני מותו = ἔμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ = “before his death.” This gap does not just raise a problem of translation or transmission. It refers to the development of the text within the Hebrew tradition and thus reflects a parallel to the reading that underlies the MT form. For this reason, there is no textual choice as such, and we decided to publish both texts in two parallel columns for the *HBCE*.

#### 3.2. CASE STUDY 2: THE BEGINNING OF SOLOMON'S REIGN IN 1 KGS 3:1

The traditions on the beginning of Solomon's reign are a good illustration of the interference between textual, literary, and redactional matters. Solomon's reign is introduced by three different traditions. The first, represented by the MT (2:46b–3:1), begins by stating the consolidation of the kingdom into the hand of

Solomon. It then evokes the alliance with Pharaoh by the marriage of Solomon with Pharaoh's daughter. The second, represented by the OG (2:46<sup>l</sup>+3:2+ 5:14<sup>a-b</sup>), states that Solomon reigned over Israel and Judah and mentions the offering of sacrifices on high places, because the temple was not yet built. The third tradition is that of miscellanies (2:35<sup>b-c</sup>), which introduces the reign of Solomon by arguing that his wisdom surpassed that of the sages of Egypt.

Each of these traditions fits a different narrative framework and seemingly has its own literary goal. The MT obviously tries to build a transition that may explain why Solomon took Pharaoh's daughter and why he had to drive her in the city of David. Instead, the OG seems to justify why Solomon had to offer sacrifices outside Jerusalem, and places the story of the daughter of Pharaoh later on in 5:14. In the miscellanies, the way Solomon manages the case of Pharaoh's daughter is presented as an early manifestation of his wisdom.

| MT 2:46b + 3:1                                                           | Old Greek 2:46 <sup>l</sup> + 3:2 + 5:14 <sup>a-b</sup>                                                                                          | Miscellanies 2:35 <sup>b-c</sup>                                                                                                                   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| והממלכה נכונה<br>ביד־שלמה                                                | Σαλωμων υἱὸς Δαυιδ<br>ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ καὶ<br>Ἰουδα ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ                                                                          | καὶ ἐπληθύνθη ἡ φρόνησις<br>Σαλωμων σφόδρα ὑπὲρ τὴν<br>φρόνησιν πάντων ἀρχαίων<br>υἱῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας<br>φρονίμους Αἰγύπτου                       |
| So Solomon took<br>firm control of the<br>kingdom                        | Solomon, son of David,<br>reigned over Israel and Judah<br>in Jerusalem.                                                                         | And the discernment of<br>Solomon was greatly multi-<br>plied above the discernment<br>of all ancient sons and above<br>all prudent ones of Egypt. |
|                                                                          | πλὴν ὁ λαὸς ἤσαν θυμιῶντες<br>ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ὅτι οὐκ<br>ᾠκοδομήθη οἶκος τῷ ὀνόματι<br>κυρίου ἕως νῦν                                           |                                                                                                                                                    |
|                                                                          | Only, the people were bur-<br>ning incense at the high<br>places, because until now the<br>house had not been built for<br>the name of the Lord. |                                                                                                                                                    |
| ויתחתן שלמה את־פרעה<br>מלך מצרים                                         |                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                    |
| Solomon made an alli-<br>ance by marriage with<br>Pharaoh, king of Egypt |                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                    |

| MT 2:46b + 3:1                                                                                                                                                     | Old Greek 2:46 <sup>l</sup> + 3,2 + 5:14 <sup>a-b</sup>                                                                                             | Miscellanies 2:35 <sup>b-c</sup>                                                                                                                              |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ויקה את־בת־פרעה                                                                                                                                                    | καὶ ἔλαβεν Σαλωμων τὴν<br>θυγατέρα Φαραω ἑαυτῷ εἰς<br>γυναῖκα,                                                                                      | καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν θυγατέρα<br>Φαραω                                                                                                                              |
| He took Pharaoh's<br>daughter.                                                                                                                                     | And Solomon took the<br>daughter of Pharaoh for<br>himself for a wife,                                                                              | And he took the daughter of<br>Pharaoh                                                                                                                        |
| ויביאה אל־עיר דוד עד<br>כלתו לבנות את־ביתו<br>ואת־בית יהוה<br>ואת־חומת ירושלם סביב                                                                                 | καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν<br>πόλιν Δαυιδ ἕως συντελέσαι<br>αὐτὸν τὸν οἶκον κυρίου καὶ τὸν<br>οἶκον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος<br>Ιερουσαλημ             | καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν<br>πόλιν Δαυιδ ἕως συντελέσαι<br>αὐτὸν τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ<br>τὸν οἶκον κυρίου ἐν πρώτοις<br>καὶ τὸ τεῖχος Ιερουσαλημ<br>κυκλόθεν |
| He brought her to the<br>City of David until he<br>could finish building<br>his residence and the<br>temple of the LORD<br>and the wall around<br>Jerusalem. (NET) | and (he) brought her into the<br>city of David until he finished<br>the house of the Lord and his<br>own house and the wall of<br>Jerusalem. (NETS) | and (he) brought her into<br>the city of David until he<br>first finished his house and<br>the house of the Lord and<br>the wall of Jerusalem round<br>about; |
|                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                     | ἐν ἑπτὰ ἔτεσιν ἐποίησεν καὶ<br>συνετέλεσεν                                                                                                                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                     | In seven years, he made<br>and finished them. (NETS)                                                                                                          |

We do not know whether, in a former state of the text, a link existed between the story of the beginning of the reign of Solomon and the succession narrative (1 Kings 1–2) or not. However, these traditions are obviously an effort to connect the two literary entities, the initial link, if any, having disappeared. The connection presented in the three preserved versions is completely artificial.

The introductory sentence of Solomon's reign in the MT ( *ויתחנן שלמה* ) = "Solomon made an alliance by marriage with Pharaoh, king of Egypt") is attested only here in 1 Kgs 3:1 and nowhere else. There is no equivalent in the Old Greek, despite the abundant references to marriage with the daughter of Pharaoh. This may mean that it is a late creation of the MT, which aimed at explaining why Solomon had to take and house that alien woman (note that in the next sentence it is not clear that he took her "for a wife" [ *לְאִישָׁה* ]), but we cannot prove this.

In the Old Greek, the story begins with 2:46<sup>l</sup>: *Σαλωμων υἱὸς Δαυιδ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰουδα ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ* ("Solomon, son of David reigned over Israel and Judah in Jerusalem"). This sentence has no equivalent in Hebrew, but it reflects a pattern that will be frequently used in the synchronisms

in 1 and 2 Kings (see 1 Kgs 14:21; 15:1, 25; 22:52; etc.). This may indicate that this verse was part of an ancient form of the book of Kings, but we can also consider it as a secondary formulation based on the pattern in 1 and 2 Kings. No definite conclusion can be drawn here.

It is difficult, in such a situation, to decide which tradition or “recension” is older than the others, since there is no simple and clear link among the different traditions.

The same reflection could be made for the miscellanies. Numerous studies have been devoted to them; many of them focus on their importance for the reconstruction of the textual history of Solomon’s narrative. They enable us to understand the midrashic exegesis from which the miscellanies originate, whether these midrashic comments belong to an earlier editorial activity prior to the translation or are specific to the Greek. D. W. Gooding had pointed out that the phenomenon of miscellanies is not isolated but reveals a “pedantic timetable” and reinterpretation of materials within the Greek tradition in order to give Solomon a less odious image than in the MT. They are, according to him, a phenomenon that originates from the translation process. Many scholars (e.g. Percy van Keulen<sup>4</sup>) draw the same conclusion. However, data provided by the publication of the Dead Sea scrolls enable us to qualify this conclusion and tend to move towards a Hebrew origin (see Emmanuel Tov and Talshir<sup>5</sup>).

#### 4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Traditionally, textual criticism of the Old Testament was essentially based on the MT, even though a glance on different textual witnesses is not new (see Louis Cappel). However, the study of the textual history has undergone an important evolution, which reveals the interweave between textual and redactional matters. This is largely due to the discoveries from the Judean Desert, and we now know that the Septuagint, to some extent, reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* and

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4. Percy S.F. van Keulen, *Two Versions of the Solomon Narrative: An Inquiry into the Relationship between MT 1 Kgs. 2–11 and LXX 3 Reg. 2–11*, VTSup 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 265–75.

5. Emanuel Tov, “The Septuagint Additions (‘Miscellanies’) in 1 Kings 2 (3 Reigns 2),” in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, VTSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 549–70 (564–65); Zipora Talshir, “The Miscellanies in 3 Reigns 2:35<sup>a-o</sup>, 2:46<sup>a-l</sup> and the Composition of the Books of Kings/Reigns,” in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki 2010*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 59 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 155–74 (158–60); idem, “The Reign of Solomon in the Making: Pseudo-Connections Between 3 Kingdoms and Chronicles,” *VT* 50 (2000): 233–49 (233–35); see also idem, “The Nature of the Edition of the Books of Kings Reflected in the LXX” [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 249–302.

preserves an older state of the Hebrew text, even though these data should be handled with caution and restraint, given the relative stability of the MT.

The purpose of this study was primarily to show that textual discrepancies often arise as a result of an editorial activity prior to the translation. Therefore, the challenge of an eclectic edition of the Hebrew Bible goes beyond mere translation and transmission issues; it involves a chain of interpretations and receptions. At this level again, the challenge is twofold: it is difficult, on the one hand, to trace the redaction history (and the editor is reduced to hypotheses), and on the other hand, to integrate data in a critical edition that keeps some transparency. The case of the miscellanies, the early account of the reign of Solomon in 1 Kings 3:1 illustrates this situation quite well. The textual judgment must be able to rely on literary criticism though they should not be confused.



# The Translation of $\Psi\text{ך}$ and the Homogeneity of LXX Psalms

*Staffan Olofsson*

**Abstract:** Some LXX books are translated by more than one translator or parts of the text have been the subject of a revision that comprises the equivalents employed, as, for example, in Ezekiel and Jeremiah. However, there is an unanimous opinion that the book of Psalms is translated by a single translator, since no significant differences in the vocabulary or style within the Psalter have been detected. I will not dispute this opinion, but I have found one interesting case of diversity of equivalents. There seems to be a contrast, which reflects a conscious choice, between the first book and the four subsequent books in the Psalter in the translation of  $\Psi\text{ך}$ .  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  is almost the only counterpart of  $\Psi\text{ך}$  in the books 2–5, which is not the case in the first book, that is divided between  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ . This technique is interesting, since it concerns a central Hebrew term in the book of Psalms and in the MT as a whole. Furthermore,  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  as counterpart of  $\Psi\text{ך}$  is infrequent outside the Psalter, although  $\Psi\text{ך}$  is a common expression in poetry, for example, in Job, Psalms, and Proverbs, and an important antonym to  $\text{ר}^{\text{י}}\text{צ}$ . Thus, this technique may have some repercussions on the description of the LXX Psalms translator.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

That  $\Psi\text{ך}$  in the first part of the LXX Psalms is translated by either  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  but that  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  later on becomes the default equivalent is the starting-point for my study. This is not a novel observation,<sup>1</sup> but I am not aware of any scholarly studies that have evaluated the implications of the pattern created by this choice of lexical counterparts and related it to translation

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1. See, e.g., Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, “ $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,” *TDNT* 1:321, n. 33.

techniques generally in LXX Psalms or to the mode of procedure when the translation came into existence. I will argue that this pattern is an exception to the general technique of translation in LXX Psalms and that it has important repercussions for the assessment of the translator of the book of Psalms.

The structure of my presentation is as follows. First, I will give a short overview regarding the dating and the function of the LXX Psalms, then present some criteria for the establishment of the unity of the translation. I will further on give a picture of the translation of  $\gamma\psi\eta$  in LXX Psalms and compare the results with the translation equivalents in the Septuagint as a whole. Furthermore, I will apply accepted criteria of unity to evaluate the importance and impact of the unexpected choice of counterparts in the LXX Psalms for such a central term as  $\gamma\psi\eta$  and investigate which associations the two main counterparts  $\alpha\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  have. Finally, I will present some tentative conclusions.

The discussion regarding the origin of the LXX Psalms is interesting and has been intense, not least because so little is known about the circumstances under which the translation was written. Therefore, it is difficult to give a date and a place of origin for the translation. However, I would, as many other scholars (e.g., Marguerite Harl, Joachim Schaper, Tyler Williams, Olivier Munnich) favour a date in the second century BCE, although some other scholars have argued for the first century, for example Arie van der Kooij and Frank Clancy.<sup>2</sup> However, the facts that could settle the problem do hardly exist. Although it is problematical to determine the date of the original translation, some text passages from the LXX Psalms were probably quoted by the translator of 1 Maccabees or at least alluded to. This would in any case give a *terminus ante quem* for the translation around the beginning of the first century BCE.<sup>3</sup>

The function of the LXX Psalms has also been variously apprehended. The most influential option in recent years is that the LXX Psalms are “texts for study” and reflect an “interlinear” translation model, which implies a kind of school-setting. But the school setting as the historical background for the translation is also challenged by some scholars, for example, Jan Joosten, who argues that: “No bilingual Hebrew-Greek manuscripts have been found, proving that the Septuagint was used in Jewish schools for teaching the Hebrew Bible.

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2. For references, see, e.g., Staffan Olofsson, *As a Deer Longs for Flowing Streams: A Study of the Septuagint version of Ps 42–43 in Its Relation to the Hebrew Text*, De Septuaginta Investigationes 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 17 n. 1.

3. Tyler F. Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J.V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, Peter J. Gentry, JSOTSup 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 261–76; Ralph Brucker, “Observations on the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the Septuagint Psalms in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity,” in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, SCS 53 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 355–57.



There are no ancient testimonies regarding such a usage.”<sup>4</sup> Although much could be said in favour of an educational background, there are some features that are congruent with a cultic *Sitz im Leben*, which could explain the appearance of stylistic features that are creating new literary patterns and resonances not strictly needed for the elucidation of the Hebrew.<sup>5</sup>

It is a common supposition that more than one translator translated some LXX books or that parts of the text have been subjected to revisions that comprises the equivalents employed or that it has gone through several stages in an editorial process. This applies to, for example, Ezekiel and Jeremiah. The LXX of Ezekiel is a good example, since it may include two or three translation units (1–25 Eza), 26–39 (Ezβ), and 40–48 (Ezγ), which can be interpreted in different ways. It can be based on at least two different translators<sup>6</sup> or on revisions of an original translation,<sup>7</sup> or the diversity of equivalents can be seen as the result of an evolution in the work of one translator who changed his mind during the translation process.<sup>8</sup> Sometimes there may be “a gradual change in preference for a particular term as the translator works through his or her text.”<sup>9</sup>

However, the LXX Psalms appears to be the product of a specific effort, be it by a single translator or a coordinated team.<sup>10</sup> I will henceforth use the expression “the translator of the Psalms” for this opinion. The translation’s homogeneity can be substantiated by the fact that no important differences

4. Jan Joosten, “Reflections on the ‘Interlinear Paradigm’ in Septuagintal Studies,” in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, JSJSup 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 170.

5. Frank Austermann, “ $\alpha\nu\omicron\mu\lambda\alpha$  im Septuaginta-Psalter: Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von Übersetzungsweise und Theologie,” in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*, ed. Raija Sollamo and Seppo Sipilä, SESJ 82 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 99–137; Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, WUNT 2/76 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), e.g., 31, 82; Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 54.

6. For example, Leslie J. McGregor, *The Greek Text of Ezekiel: An Examination of Its Homogeneity*, SCS 18 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985).

7. For example, Edmund H. Kase, “The Translator(s) of Ezekiel,” in *The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri, Ezekiel*, ed. Allan C. Johnson, Henry S. Gehman, and Edmund H. Kase (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938), 52–73; Joseph Ziegler, “Zur Textgestaltung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta,” *Bib* 34 (1953): 435–55. The dividing line between 1–25 and 26–39 is clearly supported by Papyrus 967.

8. Johan Lust, “Multiple Translators in Septuagint Ezekiel?” in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten: Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D)*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 654–69.

9. Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” 255 n. 18.

10. See Olofsson, *As a Deer Longs for Flowing Streams*, 15, with references.

within the Psalter have been detected which could imply two or more translators.<sup>11</sup> Thus, there are no significant distinctions in vocabulary or style, regarding, for example, the consistency of equivalents, the distribution of etymological renderings, or special differentiations of equivalents depending on context.<sup>12</sup> It is true that Henry St. J. Thackeray argued that there are slight changes in orthography between the first and second half of the LXX Psalter (Pss 1–77 and 78–150), which may indicate a division of the clerical labor of transcription.<sup>13</sup> This division, however, is only consistently found in Codex Vaticanus (B), and Thackeray does not presuppose a change of translators. He argued that the vocabulary found in the LXX Psalms presents strong evidence for a single translator.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the homogeneity of the LXX Psalms does not seem to be seriously doubted.

Williams especially has made an impressive case for the unity of the Psalms translation with some inspiration from the study of Leslie McGregor on the text of Ezekiel not least regarding lexical equivalents as criteria for unity. His discussion is based on the frequency of lexical equivalents, the distribution of the terms, the consistency in their use, the uniqueness of the terms for the Psalter, and the detection of grammatical and syntactical patterns that go beyond semantics.<sup>15</sup>

Munnich emphasizes some other criteria, repetition of unique translations, the identical translation of parallel passages or “doublets” in the Psalter, and evidence of that the translator kept his hand over the translation and continually consulted and revised his own translation.<sup>16</sup> I will henceforth refer to some of the examples that Williams and Munnich have presented and use these criteria for my own investigation.

Williams emphasizes that lexical equivalents that occur frequently will be more significant as a sign of unity than those that are infrequent. Equivalents that are only used a few times can hardly be applied in discussions of the unity of the translation, since they may have been used by chance.<sup>17</sup>

Hebrew-Greek equations for which there are considerable semantic overlap are not as persuasive as others, since it can be assumed that any translator in a similar situation would have employed the same rendering, for example,  $\psi\chi\gamma$  translated by  $\psi\chi\gamma$ ,  $\kappa\mu\text{z}$  by  $\delta\tau\psi\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ ,  $\eta\text{w}\text{w}$  by  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\upsilon$ ,  $\eta\text{z}$  by  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\imath\text{y}$  by  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ ,

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11. See, e.g., Jannes Smith, *Translated Hallelujahs: A Linguistic and Exegetical Commentary on Select Septuagint Psalms* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 31.

12. Smith, *Translated Hallelujahs*, 31.

13. Henry St. J. Thackeray, “The of Books in Primitive Septuagint MSS,” *JTS* 9 (1907–1908): 88–98.

14. Thackeray, “Bisection,” 88–98.

15. Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” 252–60.

16. Olivier Munnich, “Indices d’une Septante originelle dans le Psautier Grec,” *Bib* 63 (1982): 406–16.

17. Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” 253.

and הִלֵּל by ὕμν.<sup>18</sup> However, even in these cases, there may be individual choices that reflect a conscious translation technique. For example, עָרַב translated by γῆ is a default rendering, but Williams emphasizes that the four times in Psalms that עָרַב occurs in the plural, עֲרֻבִים, it is rendered by χώρα, a differentiation between singular and plural that is not found outside the Psalter.<sup>19</sup>

The LXX Psalms is a literal translation, but not extremely literal when one focus on semantics. Although the translator has chosen a literal approach with consistency in the Hebrew-Greek equivalents, it is hardly carried out in a systematic way. Sometimes he used two or more equivalents reflecting one Hebrew word. He did not systematically employ reciprocal consistency, that is “an equivalent in Greek that is the only counterpart to a certain Hebrew word that is never employed for any other Hebrew term,”<sup>20</sup> as did Aquila. Often the translator used favourite words, thus one Greek equivalent for a number of Hebrew words from the same word field.<sup>21</sup> This makes the implications of the choice of equivalents hard to evaluate.

It is true that no translator is entirely consistent, and some types of words, such as nouns, are more likely to be glossed consistently than other words, such as verbs. However, there are many standard Hebrew-Greek renderings in LXX Psalms, which are remarkable for their consistency that could be used as criteria for unity, for example, the translation of בָּבַד by ἀπολλύειν, קָבַד by κολλᾶν, and לִי in the sense “shout with joy” by ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, the more frequent a Hebrew word occurs, the higher the expectation of diverse lexical equivalents and a cluster of occurrences tend to make the translator more consistent within that cluster, because he or she will be more conscious of the rendering of that particular word.<sup>23</sup>

Another factor of importance is the differentiation in the translation of synonyms, which can be evidenced in LXX Psalms. For example, the systematic translation of הִקָּבַץ, “assembly, congregation,” by ἐκκλησία and הִתְקַבְּצוּ, “congregation,” by συναγωγή.<sup>24</sup>

Lexical equivalents that are unique for the LXX Psalms are more decisive than those found in other books of the LXX, for example, הִיפִּיל *hiphil* is always translated by ἐλπίζειν, “to hope,” in LXX Psalms, in contrast to the diverse equivalents in LXX as a whole: ὑπομένειν, μένειν, διαλείπειν, ἀκούειν, ἐνωπίζεσθαι. ὑπομένειν, “to wait,” is the dominant equivalent in the LXX apart from the

18. See, e.g., Staffan Olofsson, “Consistency as a Translation Technique,” *SJOT* 6 (1992): 14–30.

19. Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” 257.

20. Olofsson, *As a Deer Longs for Flowing Streams*, 19 n. 21.

21. *Ibid.*, 20–21.

22. Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” 256–257.

23. See McGregor, *Greek Text of Ezekiel*, 36–46.

24. Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” 257 n. 29.

Psalter. ἐλπίζειν is in fact used only in the book of Psalms, even though similar phrases, such as הוֹחִיל לְאֱלֹהִים, occur both in and outside the Psalter, for example, 2 Kgs 6:33, where אוֹחִיל לִיהוָה is translated by ὑπομείνω τῷ κυρίῳ, and Mic 7:7, where יִשְׁעִי לְאֱלֹהֵי אוֹחִילָהּ is rendered by ὑπομενῶ ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ.<sup>25</sup>

Renderings that reflect misreadings are also interesting as an indication of a single translator behind the Psalter. For example, the consistent translation of מרה, “be disobedient, be rebellious,” by παραπικραίνειν, “to embitter, to provoke,” in the LXX Psalter, is evidently the result of the translator’s misunderstanding מרה as מרר, “to be bitter.” This counterpart is perhaps dependent on a misreading in Deut 31:27, as argued by, for example, Martin Flashar,<sup>26</sup> in contrast to more adequate equivalents, for example, ἀπειθεῖν (Deut 1:26; 9:7, 23, 24) and παραβαίνειν (Deut 1:43).

Grammatical and syntactical patterns that go beyond semantics can be seen as “linguistic fingerprints” of the translator, which betrays a particular style and method. When one examines the translator’s departure from the default rendering, it is obvious that contextual and stylistic factors are often determinative.<sup>27</sup>

A common method in LXX Psalms was to choose variation in word pairs, although the Hebrew has the same word twice or the translator did not want to repeat the same Greek equivalent in close proximity for two different Hebrew words, even though this would have been consistent with his ordinary counterparts. Thus, מִשְׁכָּב, “stronghold,” as a divine epithet, was translated by both καταφυγή, “refuge,” and βοηθός, “helper,” in Ps 9:10. A similar technique was employed when צוּר, “rock,” is rendered by καταφυγή or βοηθός when θεός, its main equivalent as a divine epithet, occurs in proximity.<sup>28</sup> This suggests that the translator did not strictly follow some sort of a mechanical word list. Williams argues that in most of the cases where the translator departs from this default, it appears to be for stylistic reasons.<sup>29</sup>

The repetition of unique translations in the LXX Psalms is also an important indication of homogeneity as Munnich emphasizes, for example, that שָׁמַע, “to hear, listen, be obedient,” and so on is rendered by εἰσακούειν when the context indicates that “God is hearing favourably,” while ἀκούειν is employed when the simple act of hearing is intended.<sup>30</sup> This is corroborated by the fact that εἰσακούειν is nearly always employed when God is the (expressed or assumed) subject of שָׁמַע while ἀκούειν is used when he is not the subject, with the

25. See Ps 38:16; 42:6, 12; 43:5; 130:5.

26. Martin Flashar, “Exegetische Studien zum LXX-Psalter,” *ZAW* 32 (1912): 186–87.

27. Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” 257–58.

28. Staffan Olofsson, *God is my Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint*, ConBOT 31 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990), 44, 156–60.

29. Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” 258.

30. Munnich, “Indices,” 409–10.

implication that God as a rule listens favourably to the prayers, groanings, and questions of man.

Not only the frequency but also the distribution of the equivalents is important in this connection. One who argues for the homogeneity of the LXX Psalter will find more evidence that is persuasive in lexical equivalents that are spread throughout the book of Psalms than in those with a limited distribution, and only occur in some section of the book.<sup>31</sup>

## 2. *נָשִׁי* TRANSLATED BY *ἀσεβής* AND *ἁμαρτωλός*

There seems to be a contrast, which ought to reflect a conscious choice, between the first book and the four subsequent books in the Psalter in the translation of *נָשִׁי*, “sinner, lawless.” *ἁμαρτωλός*, “sinner, sinful,” is, more or less, the only counterpart of *נָשִׁי* in the books 2–5. However, this is not the case in the first book, where the choices of counterparts are divided between *ἀσεβής*, “impious, ungodly” and *ἁμαρτωλός* (see the appendix).

The break between the two different approaches, however, does not coincide with the beginning of the second book, but occurs earlier, in Ps 36 LXX/37 MT. Thus, *נָשִׁי* is from 36(37):40, with sporadic exceptions, translated by *ἁμαρτωλός*. This cannot be explained with reference to the editorial shape of the Hebrew book of Psalms, where the study of Gerald H. Wilson have made it probable that Pss 1–89, that is, the first three books in the Psalter exhibit an editorial strategy organized with reference to author and genre distinctions in contradistinction to the last two books (Pss 90–150), which are dominated by smaller collections organized by common themes or catchwords.<sup>32</sup> These have made a number of scholars argue that the book of Psalms came together gradually, with the contents and order of the first three books having been stabilized prior to the last two, which took their present shape only in the first century CE.<sup>33</sup>

From Pss 1 to 37, *נָשִׁי* is either translated by *ἀσεβής* (16x) or by *ἁμαρτωλός* (23x), but from Ps 39 and onwards, *ἁμαρτωλός* is the default equivalent (39x),<sup>34</sup> although other counterparts sporadically occurs: the verb *ἁμαρτάνειν* occurs

31. Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” 253–54.

32. For the description of Wilson, see Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” 253 n. 16.

33. Ibid., 253–254.

34. Although Gauthier discusses the counterparts of *נָשִׁי*, he does not pay attention to the translation pattern that is established. However, it is obvious from his statistics that the variation between the singular and plural in the Hebrew is not reflected in the choice of lexical equivalents, *ἀσεβής* or *ἁμαρτωλός*. Randall X. Gauthier, “Psalms 38 and 145 of the Septuagint Version (Old Greek): An Inception Oriented Exegetical Study” (PhD diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2010), 327.

twice, in 35(36):2 and 74(75):5,<sup>35</sup> καταδικάζειν once, in 108(109):7, and ἄνομος once, in 103(104):35. The last-mentioned reflects, as we will see, the usual variation when word pairs with the same counterparts are encountered. The rendering in 108(109):7 can be accounted for, since καταδικάζειν presupposes a verbal form of נִשְׁרָ.<sup>36</sup>

The frequency of ἁμαρτωλός, in contrast to ἀσεβής, is steadily growing in the first book, although not without variations, variations that are also encountered within one and the same psalm. In Ps 9 ἁμαρτωλός is attested twice, 9:17, 18, and ἀσεβής, once, 9:6. In Ps 10 ἁμαρτωλός occurs three times, 9:24(10:3), 9:25(10:4), and 9:36(10:15), and ἀσεβής twice, 9:23(10:2) and 9:34(10:13). In Ps 11 ἁμαρτωλός appears twice, 10(11):2, 6, and ἀσεβής once, 10(11):5. In Ps 37 ἁμαρτωλός is attested ten times, 36(37):10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 32, 34, 38, 40, and ἀσεβής three times, 36(37):28, 35, 38. Psalm 1 is an exception, since נִשְׁרָ only has ἀσεβής as counterpart. On the other hand, while נִשְׁרָ is translated by ἀσεβής, נִשְׁרָ is rendered by ἁμαρτωλός in Ps 1:1, 5.

### 3. THE VARIATION OF ἀσεβής AND ἁμαρτωλός IN PS 9, 10, 11, 37

|      |           |       |           |       |           |
|------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| 9:6  | ἀσεβής    | 10:2  | ἀσεβής    | 37:10 | ἁμαρτωλός |
| 9:17 | ἁμαρτωλός | 10:3  | ἁμαρτωλός | 37:12 | ἁμαρτωλός |
| 9:18 | ἁμαρτωλός | 10:4  | ἁμαρτωλός | 37:14 | ἁμαρτωλός |
|      |           | 10:13 | ἀσεβής    | 37:16 | ἁμαρτωλός |
|      |           | 10:15 | ἁμαρτωλός | 37:17 | ἁμαρτωλός |
|      |           | 11:2  | ἁμαρτωλός | 37:20 | ἁμαρτωλός |
|      |           | 11:5  | ἀσεβής    | 37:21 | ἁμαρτωλός |
|      |           | 11:6  | ἁμαρτωλός | 37:28 | ἀσεβής    |
|      |           |       |           | 37:32 | ἁμαρτωλός |
|      |           |       |           | 37:34 | ἁμαρτωλός |
|      |           |       |           | 37:35 | ἀσεβής    |
|      |           |       |           | 37:38 | ἀσεβής    |
|      |           |       |           | 37:40 | ἁμαρτωλός |

The distribution of counterparts for נִשְׁרָ seems to be both interesting and relevant for the discussion of the *modus operandi* of the translator. It concerns a common as well as a theologically relevant Hebrew term in the book of Psalms and in the MT as a whole (264x). נִשְׁרָ is more widespread in the Psalter than in any other book of the MT in absolute terms (82x). It is distributed over the Psalter as whole, because it occurs in all five books of the Psalter, although, it is most common in the first book Ps 1–40(41), with forty-one occurrences. Thus, exactly half of the occurrences in the Psalms as a whole occur in the first book of the Psalms.

35. BHS suggests a *Vorlage* with an infinitive construct נִשְׁרָ in 35(36):2 but not in 74(75):5.

36. נִשְׁרָ *hiphil* is rendered by καταδικάζειν in 36(37):33 and 93(94):21.

Furthermore, the uniqueness of ἁμαρτωλός, the main counterpart of נָשָׂא, with more than sixty occurrences in LXX Psalms, in contrast to ἀσεβής (15x) must be emphasized, since ἁμαρτωλός as equivalent of נָשָׂא is found infrequently outside the Psalter (see appendix), although נָשָׂא is a common word in poetry and an important antonym to רַיָּא, “righteous.”<sup>37</sup> It is mainly clustered in Psalms (82x), Proverbs (78x), and Job (26x). With the exclusion of Ezekiel (29x) and Isaiah (11x), נָשָׂא can otherwise only sporadically be found in the Hebrew Bible. This means that more than two third (186x) out of the 264 occurrences of נָשָׂא in the MT can be found in the poetical books, Psalms, Proverbs and Job.

In contrast to the book of Psalms, ἀσεβής is the only counterpart in many LXX books or the one that dominates. Thus, נָשָׂא is always translated by ἀσεβής in Genesis, Deuteronomy, Job,<sup>38</sup> Ecclesiastes, and Jeremiah. It is the default rendering, with a few exceptions in Proverbs and Isaiah (see the appendix). It is also the main counterpart in Exodus. In fact, Numbers and Daniel LXX are the only books in the LXX where נָשָׂא is never rendered by either ἄνομος or ἀσεβής, although Num 16:26 σκληρός and 35:31 ἔνοχος is easy to explain by the demands of the context.

The preference for ἁμαρτωλός as a rendering of נָשָׂא distinguishes the book of Psalms from all other books in the LXX. ἁμαρτωλός only occurs once in Proverbs (24:19), once in Isaiah (14:5), once in 2 Chronicles (19:2), twice in Ezekiel (33:8, 19), and twice in Dan LXX (12:10). Furthermore, ἁμαρτωλός is seldom used for any other Hebrew word either in the MT, apart from sporadic occurrences of ἁμαρτωλός for the verb נָשָׂא in Genesis, Numbers, Amos, Isaiah, and the Psalms.

The cognate נָשָׂא occurs six times in the Psalter and has ἁμαρτωλός twice as equivalent, twice ἀνομία, and twice ἁμαρτία.<sup>39</sup> נָשָׂא appears twenty-four times outside the Psalter, but it never has ἁμαρτωλός as counterpart,<sup>40</sup> although the equivalents are manifold, ἀδικία, ἁμάρτημα, ἀσέβεια, ἀσεβεῖν, ἀσεβήμα, ἀσεβής, κακός, ψευδής, πλημμέλεια, but also ἀνομία, ἄνομος.<sup>41</sup>

37. See, e.g., Sarah Harris, “The Davidic Shepherd King in the Lukan Narrative” (PhD diss., University of Otago, 2011), 221 with references.

38. Job 9:22 is an exception in MT, but see *Greek Text and Equivalents* in the appendix.

39. Ps 5:5; 9:36(10:15); 44(45):8; 83(84):11; 124(125):3; 140(141):4. It has ἁμαρτωλός as counterpart in 83(84):11 and 124(125):3, and it could not be excluded that the translator understood it as נָשָׂא. In that case, it strengthens the pattern, which I have found. In 5:5; 44(45):8 נָשָׂא is rendered by ἀνομία and in 124(125):3; 140(141):4 by ἁμαρτία. The reading in 44(45):8 is, however, contested by 2013’s A, which has ἀδικία.

40. Deut 9:27; 1 Sam 24:14; Isa 58:4, 6; Jer 14:20; Ezek 3:19; 7:11; 31:11; 33:12; Hos 10:13; Mic 6:10, 11; Job 34:8, 10; 35:8; Prov 4:17; 8:7; 10:2; 12:3; 16:12; Eccl 3:16 (2x); 7:25; 8:8.

41. ἀνομία renders נָשָׂא Deut 9:5 in A, but B has ἀσέβεια (=Rahlfs) and in Mic 6:10 A has ἀνομία, while B has ἄνομος (=Rahlfs). See also the use of ἀνομία rendering נָשָׂא in Isa 9:17; Ezek 18:20, 27; 33:19; Zech 5:8; Mal 1:4.

That ἁμαρτωλός is the most common equivalent of עֲשֵׂה in LXX Psalms and the only one from Ps 36 (LXX) and 37 (MT) and onwards implies that it introduces a novel interpretation of עֲשֵׂה in the LXX. However, if Isaiah and Ezekiel were translated before the book of Psalms, the translator may have been inspired by the occurrences in Isaiah 14:5 and Ezek 33:8, 19.

#### 4. EXPLANATIONS FOR THE SYSTEMATIC VARIATION OF LEXICAL EQUIVALENTS

I will first investigate if the translation pattern in the Psalter can be explained with reference to the Hebrew text. However, I have not detected any Hebrew basis for the choice of counterparts in the individual case in the LXX Psalms. For example, the choice of equivalent does not coincide with the usage of עֲשֵׂה in the singular versus the plural, although a certain preference for the translation of עֲשֵׂה by ἁμαρτωλός, 9:17; 9:24(10:3); 9:25(10:4); 9:36(10:15); 31(32):10; 33(34):22; 36(37):10, 12, 21, 32), rather than ἀσεβής 9:6, 9:23(10:2); 9:34(10:13); 10(11):5; 36(37):35, is evidenced in the first part of the Psalter, which only reflects that ἁμαρτωλός is more common than ἀσεβής in Ps 1–36(37). עֲשֵׂה is common in book 2–5 in the Psalter, and it is always translated by ἁμαρτωλός.

It is evident that the choice of counterpart is not influenced by the common word pair עֲשֵׂה and צַדִּיק, which occurs in 1:6; 11:5 translated by δικαίος // ἀσεβής and in 58:11; 129:4 by δικαίος // ἁμαρτωλός. עֲשֵׂה is mostly translated by ἁμαρτωλός but sometimes also by ἀσεβής. The same is true for עֲשֵׂה. When עֲשֵׂה and עֲשֵׂה occur in a word pair, the translator did not employ the same counterparts twice but reflected the variation in the Hebrew. Thus, it is based on the common technique to avoid the same equivalent twice in a word pair and consequently to imitate the variation from the Hebrew. Some deviations are explainable from that perspective. עֲשֵׂה is translated by ἀσεβής and עֲשֵׂה by ἁμαρτωλός in a word pair in Ps 1:1, 5. That עֲשֵׂה is translated by ἄνομος in 103(104):35 depends on that it occurs in a word pair with עֲשֵׂה translated by ἁμαρτωλός.

Furthermore, ἁμαρτωλός and ἀσεβής are only sporadically used in LXX Psalms for other Hebrew equivalents, and thus the distribution of Hebrew terms could not explain the change of counterpart. Moreover, I have not found any specific Hebrew phrases, which could have influenced the choices of equivalents. For example, the phrases, “hand(s) of the sinner(s),” “way of the sinner(s),” “face of the sinners,” and “the sinner perishes” have expected equivalents, which only reinforce the translation pattern in the LXX Psalms as well as the distinction in relation to the counterparts chosen in the other books of LXX (see the appendix).

Differences in the Hebrew *Vorlage* that do not affect the lexical counterpart are of no relevance for this study, and they are therefore not taken into consideration. Text-critical solutions are also excluded in this case. Variants that alter this pattern cannot be found, either in Hebrew or in Greek. The few text-critical variants that could be mentioned in this connection only emphasize the



distinction between the two approaches in the translation of עֲשֵׂה. עֲשֵׂה in MT, “plowers,” is translated by οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί and thus read as עֲשֵׂה by the translator in 128(129):3,<sup>42</sup> עֲשֵׂה, “my head,” in MT in Ps 140(141):5 is misread עֲשֵׂה and translated by ἁμαρτωλός, “sinner.”<sup>43</sup> In 124(125):3 עֲשֵׂה has ἁμαρτωλός as counterpart, which may reflect עֲשֵׂה,<sup>44</sup> but BHS does not note a different vocalization of עֲשֵׂה in 83(84):11.<sup>45</sup>

No other book in the LXX shows a similar pattern as the book of Psalms in this regard, although there is a certain similarity to Ezekiel, where the different counterparts may reflect different revisions or translations. עֲשֵׂה is always translated by ἄνομος (16x) but once by ἀνομία in the first part of Ezekiel, but there is a shift in 33:8. Subsequently, from 33:8 and onwards ἄνομος never occurs, but ἀσεβής becomes the dominant equivalent, although other equivalents sporadically occur, ἁμαρτωλός (2x), ἀνομία (1x). The pattern exhibited in Ezekiel is thus similar in some respects to the one found in the Psalms. Thus, from Ps 1 to 37, עֲשֵׂה is either translated by ἀσεβής (16x) or ἁμαρτωλός (23x), but from Ps 38, ἁμαρτωλός is the default equivalent (40x).<sup>46</sup>

Thus the alternation between ἁμαρτωλός and ἀσεβής in the first part of the Psalms seem to reflect the translators’ strive for variation, especially when it occurs in one and the same psalm, as in Pss 10 and 37. Nothing of the sort is seen from Ps 37 and onwards, since עֲשֵׂה is translated by ἁμαρτωλός, whether it occurs in the same psalm or not, for example, Pss 58, 73, 75, 82, 94, 109, 112, 119, 140.

The translation pattern is in my mind based on semantics. The translator hesitated to use a unique counterpart, ἁμαρτωλός,<sup>47</sup> when his translation project started, as a default rendering, a rendering that was not employed in the Pentateuch and hardly in any other book translated before the Psalter. However, since he used ἁμαρτωλός already in Ps 3, he must anyhow have regarded it as an adequate equivalent.

During the translation process, he came to the conclusion that ἁμαρτωλός had associations which he believed was more congruent with the meaning of

42. Francis W. Mozley, *The Psalter of the Church: The Psalms Compared with the Hebrew, with Various Notes* (Cambridge: University Press, 1905), 176. This *Vorlage* is supported by 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. A less probable *Vorlage* would be עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה. See Prov 3:29; 6:14; 14:22.

43. See, e.g., BHS; Mozley, *Psalter of the Church*, 185.

44. עֲשֵׂה is supported by pc Mss Symmachus and probably also by Septuagint and Peshitta. See BHS.

45. See n. 39.

46. Although Gauthier discusses the counterparts of עֲשֵׂה, he does not pay attention to the translation pattern that is established. However, it is obvious that the choice of ἀσεβής or ἁμαρτωλός does not coincide with numbers in the Hebrew. Gauthier, *Psalms 38 and 145 of the Septuagint Version*, 327.

47. ἁμαρτωλός is extremely rare also in the Greek literature in general. Rengstorff, “ἁμαρτωλός,” *TDNT* 1:317–18.

נִשְׁבַּח, and that is why he employed it as a default for the rest of the translation.<sup>48</sup> If this is true, it gives a different picture of the translation process, since it relates to an important case where the translator became more confident in his choice of translation as the work progressed but did not revise his earlier choice of counterparts. This explanation stands in contradistinction to the evaluation that the translator constantly consulted and revised his translation.

It is evident that ἀσεβής in some respects is close in meaning to ἁμαρτωλός, since it is sometimes used in word pairs, even in the LXX Psalms (Ps 1:1, 5).<sup>49</sup> However, there is a difference in associations involved, since the *sebomai* group of words is connected with that which is awe-inspiring, sublime, or holy and with man who keeps a respectful distance to the divine. Thus the idea of distance is basic. These words denote the appropriate attitude to that which merits reverence, ranging from respect for one's fellowmen and the rules of society to reverence in public worship.<sup>50</sup>

The negative compound ἀσεβής is in classical literature often used to denote an outrage against someone, whereby established laws and ordinances are broken,<sup>51</sup> and thus ἀσεβής is employed synonymously with ἄδικος. It depicts men departing from God, both as an individual action and as a general attitude. As Walther Günther remarks, "injustice among men, particularly in Israel, is at the same time an offence against God and his commandments."<sup>52</sup> Thus, it has some associations in common with ἁμαρτωλός.

However, ἁμαρτωλός in Greek literature refers to a man who misses something and is usually is confined to the sphere of mental or spiritual life.<sup>53</sup> Its use in a religious sense is, however, restricted—for example, to curses on the violaters of graves, who did not fulfil their annual sacrifices.<sup>54</sup> In the LXX, ἁμαρτωλός is especially connected with the negative reverse side of the idea of the covenant, often expressed in legal terms.<sup>55</sup> In fact, "the nation's history is often depicted as a history of apostasy, of punishment, and of Yahweh's gracious intervention and of returning."<sup>56</sup> Thus a ἁμαρτωλός in the LXX

48. In the words of Rengstorf, "When we consider this history of the term on Jewish soil, it is obvious that no Gk. term was so well adopted to render נִשְׁבַּח as ἁμαρτωλός." Rengstorf, "ἁμαρτωλός," 1:323.

49. See also Sir 12:6.

50. See Walther Mundle, "Godliness, Piety," *NIDNTT* 1.

51. Walther Günther, "σέβομαι," *NIDNTT* 1.

52. Günther, *NIDNTT* 1.

53. Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1:317; Walther Günther, "ἁμαρτάνω," *NIDNTT* 1, CL.

54. Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1:318; Harris, *Davidic Shepherd King in the Lukan Narrative*, 220.

55. Günther, *NIDNTT* 1:2 ("ἁμαρτάνω"). For a description of ἁμαρτωλός in LXX and in the New Testament and what it may imply, see, e.g., Harris, *Davidic Shepherd King in the Lukan Narrative*, 220–27.

56. Günther, *NIDNTT* 1:2 ("ἁμαρτάνω").

Psalms is primarily a person who is breaking the relationship of faithfulness towards God and is disobedient to the commandments and the law. For example, that ἁμαρτωλός in the Psalms is a sinner means that he is opposite of the pious and godly (1:1); he boasts in the law and the covenant but does not regard the law as binding (49[50]:16–20); he is a transgressor of the law and a wrongdoer (69[70]:4); he practice lawlessness (128[129]:3); he is forsaking the law of God (118[119]:53); and he does not seek God's statutes (118[119]:155).<sup>57</sup> Even gentiles were considered sinners by virtue of their nonadherence to the torah, and this leads to impurity before God.<sup>58</sup>

There is a common ground in some respects between ἁμαρτωλός and ἀσεβής, since the theology of the Psalms presupposes a relationship of faithfulness that could be broken.

The preference for ἁμαρτωλός may reflect an understanding by the LXX translator of the different genre of the Psalms as a whole, that is, a prayer book, in contrast to wisdom books as Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes. The Psalms is a book where the law of Moses was in the centre of attention, in contrast to the more universal, creation theological approach in the wisdom literature.<sup>59</sup>

In the later Jewish and Christian tradition, ἁμαρτωλός becomes increasingly important as the most distinctive term for man as a sinner, as a lawless person, since it is used 40 times in Ecclesiasticus, 35 times in the Psalms of Solomon, 103 times in the Pseudepigrapha, especially in Enoch. Although ἁμαρτωλός frequently occurs in Ecclesiasticus, ἀσεβής is also common (17x). ἁμαρτωλός is also frequent in the New Testament, where it occurs 47 times. ἁμαρτωλός is particularly numerous in the synoptic gospels, especially in the Gospel of Luke (18x).<sup>60</sup>

On the contrary, the use of ἀσεβής has diminished. It only occurs 21 times in the Pseudepigrapha and 9 times in New Testament, although it is still fairly common in the wisdom books of the Apocrypha, that is, the Wisdom of Solomon (14x) and in Ecclesiasticus (17x), where it may evidence a Hellenistic influence.<sup>61</sup> The statistics are compatible with a development towards an equalization between נַפְשׁ and ἁμαρτωλός from the latter part of the second century BCE and onwards, while the impact from the wisdom genre persists in

57. For some of these examples, see Rengstorff, *TDNT* 1:321.

58. *Ibid.*, 1:324.

59. Regarding ἁμαρτωλός in wisdom literature, see, e.g., the remarks in Markus Witte, *Gerechtigkeit als Thema biblischer Theologie: Ein alttestamentliches Votum* (inaugural lectures, 24 June 2010, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Theologische Fakultät, Humboldt-Universitäre, 2011), 7–42, here 23.

60. The meaning of ἁμαρτωλός in the Gospel of Luke coincides with its use in the LXX Psalms. See, e.g., Harris, *Davidic Shepherd King in the Lukan Narrative*, 221.

61. See, e.g., Günther, *NIDNTT* 1 (“σέβομαι”): “Only in the Wisdom literature, in Job and the Apocrypha (esp. 4 Macc.), do *eusebeia* and its related words occur more frequently—an indication of Hel. influence.”



Appendix:  
The Equivalents of  $\gamma\psi\eta$  in the Septuagint

|              |           |        |           |       |            |
|--------------|-----------|--------|-----------|-------|------------|
| Genesis      |           | 11:20  | ἀσεβής    | 12:9  | ἀσεβής     |
| 18:23        | ἀσεβής    | 15:20  | ἀσεβής    | 17:9  | ἀσεβής     |
| 18:25        | ἀσεβής    | 16:11  | ἀσεβής    | 17:13 | ἀσεβής     |
| 18:25        | ἀσεβής    | 18:5   | ἀσεβής    | 26:5  | ἀσεβής     |
|              |           | 20:5   | ἀσεβής    | 28:3  | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| Exodus       |           | 20:29  | ἀσεβής    | 31:18 | ἀσεβής     |
| 2:13         | ἀδικεῖν   | 21:7   | ἀσεβής    | 32:10 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 9:27         | ἀσεβής    | 21:16  | ἀσεβής    | 34:22 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 23:1         | ἄδικος    | 21:17  | ἀσεβής    | 36:2  | ἀμαρτάνειν |
| 23:7         | ἀσεβής    | 21:28  | ἀσεβής    | 36:12 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
|              |           | 22:18  | ἀσεβής    | 37:10 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| Numbers      |           | 24:6   | ἀσεβής    | 37:12 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 16:26        | σκληρός   | 27:7   | ἀσεβής    | 37:14 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 35:31        | ἔνοχος    | 27:13  | ἀσεβής    | 37:16 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
|              |           | 34:18  | ἀσεβής    | 37:17 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| Deuteronomy  |           | 34:26  | ἀσεβής    | 37:20 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 25:1         | ἀσεβής    | 36:6   | ἀσεβής    | 37:21 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 25:2         | ἀσεβής    | 36:17  | ...       | 37:28 | ἀσεβής     |
|              |           | 38:13  | ἀσεβής    | 37:32 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 1 Samuel     |           | 38:15  | ἀσεβής    | 37:34 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 2:9          | ...       | 40:12  | ἀσεβής    | 37:35 | ἀσεβής     |
| 24:14        | ἄνομος    |        |           | 37:38 | ἀσεβής     |
|              |           | Psalms |           | 37:40 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 2 Samuel     |           | 1:1    | ἀσεβής    | 39:2  | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 4:11         | ἄνομος    | 1:4    | ἀσεβής    | 50:16 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
|              |           | 1:5    | ἀσεβής    | 55:4  | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 1 Kings      |           | 1:6    | ἀσεβής    | 58:4  | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 8:32         | ἄνομος    | 3:8    | ἀμαρτωλός | 58:11 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
|              |           | 7:10   | ἀμαρτωλός | 68:3  | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 2 Chronicles |           | 9:6    | ἀσεβής    | 71:4  | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 6:23         | ἄνομος    | 9:17   | ἀμαρτωλός | 73:3  | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 19:2         | ἀμαρτωλός | 9:18   | ἀμαρτωλός | 73:12 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 19:2         | ἀμαρτωλός | 10:2   | ἀσεβής    | 75:5  | ἀμαρτάνειν |
|              |           | 10:3   | ἀμαρτωλός | 75:9  | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| Job          |           | 10:4   | ἀμαρτωλός | 75:11 | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 3:17         | ἀσεβής    | 10:13  | ἀσεβής    | 82:2  | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 8:22         | ἀσεβής    | 10:15  | ἀμαρτωλός | 82:4  | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 9:22         | δυνάστης  | 11:2   | ἀμαρτωλός | 91:8  | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 9:24         | ἀσεβής    | 11:5   | ἀσεβής    | 92:8  | ἀμαρτωλός  |
| 10:3         | ἀσεβής    | 11:6   | ἀμαρτωλός | 94:3  | ἀμαρτωλός  |

|          |              |       |                |              |           |
|----------|--------------|-------|----------------|--------------|-----------|
| 94:3     | ἀμαρτωλός    | 10:28 | ἀσεβής         | 21:27        | ἀσεβής    |
| 94:13    | ἀμαρτωλός    | 10:30 | ἀσεβής         | 21:29        | ἀσεβής    |
| 97:10    | ἀμαρτωλός    | 10:32 | ἀσεβής         | 24:15        | ἀσεβής    |
| 101:8    | ἀμαρτωλός    | 11:5  | ἀσεβής         | 24:16        | ἀσεβής    |
| 104:35   | ἄνομος       | 11:7  | ἀσεβής         | 24:19        | ἀμαρτωλός |
| 106:18   | ἀμαρτωλός    | 11:8  | ἀσεβής         | 24:20        | ἀσεβής    |
| 109:2    | ἀμαρτωλός    | 11:10 | ἀσεβής         | 24:24        | ἀσεβής    |
| 109:6    | ἀμαρτωλός    | 11:11 | ἀσεβής         | 25:5         | ἀσεβής    |
| 109:7    | καταδικάζειν | 11:18 | ἀσεβής         | 25:26        | ἀσεβής    |
| 112:10   | ἀμαρτωλός    | 11:23 | ἀσεβής         | 28:1         | ἀσεβής    |
| 112:10   | ἀμαρτωλός    | 11:31 | ἀσεβής         | 28:4         | ἀσέβεια   |
| 119:53   | ἀμαρτωλός    | 12:5  | ἀσεβής         | 28:4         | ἀσέβεια   |
| 119:61   | ἀμαρτωλός    | 12:6  | ἀσεβής         | 28:12        | ἀσεβής    |
| 119:95   | ἀμαρτωλός    | 12:7  | ἀσεβής         | 28:15        | ἀσεβής    |
| 119:110  | ἀμαρτωλός    | 12:10 | ἀσεβής         | 28:28        | ἀσεβής    |
| 119:119  | ἀμαρτωλός    | 12:12 | ἀσεβής         | 29:2         | ἀσεβής    |
| 119:155  | ἀμαρτωλός    | 12:21 | ἀσεβής         | 29:7         | ἀσεβής    |
| 129:4    | ἀμαρτωλός    | 12:26 | ἀσεβής         | 29:12        | ἀσεβής    |
| 139:19   | ἀμαρτωλός    | 13:5  | ἀσεβής         | 29:16        | ἀσεβής    |
| 140:5    | ἀμαρτωλός    | 13:9  | ἀσεβής         | 29:27        | ἄνομος    |
| 140:9    | ἀμαρτωλός    | 13:17 | θρασύς         |              |           |
| 141:10   | ἀμαρτωλός    | 13:25 | ἀσεβής         | Ecclesiastes |           |
| 145:20   | ἀμαρτωλός    | 14:11 | ἀσεβής         | 3:16         | ἀσεβής    |
| 146:9    | ἀμαρτωλός    | 14:19 | ἀσεβής         | 3:16         | ἀσεβής    |
| 147:6    | ἀμαρτωλός    | 14:32 | ἀσεβής         | 7:15         | ἀσεβής    |
|          |              | 15:6  | ἀσεβής         | 8:10         | ἀσεβής    |
| Proverbs |              | 15:8  | ἀσεβής         | 8:13         | ἀσεβής    |
| 2:22     | ἀσεβής       | 15:9  | ἀσεβής         | 8:14         | ἀσεβής    |
| 3:25     | ἀσεβής       | 15:28 | ἀσεβής         | 8:14         | ἀσεβής    |
| 3:33     | ἀσεβής       | 15:29 | ἀσεβής         | 9:2          | ἀσεβής    |
| 4:14     | ἀσεβής       | 16:4  | ἀσεβής         |              |           |
| 4:19     | ἀσεβής       | 17:15 | ἄδικος         | Isaiah       |           |
| 5:22     | ἀνὴρ         | 17:23 | ἀδίκως, ἀσεβής | 3:11         | ἄνομος    |
| 9:7      | ἀσεβής       | 18:3  | ἀσεβής         | 5:23         | ἀσεβής    |
| 10:3     | ἀσεβής       | 18:5  | ἀσεβής         | 11:4         | ἀσεβής    |
| 10:6     | ἀσεβής       | 19:28 | ἀσεβής         | 13:11        | ἀσεβής    |
| 10:7     | ἀσεβής       | 20:26 | ἀσεβής         | 14:5         | ἀμαρτωλός |
| 10:11    | ἀσεβής       | 21:4  | ἀσεβής         | 26:10        | ἀσεβής    |
| 10:16    | ἀσεβής       | 21:7  | ἀσεβής         | 48:22        | ἀσεβής    |
| 10:20    | ἀσεβής       | 21:10 | ἀσεβής         | 53:9         | πονηρός   |
| 10:24    | ἀσεβής       | 21:12 | ἀσεβής         | 55:7         | ἀσεβής    |
| 10:25    | ἀσεβής       | 21:12 | ἀσεβής         | 57:20        | ἄδικος    |
| 10:27    | ἀσεβής       | 21:18 | ἄνομος         | 57:21        | ἀσεβής    |

|          |        |            |           |                   |
|----------|--------|------------|-----------|-------------------|
| Jeremiah | 18:27  | ἄνομος     | 12:10     | ἁμαρτωλός         |
| 5:26     | ἄσεβής | 21:8       | ἄνομος    |                   |
| 12:1     | ἄσεβής | 21:9       | ἄνομος    | Daniel Theodotion |
| 23:19    | ἄσεβής | 21:30      | ἄνομος    | 12:10 ἄνομος      |
| 25:31    | ἄσεβής | 21:34      | ἄνομος    | 12:10 ἄνομος      |
| 30:23    | ἄσεβής | 33:8       | ...       |                   |
|          |        | 33:8       | ἄνομος    | Micah             |
| Ezekiel  | 33:8   | ἄσεβής     | 6:10      | ἄνομος            |
| 3:18     | ἄνομος | 33:8       | ἁμαρτωλός | 6:10 ἄνομος       |
| 3:18     | ἄνομος | 33:9       | ἄσεβής    |                   |
| 3:18     | ...    | 33:11      | ἄσεβής    | Habakkuk          |
| 3:18     | ἄνομος | 33:11      | ἄσεβής    | 1:13 ἄσεβής       |
| 3:19     | ἄνομος | 33:12      | ἄσεβής    | 3:13 ἄσεβής       |
| 3:19     | ἀνομία | 33:12      | ἀνομία    |                   |
| 7:21     | λοιμός | 33:14      | ἄσεβής    | Zephaniah         |
| 13:22    | ἄνομος | 33:15      | ...       | 1:3 ...           |
| 18:20    | ἄνομος | 33:19      | ἁμαρτωλός |                   |
| 18:21    | ἄνομος |            |           | Malachi           |
| 18:23    | ἄνομος | Daniel LXX | 3:18      | ἄνομος            |
| 18:24    | ἄνομος | 12:10      | ἁμαρτωλός | 3:21 ἄνομος       |

The Equivalents of  $\gamma\psi\eta$  in the Septuagint

|                    |                  |                             |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| Deuteronomy        | Jeremiah         | Job                         |
| 9:27    ἄσεβήμα    | 14:20   ἀμάρτημα | 34:8    ἄσεβής<br>(γψῆ-γψῆ) |
| 1 Samuel           | Ezekiel          | 34:10   ἄσεβεῖν             |
| 24:14   πλημμέλεια | 3:19    ἀνομία   | 35:8    ἄσέβεια             |
|                    | 7:11    ἄνομος   |                             |
| Psalms             | 31:11   ...      | Proverbs                    |
| 5:5    ἀνομία      | 33:12   ἀνομία   | 4:17    ἄσέβεια             |
| 10:15   ἁμαρτωλός  |                  | 8:7    ψευδής               |
| 45:8    ἀνομία     | Hosea            | 10:2    ἄνομος              |
| 84:11   ἁμαρτωλός  | 10:13   ἀσέβεια  | 12:3    ἄνομος              |
| 125:3   ἁμαρτωλός  |                  | 16:12   κακά                |
| 141:4   ἁμαρτία    | Micah            |                             |
|                    | 6:10    ἄνομος   | Ecclesiastes                |
| Isaiah             | 6:11    ἄνομος   | 3:16    ἄσεβής              |
| 58:4    ταπεινός   |                  | 7:25    ἄσεβής              |
| 58:6    ἀδικία     |                  | 8:8    ἄσέβεια              |

The Equivalents of  $\eta\psi\eta$  in the Septuagint

|                                                             |                                                         |                                                             |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| Deuteronomy                                                 | Ezekiel                                                 | Malachi                                                     |
| 9:4 $\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$  | 5:6 $\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$     | 1:4 $\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$       |
| 9:5 $\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$  | 18:20 $\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ | 3:15 $\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$        |
| 25:2 $\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ | 18:27 $\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ | 3:19 $\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$        |
|                                                             | 33:12 $\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ |                                                             |
| Isaiah                                                      | 33:19 $\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ | Proverbs                                                    |
| 9:17 $\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$      |                                                         | 11:5 $\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ |
|                                                             | Zechariah                                               | 13:6 $\alpha\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$       |
|                                                             | 5:8 $\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$   |                                                             |

*Greek Text and Equivalents*

$\alpha\acute{\nu}\eta\rho$  in Prov 5:22, which is regarded by Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath (*A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament [Including the Apocryphal Books]*, 2nd ed. [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998]) as a reasonable equivalent, is deleted by Takamitsu Muraoka (*A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint* [Louvain: Peeters, 2010], 351). The same is true for  $\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$  in Job 9:22. They are both questionable counterparts.  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  in Ps 139:19 in Hatch-Redpath is replaced by  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  in Rahlfs's text. See Muraoka, *Two Way Index*, 351.

*Textual Criticism*

Psalm 3:19:  $\acute{\omicron}\ \alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  in the Septuagint reflects  $\eta\psi\eta$ . Cf. pc Mss et 18 (BHS).

Psalm 140(141):5:  $\psi\alpha\text{'}\text{'}\text{'}$  “my head” in MT is misread as  $\eta\psi\eta$  and translated by  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (BHS).

Psalm 128(129):3:  $\eta\psi\eta$  “plowers” has  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\omicron\acute{\iota}$  as counterpart in the Septuagint, and thus the translator read  $\eta\psi\eta$ . This supports the pattern established in my article.

## The Rendering of Phrases in LXX Psalms and in LXX as a Whole

*Hand(s) of the Sinner*

|                                               |                                                                                                                                                 |            |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| $\eta\psi\eta\text{'}\text{'}\text{'}$        | $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\sigma\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$              | Job 9:24   |
| $\epsilon\mu\psi\eta\text{'}\text{'}\text{'}$ | $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon$                 | Job 16:11  |
| $\eta\psi\eta\text{'}\text{'}$                | $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$                                                   | Ezek 13:22 |
| $\epsilon\mu\psi\eta\text{'}\text{'}\text{'}$ | $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\omicron\omega\acute{\nu}$                                          | Ps 36:12   |
| $\eta\psi\eta\text{'}\text{'}$                | $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\omicron\upsilon$          | Ps 71:4    |
| $\epsilon\mu\psi\eta\text{'}\text{'}$         | $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\omicron\upsilon$          | Ps 82:4    |
| $\epsilon\mu\psi\eta\text{'}\text{'}$         | $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\omicron\omega\acute{\nu}$ | Ps 97:10   |
| $\eta\psi\eta\text{'}\text{'}$                | $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\omicron\upsilon$          | Ps 140:5   |



*Way of the Sinner(s)*

|               |                       |            |
|---------------|-----------------------|------------|
| עֲשֵׂי דָרְךְ | ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν           | Jer 12:1   |
| עֲשֵׂי דָרְךְ | αἱ δὲ ὁδοὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν | Prov 4:19  |
| עֲשֵׂי דָרְךְ | ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς τῶν ἀσεβῶν  | Prov 12:26 |
| עֲשֵׂי דָרְךְ | ὁδοὶ ἀσεβοῦς          | Prov 15:9  |
| עֲשֵׂי דָרְךְ | ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν           | Ps 1:6     |
| עֲשֵׂי דָרְךְ | ὁδὸν ἁμαρτωλῶν        | Ps 146:9   |

*The Arm(s) of the Sinner(s)*

|               |                        |          |
|---------------|------------------------|----------|
| עֲשֵׂי יָדְךָ | βραχίονα τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ | Ps 10:15 |
| עֲשֵׂי יָדְךָ | βραχίονες ἁμαρτωλῶν    | Ps 37:17 |

*The Sinner(s) Perish(es)*

|              |                       |            |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------|
| עֲשֵׂי אֶבֶד | ...                   | Prov 11:10 |
| עֲשֵׂי אֶבֶד | ἀπώλετο ὁ ἀσεβής      | Ps 9:6     |
| עֲשֵׂי אֶבֶד | ἀπόλιντο οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ | Ps 68:3    |

*The Face of the Sinner(s)*

|                |                     |            |
|----------------|---------------------|------------|
| עֲשֵׂי פָנֶיךָ | ἀπὸ προσώπου ἀσεβῶν | Ps 17:9    |
| עֲשֵׂי פָנֶיךָ | πρόσωπα ἁμαρτωλῶν   | Ps 82:2    |
| עֲשֵׂי פָנֶיךָ | πρόσωπον ἀσεβοῦς    | Prov 18:5  |
| עֲשֵׂי פָנֶיךָ | ἐνώπιον ἀσεβοῦς     | Prov 25:26 |



# Scribes and Translators: Text-Critical Use of Translations of a Translation; Proverbs 8:31 as a Case Study

Lorenzo Cuppi

**Abstract:** The Greek translation of the book of Proverbs is well-known to biblical scholars for both its peculiar literary Greek and its *ad sensum* renderings, which often make it difficult to recognize which is the Hebrew text underneath. A translation from the Hebrew language, the Septuagint of Proverbs was nonetheless in its turn translated into several ancient languages and dialects. As it has been proved for other books of the Old Testament, in Proverbs the pre-Nicene translations in particular (Latin and Sahidic) prove to sometimes preserve readings that are not preserved by the post-Nicene Greek manuscripts. These readings may occasionally represent a different, if not better, Hebrew *Vorlage* in comparison with the Masoretic Text.

This complex situation is elucidated here by the case found in Prov 8:31, where both the Latin and Sahidic show a line that has been only recently partially recognized also in a Greek papyrus. Particular attention is given to the problem of restoring the Greek text and its Hebrew *Vorlage* and how these findings should be treated when editing a critical or diplomatic text and its apparatus. The author finally attempts some exegetical and theological inferences.

The Greek translation of the book of Proverbs, preserved in the corpus known as the Septuagint (LXX), has long<sup>1</sup> been well known to biblical scholars for both

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1. See Henry St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1909), 13–16. In this work, Thackeray classifies the translation of Proverbs among the “Paraphrases and free renderings. Literary” (13) altogether with 1 Esdras, LXX Daniel, Esther and Job all of them from the *Ketuvim*.

its peculiar literary Greek and its *ad sensum* renderings,<sup>2</sup> which often make it difficult to recognize which is the Hebrew text underneath.

A translation from the Hebrew language, the Septuagint of the book of Proverbs was nonetheless in its turn translated by Christians, before the Muslim expansion into several ancient languages and dialects: Latin (second century CE), Sahidic (third century), Achmimic (fourth century), Coptic dialect of papyrus Bodmer VI (fourth century), Armenian (fifth century), Palestinian Aramaic (fifth century), Ethiopic (fifth–seventh century), Syriac (ca. 617), in approximate chronological order. All these versions are completely or fragmentarily preserved.

After the text-critical work of Origen, the destruction of the sacred books under emperor Diocletian's persecution and the refining of the codex making technique, which allowed one to copy out the whole Bible in only one manuscript, a standard textual type began to emerge, and some readings were completely lost in the Greek tradition. This fact is well-known and has been already documented for other books of the Old Testament.<sup>3</sup>

Also in the book of Proverbs, the pre-Nicene translations in particular, namely, the Latin (usually the *Vetus Afra*) and the Coptic (especially the Sahidic), prove to sometimes preserve readings that are not preserved by the post-Nicene Greek manuscripts. These readings may occasionally represent a different, if not better, Hebrew *Vorlage* in comparison with the Masoretic Text (MT).

It is my hope that this complex situation may be elucidated by the case found in Prov 8:31.

In Prov 8:31 the MT reads as follows:

מְשַׁחֶקֶת בְּתֵבֶל אֶרֶץ וְשֹׁשְׁעֵי אֶת־בְּנֵי אָדָם:

[I was] rejoicing in the habitable part of his earth;  
and my delights were with the sons of men. (trans. L. Cuppi)

The LXX renders Prov 8:31 as follows:

ὅτε εὐφραίνετο τὴν οἰκουμένην συντελέσας  
καὶ ἐνευφραίνετο ἐν υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων.

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2. Depending on the disputed meaning of the semantic field of the word *literal*, I prefer here to employ the terminology used already in the ancient time among the others by Jerome (*Epist.* 57, esp. 6) when dealing with translation theories and methods. In particular, the expression “translation *ad verbum*” would apply to the trend found in Greek biblical translations up to the one by Aquila, whereas “translation *ad sensum*” would apply mostly, according to Jerome, to translations from non-sacred texts.

3. See, e.g., Arie van der Kooij, “On the Place of Origin of the Old Greek of Psalms,” *VT* 33 (1983): 67–74, esp. 72, and Natalio Fernández Marcos, “The Textual Context of the Hexapla: Lucianic Texts and Vetus Latina,” in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*, ed. A. Salvesen, TSAJ 58 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1998), 408–20, esp. 419.

When he rejoiced while completing the world  
and rejoiced among the sons of men.

As it can be seen, the MT and the LXX present different texts, but one may easily infer that the first Greek stich corresponds to the first Hebrew clause, while the second Greek line renders the second Hebrew clause.

Still some problems are left open: the feminine participle *piel* מְשַׁחֲקֶת is rendered by ὅτε εὐφραίνετο as if the translator had read בְּשַׁחֲקֶה (infinitive construct *piel*) and referred it to the Lord. While תְּבַל is probably translated by τὴν οἰκουμένην, there is no precise counterpart for אֲרִצּוֹ; furthermore συντελέσας looks like an addition, unless it is a double translation of בְּתַלְתֵּל read as בְּכָלָה (infinitive construct *piel* from כָּלָה) with the common exchange of the consonants' order and the equally common confusion between ב and כ.<sup>4</sup> The interpretation of the second line is easier; however, נְשִׁיִּים (noun plural construct) has been read נְשִׁיִּיִּם (*wayyiqtol piel*) and translated καὶ ἐνευφραίνετο.

A quick commentary should also be made to Rahlfs's text. The German scholar preferred the reading of MS A against those of MSS B and S, which show εὐφραίνετο in the second stich and ἐνευφραίνετο in the first one. The reading from MS A is actually supported by a few quotations or allusions by Eusebius of Caesarea, Didymus the Blind, and Cyril of Alexandria (all of them under the Origenian influence and/or from the Alexandrian area) and, significantly, by the Council of Ephesus, which was in fact lead by Cyril of Alexandria himself. Apart from these passages, the verb ἐνευφραίνομαι, because of the preverb ἐν-, never governs in the Greek language the preposition ἐν:<sup>5</sup> the verb is used either in absolute or with the dative. If one also considers the strong evidence given by the joint witness offered by MSS B<sup>6</sup> and S, it seems likely that a reviser, possibly Origen himself, after noting that מְשַׁחֲקֶת had been rendered with the verb εὐφραίνομαι in the preceding occurrence in verse 30, would have preferred to keep the form εὐφραίνετο for the מְשַׁחֲקֶת found at the beginning of verse 31.

4. The participle συντελέσας is an allusion to Gen 2:1–2 where the verb συντελέω is used twice to indicate the completion of the creation and renders the verb כָּלָה. See also Johann G. Jäger, *Observationes in Proverbiorum Salomonis versionem Alexandrinam* (Meldorf: Boie, 1788), 67, and Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 2000; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 415.

5. According to the TLG database, the verb ἐνευφραίνομαι is quite rare (about eighty-seven occurrences). It appears to have been used for the first time by the translator of the book of Proverbs (at 8:31 we read the sole occurrence in the whole LXX) and then a number of times by Philo of Alexandria. The term is afterwards employed mainly by some church fathers and later Byzantine authors.

6. The Vatican manuscript, in Proverbs, appears to be the best representative of the original text. According to David-Marc d'Hamonville (*Les Proverbes* [Paris: Cerf, 2000], 154–55) it keeps a chapter and paragraph division which seems “réfléter assez fidèlement la cohérence qui ressort de l'analyse littéraire du texte grec.” See also Lorenzo Cuppi, “Pr 19,17: ἀνταποδώσει ο ἀνταποδωθήσεται?” *Adamantius* 10 (2004): 53–56.

Hence, he would have moved the form ἐνευφραίνετο to the second line, even if forced to disregard the unidiomatic result: ἐνευφραίνετο ἐν υἱοῖς. It is likely that for this same reason (consistency in the translation) Rahlfs preferred the reading of MS A against the strong combined evidence by MSS B and S.

Be that as it may, the picture is further complicated by the witness of the Latin and Coptic translations which both add a third stich. The Latin reads as follows:<sup>7</sup>

*thesauri autem eius faciunt homines gaudibundos.*

And his treasures make the men joyful. (trans. L. Cuppi)

This reading is confirmed by the Sahidic:<sup>8</sup>

ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲕⲁⲓⲛⲣ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲣⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲣⲁⲱⲉ

And his treasures are making the men rejoice. (trans. L. Cuppi)

The reading *thesauri eius*/ⲛⲉⲓⲕⲁⲓⲛⲣ must depend on the Hebrew reading אֶצְרוֹ (“his treasure”)<sup>9</sup> instead of the Masoretic אֶרְצוֹ (“his earth”) with a position exchange of the consonants ר and צ. This solution originates from the difficulty posed by the juxtaposition in the construct state of the nearly synonymous תִּבְלַל and אֶרְצוֹ.

Since it is attested by both the Latin and Coptic, which independently from each other witness to a Hebrew variant, this reading must have been present in the Greek *Vorlage* of both translations.

In fact, an attempt at recovering the original Greek text has been made by R. Geoffrey Jenkins,<sup>10</sup> who, after identifying a new fragment containing the letters ]θη[, proposed to read in the relevant passage of the Antinoopolis papyrus 8+210 (Rahlfs 928) οἱ δὲ θησαυροί.<sup>11</sup> I believe the proposal from Jenkins is rather likely. Unfortunately, no fragments that would correspond to *eius faciunt homines gaudibundos* have been identified until now.

7. This Latin reading is found uniquely in the margin of an incunabulum Vulgate and derives from the famous and lost Valvanera codex (Revilla 1920).

8. The Achmimic and the papyrus Bodmer VI, which both depend on the Sahidic, also offer a witness to this text.

9. This fact had been already noted by Giacomo Mezzacasa, *Il libro dei Proverbi di Salomone. Studio critico sulle aggiunte alessandrine* (Roma: Istituto Biblico Pontificio, 1913), 86.

10. R. Geoffrey Jenkins, “The Text of P Antinoopolis 8/210,” in *VI Congress of the IOSCS*, ed. C. Cox, SCS 23 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987), 65–77, esp. 71–72, 75 fn. 25.

11. When I checked the papyrus at the Sackler Library in Oxford, I was able to read οἱ δὲ θησαυροί.

Furthermore, a number of problems are raised by these facts and need to be dealt with. First, it is to be inquired which was the original Greek text. The third stich indeed represents a doublet of the second one: both lines aim at rendering the second Hebrew clause, which was read in two different ways. The Hebrew *Vorlage* of the second line may have been read as follows:

וְיִשְׁעֶשֶׁע אֶת־בְּנֵי אָדָם

and he took delight with the sons of man. (trans. L. Cuppi)

Whereas the *Vorlage* of the third line may have been read as follows:<sup>12</sup>

וְאֶצְרוּ יִשְׁעֶשֶׁע אֶת־בְּנֵי אָדָם

and his treasure will delight the sons of man. (trans. L. Cuppi)

In this reconstruction the ם of וְיִשְׁעֶשֶׁע would have moved from the end to the beginning of the word, and the ן would have passed to the previous word by allowing a different division of the verse (אֶצְרוּ, read אֶצְרוּ, is moved to the second clause). A rendering with the plural (*thesauri*) for the singular (אֶצְרוּ) is normal in the translation of the book of Proverbs, as is the use of the present for the *yiqtol*.<sup>13</sup>

In my yet unpublished doctoral thesis, I have argued that in most of the cases the long doublets depend entirely on the original translator. In the present case the third line can be easily considered original because of the use of the particle δέ (*autem*/ΔΕ), a typical feature of the original translator, nearly absent in the later versions by the *kaige* group and Aquila, and more in general, because the text is further away from the MT. Also, the third line offers a rendering for אֶצְרוּ (even if read אֶצְרוּ), which is otherwise left completely untranslated. However, since the second line also does not match the MT but fits well with the context offered by the Greek first line—in both lines the verb is in the third person so that the Lord, and not Wisdom, is the subject—it may be tentatively ascribed to the original translator.<sup>14</sup> To elucidate, the translation of בְּנֵי אָדָם with the phrase υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων is found in 8:4 as well.<sup>15</sup> The preposition אֶת is also

12. See also the reconstruction proposed by Mezzacasa, *Proverbi di Salomone*, 86.

13. See, e.g., Prov 14:22 for the use of these techniques.

14. For a recent alternative point of view on these double translations, see Caterina Moro, “Il testo greco di ‘Proverbi’ in Clemente Alessandrino: Analisi testuale e confronto con la versione copto-saidica,” *Annali di studi religiosi* 2 (2001), 391–437, esp. 393–94. In particular: “l’integrazione di queste doppie traduzioni nel testo portò sicuramente a rielaborazioni, alterazioni ed armonizzazioni, talvolta individuabili per merito di forme testuali più antiche, ma il più delle volte solo ipotizzabili” (394).

15. The most common rendering of אָדָם in Proverbs is ἀνὴρ (eighteen times: 6:12; 8:34; 11:7; 12:23, 27; 17:18; 19:3, 11, 22; 20:25; 21:16, 20; 24:9; 28:2, 14, 17; 29:23, 25 [second doublet]), followed by ἀνθρώπος (seventeen times: 3:4, 13, 30; 8:4; 12:3; 15:11;

rendered by ἐν in 3:32.<sup>16</sup> The coordination of a second line by using καί, although not particularly congenial to the original translator, is attested as such. Also, the mention of the *homines gaudibundos* in the third stich is harder to understand without the mention of Lord's joy among human beings in the preceding line. Moreover, the ultimate reason for the almost complete elimination of the third stich from the tradition is likely to be the original attestation of the second stich: an early reviser<sup>17</sup> would have noted the absence of a Hebrew counterpart for the third line, which would have appeared to him as an explanatory gloss and would have eliminated it with the result of affecting nearly completely the tradition of the LXX. On the other hand, in Proverbs, the root ששש is found again only in 8:30 where it is rendered by προσχαίρω.<sup>18</sup>

Another problem arises because of the loss of the Greek witness: even if the presence of the third line in the original text is virtually certain, what shall we put in the edition of the Greek text? In the major edition of the LXX by the *Septuaginta Unternehmen* in Göttingen, to the best of my knowledge, the editors are reluctant to publish in the main text any reading, even if original, which is lacking in the Greek manuscripts. However, here the third line is not only original, but also partially preserved by the Antinoopolis papyrus. If the text preserved by the papyrus has full right to be edited in the main text,<sup>19</sup> how should one complete the line? We may agree with Jenkins who filled the lacuna after the letters θη with the remaining part of the word [σαυροι]. But what to do

18:16; 20:6, 27; 24:30; 27:19, 20; 28:12, 23; 29:25 [first doublet]; 30:2, 14). The other equivalences of שש are as follows: θνητός (3:13; 20:24); αὐτοῦ (12:14); υἱός (15:20); πᾶς (23:28); ἕκαστος (24:12); δίκαιος (28:28).

16. As expected, the most common rendering of שש is μετά (1:11, 15; 16:19 [twice]; 23:11; 24:1); followed by παρά (2:1; 7:1; 30:7 [where תמ is found]); ἐπί (3:29); συν- (13:20); simple dative (22:24 [twice]). *Ad sensum* renderings or different *Vorlage* (here between square brackets) are found in 3:28; 5:17; 8:18; [11:2]; 13:10; [16:7]; 17:24; 23:1; [25:9 no counterpart]; [29:9].

17. In my doctoral thesis, I have detected a few intrusions (2:2b, 3b; 21c–d; 8:10b) that exhibit the translation technique by the *kaige* group. It would not be unlikely if those responsible for these insertions would also be responsible for the elimination, at an early stage, of the third stich by the mainstream tradition.

18. However, as it is exemplified in the n. 15 and 16 above, consistency in the translation is not the paramount characteristic of the original translator, so that one can hardly predict anything when working with only a couple of occurrences of a Hebrew word. Moreover, it is worth noting that, as it is for the verb ἐνευφραίνομαι (see n. 5 above), the verb προσχαίρω is attested for the first time in the book of Proverbs (at 8:30 we read the sole occurrence in the whole LXX). According to the *TLG*, the verb is quite rare (about eighty-six occurrences) and was used afterwards by church fathers and later Byzantine authors, Plutarch of Chaeronea being the only exception.

19. Here it is perhaps worth remembering that LXX Daniel has been recently reedited by Olivier Munnich on the basis of the new data offered by a more complete recovery of MS 967.



about the rest of the verse? Is a retroversion to be attempted? Moreover, if αὐτοῦ for *eius*/NEC[-] is virtually certain, and ποιοῦσιν<sup>20</sup> for *faciunt*/ΨΔΡΕ ... ΤΡΕ is extremely likely, what to do about *homines*/ΝΡΩΜΕ? The original translator of Proverbs renders the locution מְדַבְּרִים with the phrase υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων in 8:4 (and also in the second line of the present verse, if it is not a later interpolation), and with the simple οἱ ἄνθρωποι in 15:11. Since the translations consistently uses *fili* *hominum*/ΝΨΗΡΕ ΤΝΡΩΜΕ in 8:4, 31b, and *homines*/ΝΡΩΜΕ in 15:11, ἀνθρώπους may well be their Greek *Vorlage*. The presence or absence of the article τοῦς cannot be decided on the basis of our translations.

What is more difficult is to retrotranslate *gaudibundos*/ΡΔΨΕ. First, the Latin attests an adjective, whereas the Sahidic shows a verb. The participle εὐφραινόμενος might be represented by this twofold witness. However, one would be struck by the use of the same root for the fourth time in a row (as mentioned, the verb εὐφραίνομαι is found in 8:30). If the translator wanted to adopt some *variatio*, he could have chosen, as in 2:14, the participle χαίροντες to alternate the root εὐφραίνομαι. This is even more likely if we consider that the *Vetus Afra*<sup>21</sup> in 8:30 translates προσέχαιρεν with *adgaudebat*, in 2:14 renders χαίροντες with *qui ... ga[u]detis*, and in 24:19 translates μὴ χαῖρε with *noli gaudere*. In other words, the *Vetus Afra* consistently uses (*ad*)gaudeo for (προσ)χαίρω.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, the Sahidic has the root ΡΔΨΕ for (προσ)χαίρω in 6:16, 8:30, 17:19, 23:25, 24:19.<sup>23</sup> Finally, it can be recalled that the Greek translator had already rendered the root נָשַׁח with προσχαίρω in 8:30.

Hence the Greek original translation may have looked like this:

ὅτε ἐνευφραίνετο τὴν οἰκουμένην συντελέσας  
καὶ εὐφραίνετο ἐν υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων  
οἱ δὲ θεοὶ [σαυροὶ αὐτοῦ] ποιοῦσιν ἀνθρώπους χαίροντας]

The present author is aware of the conjectural character of any retroversion. However, in putting forward his reconstruction, he thinks that it may be of some help at least in identifying the remaining unidentified fragments of the papyrus. Moreover, in the major Göttingen editions, the fragments from the Syro-Hexapla

20. The verb ποιέω with the accusative and the apposition of the object is also found in Prov 13:6; 17:16a.

21. Represented in 8:30 by Cyprian, *Test.* 2.1 (Hartel 1868): “eram penes illum disponens. ego eram, cui *adgaudebat*. cottidie autem iucundabar ante faciem eius in omni tempore,” in 2:14 by the *Codex Vindobonensis* (Vogel 1868): “qui iucundamini mali et *ga.detis* in euersione mala,” and in 24:19 by Pseudo-Augustine, *Speculum* 18 (Wehrich 1887): “Noli *gaudere* super male facientes, nec aemularis peccatores.”

22. For 6:16, see also the *Codex Veronensis* (Clark 1909): “[quod g]audet in his quae odit dñs [conte]ritur autem propter immunditia[m] a[n]imae.” In the remaining passages where the verb χαίρω occurs (17:19; 23:25), the *Vetus Latina* is not preserved.

23. Only in 2:14 we read the root CDBE.

are usually retrotranslated into Greek, as it was usually done by Frederick Field in his monumental edition of the Hexaplaric fragments.<sup>24</sup>

A further observation can be of some interest: the third stich, although nearly certainly original, died out almost completely from the received tradition: the Greek fragments we now possess were uncovered under the sands of Egypt as were the Coptic manuscripts. The Latin witness, which originally belonged to the so-called *Vetus Afra*, the first translation of the Bible in Latin later superseded by the Vulgate, has come down to us, out of its literary context, as a marginal note in an incunabulum of the Vulgate. Hence, should we relegate to the apparatus a very probable original reading that was by no means rejected in the Greek, Latin and Coptic traditions but was, nonetheless, read by ancient Jewish and Christian readers? Indeed, there are cases in which what is received and what is original do not coincide.

Moreover, some observations can be made as far as the Hebrew text is concerned. We have seen that the Greek text of Prov 8:31 implies a few readings which diverge from the MT. This is a very well known fact for the book of Proverbs and for the LXX as a whole, which has been often used as a mere mine of variant readings. What is of main interest here is how the Latin and Coptic translations of the LXX increase our knowledge of the Hebrew text. As I have mentioned, it appears that the Greek translator or his *Vorlage* were puzzled by the tautological phrase בְּתִבְלֵ אֶרְצוֹ. Hence they preferred to read אֶרְצוֹ while connecting it to the second clause of the verse (this implied the movement of the conjunction וְ). As for שֶׁנֶּשַׁעַי this appears to have been known to the *Vorlage* of both the second and third line as יִשְׁנָשַׁעַי.

A full appreciation of these variants is better achieved by examining the *Vorlage* of the whole verse as indicated by the first and third Greek lines:

בְּשִׁחְקוֹ בְּתִבְלֵ יִאֶרְצוֹ יִשְׁנָשַׁעַי אֶת־בְּנֵי אָדָם

When he rejoiced in the inhabited world and his treasure was delighting the sons of man. (trans. L. Cuppi)

Although a confusion between מ and ב seems to be possible in the Hasmonean hand,<sup>25</sup> the variant בְּשִׁחְקוֹ for מְשִׁחָתָה seems to stem from syntactic and literary reasons. In verses 27–29, the six temporal clauses found at the infinitive

24. See Michael Weitzman, "The Reliability of Retroversions of the Three from the Syrohexapla: A Pilot Study in Hosea," in Salvesen, *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*, 317–59.

25. There is an overall consensus that the translation of Proverbs was accomplished during the second century BCE. Hence, it is quite likely that its *Vorlage* was written in the Hasmonean hand. However, there are no palaeographical reasons for the confusion between ת and ו which would have occurred here. See also Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1981), 195–200, 211–12.

construct governed by **ב** all refer to the Lord. It is thus likely that, under the influence of the masculine pronoun **י** in **אֶרְצוֹ/אֶצְרוֹ**, the female participle **מְשַׁקֶּת** has been referred to the Lord and read **בְּשִׁחָקוֹ**. This implies a *variatio* with the **מְשַׁקֶּת** found in the previous line (v. 30) and referred to Wisdom. In this way, both Wisdom and the Lord are subject of the *rejoicing* (**שִׁחָק**) and are more strictly connected. It is precisely in the context of this connection that, in comparison with the MT, the presence of Wisdom among human beings appears downplayed, and, in the meantime, a stress on the Lord's action (his completion of the *inhabited* world and presence among human beings) is sought.

Moreover, a further allusion to Gen 2 and 3—the other one being *συντελέσας*—where the Lord is openly mentioned to be among the first human beings is produced. There may be, thus, in the Greek translation a peculiar theological stress towards the presence of the Lord among human beings. In other words, it seems that here we are very far from the coeval pharisaic conception according to which the Lord must be separated from human beings by a mediator, which tends to be identified more and more with the Torah. This observation might also have some relevance concerning the question of the ambience in which the translation was accomplished.

Also, what are the treasures for human beings? Is Wisdom implied in this expression? In other words, does Wisdom shift from the role of demiurge (MT) to the role of divine grace? Does, in this context, the translation of the preposition (**אֶת־בְּנֵי אָדָם**) by *ἐν* (*υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων*) assume some inner or mystic implications? Further investigation on these points might disclose interesting insights.

A final evaluation must be made on the quality of the variant readings with which we have dealt here. As I have already suggested, it seems likely that these alternative readings developed for theological reasons (emphasis on the Lord's role) or because the tautological phrase **אֶרְצוֹ בְּתֵבֵל אֶרְצוֹ** may have seemed awkward to some early scribe. In any case, it seems that because of this difficulty the Hebrew text, as preserved by the Masoretic tradition, might have generated the variants which we have studied. It has also to be stressed that from a merely literary point of view the variant loses the formal balance of the two members in the Hebrew verse. Hence, in this respect as well, the more likely original text is the one preserved by the Masoretic tradition.

Some words must be added concerning the problem of the mentioning of these kind of variants in the apparatuses. As for the editions of the Hebrew text, one may wonder, for instance, if at least the variant **אֶצְרוֹ** for **אֶרְצוֹ** should have been mentioned in the apparatuses of the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* or the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* on the authority of the Old Latin and Sahidic witnesses. In fact, although the variant seems to be secondary, it could be still worth to be mentioned because of its antiquity. The present author, while studying the book of Proverbs, has often found the choices of the editors either incomplete or not fully consequential.

Finally, concerning the edition of the Greek text, we can recall the difficult status of a text which is likely to be original but has been lost almost completely in its Greek wording and must be partially reconstructed. Should it be relegated in the apparatus, maybe only in its Latin or Sahidic form, or has it the right to be reinserted where it was originally?

# The Significance of RA 788 for a Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Job

John D. Meade

Abstract: RA 788 (Tyranvos 25) is a tenth century Greek catena manuscript containing the book of Job and the three Solomonic books. Dieter and Ursula Hagedorn were not aware of it, and, therefore, it was not included in their magisterial work *Die älteren griechischen Katenen zum Buch Hiob* or the *Nachlese*. Before commenting on the Hexaplaric fragments, it is necessary to determine the manuscript's place in the stemma. This paper seeks to show that RA 788 is a member of the oldest Greek catena (Hagedorns'  $\alpha$ -*Vorläuferkatene*) and, in particular, that it is the ancestor of the important RA 250 and that RA 250 probably descended from an intermediate copy, not RA 788 directly. Once its place in the manuscript stemma has been determined, the paper will comment on the significant Hexaplaric fragments in the manuscript in comparison with the recent dissertations on the Hexaplaric fragments of Job by Nancy Woods and John Meade.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In this article, I will (1) comment on the discovery of Tyranvos 25 (henceforth RA 788), (2) provide a description of the manuscript and list its contents, (3) argue that RA 788 is the ancestor of RA 250 and that the evidence indicates that RA 250 descends from an intermediate manuscript rather than directly from RA 788, and (4) present some of the more significant Hexaplaric readings from RA 788.<sup>1</sup>

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1. In this paper, I will use the sigla of the forthcoming edition of the Hexaplaric fragments, which uses Rahlfs's numbers for manuscripts, and a revised catena manuscript stemma based on the magisterial work of Ursula Hagedorn and Dieter Hagedorn, *Die älteren griechischen Katenen zum Buch Hiob*, 4 vols., PTS 40, 48, 53, 59 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994–2004), 1:73. I will refer to this publication as *AGK*. For this article, the

## 2. DISCOVERY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

While I was working on the critical edition of the Hexaplaric fragments of Job for my dissertation, Reinhart Ceulemans discovered RA 788 in Zisis Melissakis's catalogue and brought it to Dieter Hagedorn's and my attention. Ceulemans had already determined the great importance of this manuscript for Canticum, Ecclesiastes, and Proverbs both for Hexaplaric and catena research, and his publications on the materials of the Solomonite books are forthcoming. For Job, Ceulemans discerned that RA 788 belonged to the oldest Job catena (Dieter and Ursula Hagedorn's *α-Vorläuferkatene*), and he desired that D. Hagedorn examine a few pages of Job in order to make an evaluation of its text type for the Job catena. At that time, D. Hagedorn determined that the manuscript was related to RA 250, and RA 788 was probably nothing more than a sister manuscript of RA 250. The Hagedorns continued to collate RA 788, and a short while later they reversed their preliminary evaluation of the manuscript and determined that it was the ancestor of RA 250, which then made RA 788 more important than they had perceived initially. While the Hagedorns were working on the collation of RA 788, I requested the images of the Job part of the manuscript from Melissakis at the Institute for Byzantine Research in Athens, and he kindly sent them to me. At that time, I was working under the Hagedorns's evaluation that RA 788 was an ancestor of RA 250, and I included many of the Hexaplaric readings of RA 788 in my dissertation, which covered Job 22–42. Since the completion of my dissertation, I have collated all of the Hexaplaric fragments of Job. This article presents some of the more significant readings discovered in the manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

## 3. DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The following description is from the catalogue:<sup>3</sup> Tyrnavos 25, last quarter of the tenth and the second half of the eleventh century (see p. 503 and following),

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following list of equivalents is important. I list the Rahlfs's number followed by the siglum in *AGK*. RA 250 = G. RA 3005 = U. The *C* group = *α-Vorläuferkatene* or *α-Katene*. The *cI* group = Γ. Furthermore, the siglum, E, refers to the Ecclesiastical text, which resulted from Origen's insertion of Theodotianic material where the Old Greek did not equal the Hebrew text.

2. RA 788 will be fully incorporated into the forthcoming two-volume work by John D. Meade and Nancy T. Woods, *A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Job* (Leuven: Peeters).

3. For a full description and listing of the contents of Tyrnavos 25, see Zisis Melissakis, *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Tyrnavos Municipal Library*, Sources 8 (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation Institute for Byzantine Research, 2007), 150–57.

parchment, 245x197 mm [215x175 mm together with scholia; only the text 90/147x60/120 mm approximately; the last folios 170x120 mm], 566 pages, 6/25 lines (in the principal text of pp. 1–502), 24 lines (pp. 503–64) incomplete at the beginning.

RA 788 contains Job (pp. 1–193), Proverbs (pp. 201–360 [pp. 194–200 is a Prologue to Proverbs]), Ecclesiastes (pp. 369–449 [pp. 361–68 contains introductory material to Ecclesiastes]), Canticum (pp. 459–502 [pp. 449–58 contains introductory material to Canticum]), and Wisdom of Sirach (pp. 503–64).

The Job section of the manuscript occupies pages 1–193 and contains Job 1:5 (line 6) and following. The manuscript is divided according to subtitles or chapter headings conveniently listed by Melissakis as follows: Πρώτη διάλεξη τοῦ Ἰώβ (pp. 1–14); Πρώτη τοῦ Ἐλιφάζ πρὸς τὸν Ἰώβ ἀντίρρησις (pp. 15–23); Δευτέρα τοῦ Ἰώβ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους διάλεξις (pp. 24–32); Πρώτη τοῦ Βαλδὰδ ... (pp. 33–36); Τρίτη τοῦ Ἰώβ ... (pp. 37–45); Πρώτη τοῦ Σωφάρ ... (pp. 46–49); Τετάρτη τοῦ Ἰώβ ... (pp. 50–61); Δευτέρα τοῦ Ἐλιφάζ ... (pp. 62–67); Πέμπτη τοῦ Ἰώβ ... (pp. 68–73); Δευτέρα τοῦ Βαλδὰδ ... (pp. 74–76); Ἑκτη τοῦ Ἰώβ ... (pp. 76–81); Δευτέρα τοῦ Σωφάρ ... (pp. 82–86); Ἐβδόμη τοῦ Ἰώβ ... (pp. 87–92); Τρίτη τοῦ Ἐλιφάζ ... (pp. 93–97); Ὀγδόη τοῦ Ἰώβ ... (pp. 98–104); Τρίτη τοῦ Βαλδὰδ ... (pp. 105–6); Ἐνάτη τοῦ Ἰώβ ... (pp. 107–8); Δεκάτη τοῦ Ἰώβ ... (pp. 109–17); Ἐνδεκάτη τοῦ Ἰώβ ... (pp. 118–36); Πρώτη τοῦ Ἐλιοῦς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους καὶ πρὸς Ἰώβ ἀντίρρησις (p. 137); Δευτέρα τοῦ Ἐλιοῦς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους καὶ πρὸς Ἰώβ διάλεξις (pp. 138–44); Τρίτη τοῦ Ἐλιοῦς πρὸς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ πρὸς Ἰώβ διάλεξις (pp. 145–50); Τετάρτη τοῦ Ἐλιοῦς πρὸς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ πρὸς Ἰώβ διάλεξις (pp. 151–52); Πέμπτη τοῦ Ἐλιοῦς πρὸς τὸν Ἰώβ διάλεξις (pp. 153–64); Πρώτη τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς Ἰώβ διάλεξις (pp. 165–93). Perhaps Melissakis did not list the subtitle to the last speech, Δευτέρα τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς Ἰώβ διάλεξις (pp. 177–86), because it is not at the top of the page but is found beside line 12 of page 177. Before leaving these subtitles, it is interesting to note that RA 788 preserves the subtitles marking the fifth speech of Elious and the second speech of the Lord where RA 250 omits them.<sup>4</sup>

Melissakis notes also that the verses of the text under interpretation are numbered according to hundreds (α'–ρ'). By these numbers and also through various other symbols, there is a reference to the marginal interpretations.<sup>5</sup> The order of the hundreds is as follows: α' ἑκατοντάδα (pp. 1–16; θ' and following); β' ἑκατοντάδα (pp. 16–44); γ' ἑκατοντάδα (pp. 44–72); δ' ἑκατοντάδα (pp. 72–97); ε' ἑκατοντάδα (pp. 97–124); ζ' ἑκατοντάδα (pp. 124–50); ζ' ἑκατοντάδα (pp. 150–70); η' ἑκατοντάδα (pp. 170–87); θ' ἑκατοντάδα (187–93; only α'–κε').

Melissakis lists four types of marginal interpretations found within RA 788: (1) anonymous interpretations (usually with indications: ἄλλως ..., συντόμως ...,

4. For a full list of these subtitles in the Job Catena, see *AGK*, 1:131–32. Footnotes 62 and 64 show where RA 250 (G) omits these two subtitles.

5. I am grateful to Myrto Theocharous for her help in translating the last phrase.

ἕτερα ἀντίγραφα ... etc.); (2) interpretations of the authors, Δίδυμος, Εὐάγριος (Ποντικῆς), Ἰουλιανὸς (Ἀλικαρνασσεύς), Ἰωάννης (Χρυσόστομος), Μεθόδιος (Πατέρων), Μεθόδιος (Σίδης; see p. 37), Σεβηριανὸς Γαβάλων, Σεβηριανὸς πατριάρχης (see p. 59)<sup>6</sup>; (3) excerpts from the Hexapla; and (4) other brief interpretations and scholia.

#### 4. PLACE OF RA 788 IN THE STEMMA OF THE JOB CATENA

Before commenting on the significance of RA 788 for the Hexaplaric fragments, its place in the stemma of the Job catena must be determined. My analysis depends on the one of the Hagedorns, which they shared with me through private correspondence. I seek to demonstrate that not only is RA 788 the ancestor of RA 250 but also that the evidence indicates that RA 250 does not descend from RA 788 directly but rather descends from an intermediate copy (Int). Before considering this matter, we must review the significance that the Hagedorns assigned RA 250 in the stemma of the Job catena. Regarding RA 250 (G), the Hagedorns say:

Of all the witnesses G has special importance. This exceptional position is constituted by the fact, that G contains an uncontaminated copy, that it is free of secondary additions, and moreover provides a thorough, although once and a while, shortened text. We hold that G is the only pure, preserved representative of that ancestor of the  $\Gamma$ -redaction, which we call  *$\alpha$ -Vorläuferkatene*. All other witnesses have been either revised redactionally (as U and  $\Theta$ ), are preserved only partially (as  $\Theta$ ), or they are only excerpts from the catena (as X).<sup>7</sup>

RA 250 was the purest witness of the  *$\alpha$ -Vorläuferkatene* of Job, but now with the appearance of RA 788, there is an even purer witness of this catena of Job. First, it is clear that RA 250 is related to RA 788, demonstrated by its unique agreements with RA 788 against the original text of the Job catena. I compared RA 250 with RA 788 in ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Β̄ and ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Γ̄ of *Die älteren griechischen Katenen*. RA 250 agrees with RA 788 against the original text in the following places:

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6. The reference to Ἰουλιανὸς (Ἀλικαρνασσεύς) is not correct. The Hagedorns list and describe only the materials of Julian the Arian. See *AGK*, 1:102. Also, it is clear that there is only one Methodios, Μεθόδιος Σίδης. See Hagedorns, *AGK*, 1:108–9. Dieter Hagedorn also indicated to me that the reference to Σεβηριανὸς πατριάρχης is not correct since the source of the exegetical fragment is Σεῦρος (or Σεβήρος) πατριάρχης. See *AGK*, 2:156–57 (esp. the *Quelle* to  $\bar{\theta}$ , 201).

7. *AGK*, 1:64. See the manuscript stemma on page 73, which shows that RA 250 (G) is the purest text of the  *$\alpha$ -Vorläuferkatene*.



|     |                    |                                                                                           |
|-----|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Β̄, | 18,10              | fin] 21 follows without break in 788 250                                                  |
|     | 21,2               | ἐπειδὴ] και αλλως δε 788 250                                                              |
|     | 61,5               | καρδίαις] καρδιας 788 250                                                                 |
|     | 82,2               | ἔτι] + και 788 250                                                                        |
|     | 94,5               | ἅπαντα] 95,3 ἥ – 4 follows without break in 788 250                                       |
|     | 102,1              | γέγονε] γεγονει 788 250                                                                   |
|     | 160,3              | εὐχαρίστως] ευχαριστων 788 250                                                            |
|     | 160,5–6            | φησὶ γούν] φησιν ουν 788 250                                                              |
|     | 202,5              | ἦν] > 788 250                                                                             |
|     | 206,5              | πρώτην] > 788 250                                                                         |
|     | 223,3              | πρός τινος] > 788 250                                                                     |
|     | 232,3 <sup>1</sup> | μεμτρημένως] μεμονομενως 788 250                                                          |
|     | 232,3 <sup>2</sup> | ἄφρων – ἀνόητος] αυτη 788 250                                                             |
|     | 235,2              | οἶονεῖ] οιον 788 250                                                                      |
| Γ̄, | 1,3                | ἡ ἀρετή] > 788 250                                                                        |
|     | 1,5                | φιλόθεος] φιλόσοφος 788 250                                                               |
|     | 1,11               | ἦττον] > 788 250                                                                          |
|     | 4,4                | ἀκούσῃ] > 788 250                                                                         |
|     | 5,14               | καὶ ἄλλως δέ] > 788 250                                                                   |
|     | 6,2                | ἔτι] > 788 250                                                                            |
|     | 6,8                | τοῦ] > 788 250                                                                            |
|     | 10,6               | ὥστε δεῖν] ως 788 250                                                                     |
|     | 14,3               | μὴ ἀναζητουμένης] σκοτουμενης 788 250                                                     |
|     | 14,4               | ὄθεν] και νυν 788 250                                                                     |
|     | 22,5               | ἡμῖν] ημων 788 250                                                                        |
|     | 33,3               | τά 1°] > 788 250                                                                          |
|     | 33,6               | ἰσχυσάτωσαν] ισχυσαισαν 788 250                                                           |
|     | 33,7               | καί] > 788 250                                                                            |
|     | 42,2               | ρήτόν] φανερον 788 250                                                                    |
|     | 42,3               | ὅλως τινά] > 788 250                                                                      |
|     | 43,3               | δεινά] κακα 788 250                                                                       |
|     | 43,5               | ὅρα δέ] και 788 250                                                                       |
|     | 51,8               | Break after εὐσεβῶν, the following with index at 3:17b and without attribution in 788 250 |
|     | 51,9               | σώματι] + τω 788 250                                                                      |
|     | 62,2               | καταστέλλειν καὶ πείθειν] καταστελλει και πειθει 788 250                                  |
|     | 67,3               | ἐξῆψαν] ηψαν 788 250                                                                      |
|     | 69,2–3             | ταύτης ἔτυχον τῆς] της αυτης ετυχον 788 250                                               |
|     | 81,2               | ἦ] > 788 250                                                                              |
|     | 81,2/3             | ἐντεῦθεν] ενθεν 788 250                                                                   |

These instances should be sufficient to establish the genetic relationship between RA 788 and RA 250. In the following sections, the evidence will indicate that RA 788 is the ancestor of RA 250, for RA 788 always preserves the original text while RA 250 contains the variant.

## 4.1. TEXTUAL VARIANTS IN THE EXEGETICAL FRAGMENTS

Perhaps the most important place for comparison is the catena text of RA 788 and RA 250. A comparison of the two manuscripts reveals that RA 250 descended from RA 788, for the latter always preserves the original text where RA 250 deviates from it. Here, I present many examples, which the Hagedorns kindly shared with me in private correspondence and which I checked and confirmed from the manuscripts.

|     |         |                                                      |
|-----|---------|------------------------------------------------------|
| B̄, | 61,2    | εὐλογήσει 788] + το δε 250                           |
|     | 74,4    | διηγείται 788] εξηγείται 250                         |
|     | 74,5    | ἐξουσίαν 788] ἐξουσίας 250                           |
|     | 105,3   | ἴν' 788] ἴνα 250                                     |
|     | 113,5   | εἰ μὴν 788] εἰ μὴ 250                                |
|     | 114,1   | ἄλλως 788] ἄλλος 250 <sup>8</sup>                    |
|     | 122,3   | δυσχεραίνω 788] δυσχεραίνων 250                      |
|     | 164,2   | ἴν' 788] ἴνα 250                                     |
|     | 164,5   | μή 788] > 250                                        |
|     | 206,4   | λέγοι 788] λέγει 250 3005                            |
|     | 229,2   | τὸ τήν 788] > το 250                                 |
|     | 231,2   | τά 788] > 250                                        |
|     | 241,2–3 | τῷ – παραμυθία 788] tr post ἀλλα 250                 |
|     | 241,6   | ἐαυτῶν ... ἐκδημήσωσι 788] εαυτου ... εκδημισωσι 250 |
|     | 264,3   | δέ 788] > 250                                        |
| Γ̄, | 6,7     | ἄλλω 788] ἄλλων 250                                  |
|     | 34,4    | καὶ γὰρ καὶ 788] καὶ γάρ 250 138–255                 |
|     | 42,4    | εἰ 788] > 250                                        |
|     | 51,6    | φησὶν 788] > 250                                     |
|     | 72,2    | τῆς 788] > 250                                       |
|     | 77,7    | πράττειν 788] πραττων 250                            |
|     | 97,2    | πόνων τῶν 788] πονων του 250                         |
| Δ̄, | 2,7–9   | ὅτι – ἵκοντες 788] > 250                             |
|     | 2,9     | αὐτῷ 788] των 250                                    |
|     | 18      | αὐτόν 788] αὐτην 250                                 |
|     | 36,3    | προσέθηκεν 788] προσέθηκας 250                       |
|     | 38,2    | χρησίμ(ην) 788] χρησιμων 250                         |
|     | 48,4    | πολλαχοῦ 788] πολλὰ τὰ 250                           |
| Ē, | 2,3     | ἐπενεχθεῖσαν 788] επαναχθεισαν 250                   |
|     | 121,3   | προσέχοι 788] προσεχει Jul 250 3005                  |
|     | 124,2   | οὕτω ... περί 788] ουτως ... παρα 250                |
|     | 132,1   | διαβρόχους 788 3005 249] διαβροχοις 250              |

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8. Instances of itacism and interchange of *o* and *ω* are included for the sake of completeness but are not relevant for establishing genetic relationships between manuscripts, since these errors cut across manuscript groups.

|                       |            |                                          |
|-----------------------|------------|------------------------------------------|
|                       | 142,3      | θελήσ(ης) 788] θελησις 250               |
|                       | 142,9      | διά τι 788] διοτι 250                    |
| $\overline{Z}$ ,      | 69,5       | αὐτόν 788] > 250                         |
|                       | 86         | τῷ 788] των 250                          |
| $\overline{\Theta}$ , | 3,2        | ἀνθρώπους 788] > 250                     |
|                       | 44,2       | διὰ – ἡμῶν 788] > 250                    |
| $\overline{IA}$ ,     | 48, Author | Εὐαγ() 788] > 250                        |
| $\overline{II}$ ,     | 77,4–6     | παρά – 1° καί 788] > 250                 |
| $\overline{IE}$ ,     | 51,4       | παραπορευομένων 788] περιπορευομένου 250 |
| $\overline{IZ}$ ,     | 44,2–3     | ληστρικών – μέν 788] > 250               |
| $\overline{IO}$ ,     | 60,4–5     | τοίνυν – καταδιώκοντα 788] > 250         |
| $\overline{K}$ ,      | 82, Author | Ἰω() 788] > 250                          |
|                       | 129,3      | τά 788] > 250                            |
|                       | 184        | ἐλπίζων 788] ἐλπίζω 250                  |
| $\overline{KE}$ ,     | 50,2–3     | θαλάσσης 1° 788] ∩ θαλάσσης 2° 250       |
| $\overline{KS}$ ,     | 47,3       | ἐξ οὐπερ 788] ἐξ οὗτε 250                |
| $\overline{KZ}$ ,     | 2,6        | τυγχάνων 788] τυγχανω 250                |
| $\overline{KH}$ ,     | 65,2/3     | τρυπωμένων 788] τρυπτωμενων 250          |
| $\overline{AA}$       | 2,5        | λαμβάνειν 788] λαμβανει 250              |

In addition to these examples, there is a special mistake found forty-four times throughout RA 250. RA 788 used a particularly rare abbreviation or *compendium* for the infinitive εἶναι, which RA 250 or Int must not have known, since each scribe always transmitted it with οὖν even when the context demanded an infinitive for indirect discourse or an infinitive after prepositions.<sup>9</sup> The conjunction οὖν in these contexts creates an unintelligible text.

Some of these examples are more significant than others. The examples of itacism and interchange of ο and ω are not relevant for establishing genetic relationships between manuscripts, but they have been included for the sake of completeness and because the variant is a Greek word. I will discuss a couple of the more significant variants in more detail below. Here, it is only necessary to focus on the fact that RA 250 never has the correct text. Rather RA 788 always preserves the original text and RA 250 contains the variant. What is still to be determined is whether RA 250 copied RA 788 or an intermediate witness.

#### 4.2. TEXTUAL VARIANTS IN THE HEXAPLARIC FRAGMENTS

What are under consideration here are the places where RA 788 preserves the original text of the Hexaplaric fragments and where RA 250 has deviated from

9.  $\overline{\beta}$ , 113,2;  $\overline{\beta}$ , 151,2;  $\overline{\beta}$ , 206,2;  $\overline{\gamma}$ , 3,2;  $\overline{\gamma}$ , 24,3;  $\overline{\gamma}$ , 51,7;  $\overline{\gamma}$ , 62,3;  $\overline{\delta}$ , 2,3;  $\overline{\delta}$ , 32,2,4;  $\overline{\delta}$ , 41,2;  $\overline{\delta}$ , 153,8;  $\overline{\epsilon}$ , 171,3;  $\overline{\zeta}$ , 12,4;  $\overline{\zeta}$ , 58,3;  $\overline{\zeta}$ , 74,3;  $\overline{\zeta}$ , 83,3;  $\overline{\zeta}$ , 110,2;  $\overline{\zeta}$ , 113,11;  $\overline{\zeta}$ , 165,3;  $\overline{\zeta}$ , 183,2;  $\overline{\eta}$ , 102;  $\overline{\tau}$ , 17,3;  $\overline{\tau}$ , 56,4;  $\overline{\iota\alpha}$ , 81,5;  $\overline{\iota\delta}$ , 75,3;  $\overline{\iota\epsilon}$ , 6,9;  $\overline{\iota\epsilon}$ , 62,9;  $\overline{\iota\zeta}$ , 61,4,5;  $\overline{\iota\theta}$ , 73,4;  $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$ , 17,10;  $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$ , 25,8;  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ , 2,13;  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ , 94,4;  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ , 140,8;  $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ , 2,3;  $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ , 42,3;  $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ , 68,3;  $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ , 106,5;  $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ , 135,4;  $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ , 138,3;  $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ , 143,7;  $\overline{\lambda\gamma}$ , 11,9.

it. In my study, there were twenty-two occurrences where RA 250 deviated from the original text but RA 788 preserved the correct reading. However, only a couple of these instances are significant since many of these errors appear to be simple misspellings and in several cases the errors arose from the use of ligatures. The significant variants of omitted text are the following:

- 2:4bc σ' τῆς 788] > 250  
 8:16a α' πρόσωπον ἡλίου 788] > 250  
 34:9 θ' αὐτόν 788] > 250

In addition to these three examples, the following nineteen differences remain:

- |              |                                     |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1:15a α'     | ἐπέπεσε 788] επεσε 250              |
| 7:21d σ'     | ζητήσ(ης) 788] ζητησις 250          |
| 8:11b α' σ'  | ἔλος 788] ἔλε(ος) 250               |
| 10:10a α'    | ἀπέσταξας 788] απεταξας 250         |
| 12:18b σ'    | λαγόν(ων) 788] λαγωνω 250           |
| 12:20a σ'    | (παρ)τρέπων 788] περιτρεπων 250     |
| 13:14a σ'    | ἀφαιρῶ 788] αφερω 250               |
| 15:18b σ'    | αὐτ(ών) 788] αυτου 250              |
| 19:28a σ'    | λέγετε 788] λεγετ(αι) 250           |
| 22:19b θ'    | ἐκγελάσεται 788] εκγελασεται 250    |
| 29:24a σ'    | προσεγέλων 788] προσεγελω 250       |
| 30:12c α'    | ἐπιβλυσμοῦ 788] επικλησμου 250      |
| 31:31b θ'    | ἐμπλησθισόμεθα 788] εμπλησομεθα 250 |
| 37:6b σ'     | ὄμβρος 788] ομβρίος 250             |
| 37:18b α'    | ὄρασις 788] ὄρασι 250               |
| 39:19b θ'    | χρεμετισμόν 788] χρεματισμον 250    |
| 41:18a σ'    | ὑποστήσεται 788] υπεστησεται 250    |
| 41:26b θ'    | βανασίας 788] βανασιας 250          |
| 42:11g α' θ' | χρυσούν 788] χρυσον 250             |

Even though only three of these variants are significant, it is important to bear in mind that RA 250 never preserves the original text while RA 788 contains a significant variant from the original text.<sup>10</sup> The significance of this conclusion will be explained below.

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10. There is only one place where RA 250 may have the original text and RA 788 has the variant. Job 16:10b σ' σιαγόνας Syh 250 -(ας)] σιαγόνος 788; σιαγόνο(ς) 3005. However, another look at RA 250 perhaps indicates that it has a correction from -(ος) to -(ας) or -(ας) to -(ος) according to the digital image provided by Münchener Digitalisierungs Zentrum Digitale Bibliothek at the following website: <http://daten.digitalisierungs-zentrum.de/~db/bbs00002181/images/>. The ligature is closed, which gives the appearance of an omicron (i.e., the ligature for -ος), but normally the ligature for -ας is open on top. RA 788 and RA

## 4.3. OMITTED EXEGETICAL FRAGMENTS

Significantly, this study also found places where RA 788 has preserved whole exegetical fragments and RA 250 has omitted them. These fragments contain the commentary on the bible text from Olympiodorus, Chrysostom, and others.<sup>11</sup> There are eighteen exegetical fragments that are omitted from 250 but are present in 788.<sup>12</sup> Although I discovered most of these omissions in my study, I am grateful to D. Hagedorn for sending me his list, which I subsequently checked from the manuscripts and compared to my own conclusions. In the following two instances, RA 788 is the first witness of the C group to preserve the fragments:  $\overline{\alpha\alpha}$ , 80 and  $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ , 78.

## 4.4. OMITTED HEXAPLARIC FRAGMENTS

RA 788 also preserves forty Hexaplaric fragments which RA 250 omitted.<sup>13</sup> RA 788 does not always preserve the attribution in these instances (indicated by [ $>$  788]), but it does preserve the fragment. In several instances RA 788 is the first witness to the Hexaplaric fragment from the C group (e.g., 9:4b, 11:6a, 13:9a).

## 4.5. OMITTED HEXAPLARIC ATTRIBUTIONS AND SIGNS

The greatest difference between RA 788 and RA 250 is the preservation of the Hexaplaric attributions and signs. RA 250 omitted 308 attributions, 47 asterisks, and 5 obeli, which are preserved in RA 788.<sup>14</sup> I will comment on some of the more significant examples below.

3005 show that the archetype of C had - $\alpha\varsigma$ . Perhaps, the scribe of RA 250 corrected the text back to - $\alpha\varsigma$ , but one cannot be certain about this conclusion.

11. For a description of these materials, see *AGK*, 1:118–19.

12. See the following references in *AGK*:  $\overline{\delta}$  34,  $\overline{\epsilon}$ , 54;  $\overline{\epsilon}$ , 55;  $\overline{\theta}$ , 109;  $\overline{\iota}$ , 21;  $\overline{\alpha\alpha}$ , 80;  $\overline{\alpha\alpha}$ , 108;  $\overline{\gamma}$ , 7;  $\overline{\varsigma}$ , 9;  $\overline{\varsigma}$ , 20;  $\overline{\iota\zeta}$ , 54;  $\overline{\iota\zeta}$ , 72;  $\overline{\iota\zeta}$ , 74;  $\overline{\eta}$ , 10;  $\overline{\theta}$ , 84;  $\overline{\theta}$ , 95;  $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$ , 9;  $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ , 78.

13. See the following references: 1:11b  $\delta\gamma\rho'$ ; 3:8a  $\alpha'$  [ $>$  788]; 3:26b  $\alpha'$  [ $>$  788]; 7:6a  $\delta\gamma\rho'$ ; 9:4b  $\alpha'$  [ $>$  788]; 11:3b  $\alpha'$  [ $>$  788]; 11:6a  $\sigma'$  [ $>$  788]; 13:9a ( $\alpha'$ ); 14:5b  $\sigma'$ ; 14:5c  $\sigma'$ ; 15:25b  $\theta'$  [ $>$  788]; 16:2b  $\sigma'$  [ $>$  788]; 16:3a  $\delta\gamma\rho'$ ; 17:7a  $\alpha'$ ; 18:4a  $\theta'$  [ $>$  788]; 21:20a  $\sigma'$  [ $>$  788]; 22:4a  $\theta'$  [ $>$  788]; 22:4a  $\sigma'$  [ $>$  788]; 22:6a  $\sigma'$  [ $>$  788]; 23:3b  $\sigma'$ ; 23:4a  $\sigma'$  [ $>$  788]; 23:6a  $\sigma'$ ; 23:6b  $\sigma'$  [ $>$  788]; 24:16b  $\sigma'$ ; 29:25a  $\sigma'$ ; 29:25b  $\sigma'$  [ $>$  788]; 30:4a  $\alpha'$ ; 30:29b  $\sigma'$  [ $>$  788]; 30:30a  $\lambda'$ ; 31:27b  $\sigma'$  [ $>$  788]; 32:20  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 33:14a  $\sigma'$  [ $>$  788]; 33:26c  $\lambda'$ ; 34:29c  $\sigma'$ ; 36:11b  $\sigma'$ ; 36:11c  $\sigma'$ ; 36:31a  $\sigma'$  [ $>$  788]; 37:1a  $\sigma'$ ; 38:7a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 40:29a  $\sigma'$ .

14. See the following references: 1:11b  $\delta\gamma\rho'$ ; 2:1c  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$   $\times$ ; 3:4b  $\sigma'$ ; 3:16a  $\sigma'$ ; 3:16b  $\sigma'$ ; 3:17a  $\alpha'$ ; 3:17a  $\sigma'$ ; 3:18a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 3:18a  $\sigma'$ ; 3:23b  $\sigma'$ ; 4:11a  $\sigma'$ ; 5:13b  $\sigma'$ ; 5:18a  $\alpha'$ ; 5:18a  $\sigma'$ ; 7:6a  $\delta\gamma\rho'$ ; 7:6b  $\sigma'$ ; 7:9a  $\sigma'$ ; 7:15b  $\sigma'$ ; 7:16b  $\alpha'$ ; 7:16b  $\sigma'$ ; 7:20c  $\sigma'$ ; 7:21d  $\sigma'$ ; 8:3b  $\alpha'$ ; 8:11b  $\alpha'$   $\sigma'$ ; 8:12b  $\sigma'$ ; 8:16a  $\alpha'$ ; 9:34a  $\alpha'$ ; 12:7a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 12:7a  $\sigma'$ ; 12:17a  $\alpha'$ ; 13:8a  $\sigma'$ ; 13:14a  $\sigma'$ ; 13:27a  $\sigma'$ ; 13:27a  $\theta'$ ; 14:5b  $\sigma'$ ; 14:5c  $\sigma'$ ; 14:14c  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 14:14c  $\sigma'$ ; 14:15b  $\theta'$ ; 15:2a  $\sigma'$ ; 15:15ab  $\sigma'$ ; 15:22b  $\sigma'$ ; 15:27a  $\sigma'$ ; 15:30b  $\sigma'$ ; 15:34a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 15:35ab  $\alpha'$ ; 16:4b  $\alpha'$ ; 16:4b  $\sigma'$ ;

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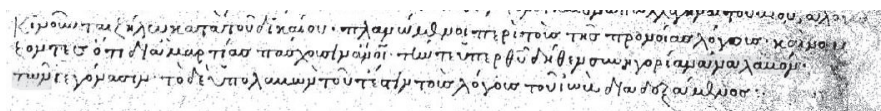
16:6a  $\sigma'$ ; 16:6b  $\sigma'$ ; 16:9c  $\sigma'$ ; 16:10b  $\sigma'$ ; 16:11b  $\sigma'$ ; 17:5a  $\sigma'$ ; 17:7a  $\alpha'$ ; 17:9a  $\sigma'$   $\theta'$ ; 18:13b  $\sigma'$   $\theta'$ ; 18:14b  $\alpha'$ ; 18:19a  $\alpha'$ ; 19:20a  $\alpha'$ ; 19:20b  $\sigma'$ ; 19:28a  $\sigma'$ ; 20:10b  $\sigma'$ ; 20:20b  $\sigma'$ ; 21:3b  $\sigma'$ ; 21:10a  $\alpha'$ ; 21:10a  $\sigma'$ ; 21:30a  $\alpha'$ ; 21:34b  $\sigma'$ ; 22:3a  $\sigma'$ ; 22:3b  $\sigma'$ ; 22:10b  $\sigma'$ ; 22:14b  $\sigma'$ ; 22:16a  $\sigma'$ ; 22:16b  $\sigma'$ ; 22:17b  $\theta'$ ; 22:18a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 22:24b  $\sigma'$ ; 22:30b  $\sigma'$ ; 23:3b  $\sigma'$ ; 23:6a  $\sigma'$ ; 23:9a  $\sigma'$ ; 23:10b–11a  $\alpha'$   $\sigma'$ ; 24:5b  $\alpha'$ ; 24:16b  $\sigma'$ ; 24:17a  $\sigma'$ ; 24:17b  $\sigma'$ ; 26:3a  $\alpha'$   $\sigma'$ ; 26:5  $\alpha'$ ; 26:5  $\sigma'$ ; 26:7a  $\alpha'$ ; 26:12b  $\sigma'$ ; 27:12b  $\sigma'$ ; 27:17b  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 28:18a  $\sigma'$ ; 28:18b  $\sigma'$ ; 28:23a  $\sigma'$ ; 28:27b  $\theta'$ ; 29:2a  $\sigma'$ ; 29:2b  $\theta'$ ; 29:4a  $\sigma'$ ; 29:8a  $\sigma'$   $\theta'$ ; 29:8b  $\sigma'$ ; 29:21a  $\sigma'$ ; 29:24a  $\sigma'$ ; 29:25a  $\sigma'$ ; 30:4a  $\alpha'$ ; 30:4a  $\sigma'$ ; 30:7a  $\alpha'$ ; 30:9a  $\sigma'$ ; 30:10b  $\sigma'$ ; 30:16a  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\sigma'$   $\theta'$ ; 30:26a  $\sigma'$ ; 30:28a  $\sigma'$ ; 30:30a  $\lambda'$ ; 31:1b  $\sigma'$ ; 31:8b  $\sigma'$ ; 31:9a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 31:9a  $\sigma'$ ; 31:13a  $\alpha'$ ; 31:13a  $\sigma'$ ; 31:14b  $\sigma'$ ; 31:15b  $\sigma'$ ; 31:21a  $\sigma'$ ; 31:22a  $\sigma'$ ; 31:22a  $\theta'$ ; 31:23b  $\sigma'$ ; 31:24a  $\sigma'$ ; 31:25b  $\sigma'$ ; 31:31a  $\alpha'$   $\sigma'$   $\theta'$ ; 31:39b  $\sigma'$ ; 31:40b  $\sigma'$ ; 32:1b  $\sigma'$ ; 32:2b  $\sigma'$ ; 32:4a  $\sigma'$ ; 32:8a  $\sigma'$ ; 32:15–16  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 32:17a  $\sigma'$ ; 32:18b  $\sigma'$ ; 32:19a  $\sigma'$ ; 32:20  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 33:3b  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 33:4a  $\sigma'$ ; 33:13  $\alpha'$ ; 33:14b  $\sigma'$ ; 33:15a  $\alpha'$ ; 33:25b  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 33:26b  $\sigma'$ ; 33:26c  $\lambda'$ ; 33:29a  $\sigma'$ ; 33:30a  $\sigma'$ ; 33:31b  $\times$ ; 34:3–4  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 34:6a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 34:6b–7b  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 34:6b  $\sigma'$ ; 34:8a sub  $\div$ ; 34:9  $\theta'$ ; 34:9a  $\sigma'$ ; 34:10bc  $\sigma'$ ; 34:11b  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 34:11b  $\sigma'$ ; 34:16a  $\sigma'$ ; 34:23b  $\theta'$ ; 34:25b  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 34:28–33  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 34:29c  $\sigma'$ ; 34:35c  $\sigma'$ ; 35:3  $\sigma'$ ; 35:6a  $\sigma'$ ; 35:7b–10a  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 35:8a  $\sigma'$ ; 35:9a  $\sigma'$ ; 35:9b  $\sigma'$ ; 35:10b  $\theta'$ ; 35:10b  $\alpha'$ ; 35:12a  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 35:15–16  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 36:4a  $\theta'$ ; 36:5b–9  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 36:9b  $\alpha'$ ; 36:9b  $\sigma'$ ; 36:10a  $\lambda'$ ; 36:10b–11  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 36:11b  $\sigma'$ ; 36:11c  $\sigma'$ ; 36:13  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 36:14b sub  $\div$ ; 36:16  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 36:19c–20  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 36:20  $\sigma'$ ; 36:21b–22a  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 36:21b  $\sigma'$ ; 36:24b–25a  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 36:26  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 36:27b–37:5a  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 36:30a  $\alpha'$ ; 36:31b  $\sigma'$ ; 36:32a  $\sigma'$ ; 36:32b  $\sigma'$ ; 36:33a  $\sigma'$ ; 36:33b  $\sigma'$ ; 37:1a  $\sigma'$ ; 37:2b  $\alpha'$ ; 37:3a  $\alpha'$ ; 37:3b  $\sigma'$ ; 37:6b–7a  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 37:6b  $\sigma'$ ; 37:10a  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 37:11–12abc  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 37:12a  $\sigma'$ ; 37:13  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 37:14b  $\alpha'$ ; 37:14b  $\sigma'$ ; 37:14b  $\theta'$ ; 37:17b–18b  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 37:18a  $\alpha'$ ; 37:18a  $\sigma'$ ; 37:21b  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 37:22a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 37:22b  $\sigma'$ ; 37:22b  $\theta'$ ; 38:5b  $\sigma'$ ; 38:6a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 38:6a  $\sigma'$ ; 38:7a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 38:11b  $\sigma'$ ; 38:12b  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 38:13a  $\sigma'$ ; 38:16a  $\alpha'$ ; 38:16a  $\sigma'$ ; 38:25b  $\alpha'$ ; 38:25b  $\sigma'$ ; 38:26–27  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 38:31a  $\sigma'$ ; 38:32a  $\sigma'$ ; 38:40a  $\sigma'$ ; 39:1a  $\sigma'$ ; 39:2a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 39:3a  $\theta'$ ; 39:3b–4  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 39:3b  $\sigma'$ ; 39:4c  $\sigma'$ ; 39:6b  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 39:6b  $\times$   $\sigma'$ ; 39:8  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 39:10b  $\sigma'$ ; 39:11b  $\theta'$ ; 39:13–18  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$ ; 39:17a  $\sigma'$ ; 39:18a  $\sigma'$ ; 39:19b  $\theta'$ ; 39:19b  $\sigma'$ ; 39:22a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 39:24a  $\sigma'$ ; 39:24b  $\sigma'$ ; 39:25b  $\sigma'$ ; 39:27b  $\sigma'$ ; 39:28  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 39:29b  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 39:30a  $\sigma'$ ; 39:30b  $\sigma'$ ; 40:2a  $\sigma'$ ; 40:2b  $\sigma'$ ; 40:4abc sub  $\div$ ; 40:5  $\sigma'$ ; 40:8a ( $\alpha'$ ); 40:8b  $\sigma'$ ; 40:10a  $\alpha'$ ; 40:10b  $\theta'$ ; 40:12b  $\alpha'$ ; 40:13a  $\sigma'$ ; 40:18b  $\sigma'$ ; 40:19b  $\sigma'$ ; 40:22b  $\sigma'$ ; 40:23a  $\sigma'$ ; 40:23b–24  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$  [ $>$  788 250]; 40:23b  $\alpha'$ ; 40:24a  $\alpha'$ ; 40:24b  $\sigma'$ ; 40:28a  $\theta'$ ; 40:29a  $\sigma'$ ; 40:30a  $\sigma'$ ; 40:30a  $\theta'$ ; 40:30b  $\alpha'$ ; 40:31b  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 41:1a  $\theta'$ ; 41:1b  $\sigma'$ ; 41:2a  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 41:4  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$  [ $>$  788 250]; 41:4a  $\alpha'$ ; 41:4b  $\alpha'$ ; 41:5a  $\sigma'$ ; 41:5b  $\sigma'$ ; 41:6b  $\theta'$ ; 41:7a  $\alpha'$ ; 41:8a  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 41:8b  $\alpha'$ ; 41:10a  $\alpha'$ ; 41:15b  $\sigma'$ ; 41:17a  $\sigma'$ ; 41:18a  $\sigma'$ ; 41:18b  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 41:18b  $\sigma'$ ; 41:19a  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 41:19a  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\sigma'$ ; 41:21a  $\times$   $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 41:22a  $\theta'$ ; 41:23a  $\alpha'$ ; 41:23b  $\alpha'$ ; 41:23b  $\sigma'$ ; 41:24b  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 41:25a  $\sigma'$ ; 41:26a  $\theta'$ ; 41:26b  $\theta'$ ; 41:26b  $\sigma'$ ; 42:2b  $\theta'$ ; 42:6a  $\sigma'$ ; 42:7b  $\theta'$ ; 42:7c  $\theta'$ ; 42:7c  $\sigma'$ ; 42:8c  $\sigma'$ ; 42:8e  $\times$   $\theta'$ ; 42:8g  $\sigma'$ ; 42:9a  $\sigma'$ ; 42:10aba  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$  [ $\alpha'$  250]; 42:10b sub  $\div$ ; 42:10c  $\times$   $\sigma'$   $\theta'$ ; 42:10c  $\alpha'$ ; 42:11bc sub  $\div$ ; 42:11d  $\theta'$ ; 42:11d  $\sigma'$ ; 42:11e  $\sigma'$ ; 42:11f ( $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ); 42:11g  $\alpha'$   $\theta'$ ; 42:11g  $\sigma'$ ; 42:12a  $\sigma'$   $\theta'$ ; 42:14c  $\alpha'$   $\sigma'$ ; 42:16cd–17  $\times$  [ $>$  250]  $\theta'$  [ $>$  788 250]; 42:17ed  $\theta'$ . RA 788 does not always preserve the correct attribution. These references only indicate where it has an attribution or sign, and RA 250 does not have it.

#### 4.6. SIGNIFICANT VARIANTS BETWEEN RA 788 AND RA 250

I will comment now on three significant variants between RA 788 and RA 250 that D. Hagedorn shared with me. These examples indicate to us that RA 250 has descended from an intermediate manuscript (Int) and not RA 788 directly. I am dependent on Hagedorn for parts of the explanations.

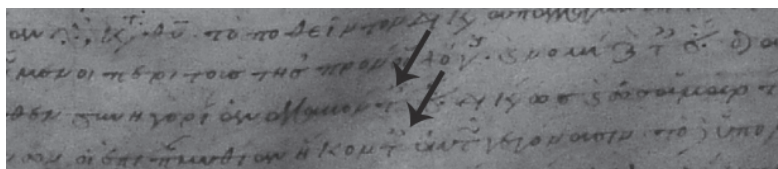
The first example comes from the Job catena  $\overline{\Delta}$  2.<sup>15</sup> The original text is as follows: ἀναλαβόντες, ὅτι δικαίως καὶ ὡς ἁμαρτωλὸν τιμωρεῖται τὸν Ἰώβ, προσθήκη τῶν ἀλγεῖνῶν οἱ ἐπὶ παραμυθίαν ἤκοντες αὐτῷ γεγόνασιν. The apparatus lists the following variants: 7 ὅτι—8 ἤκοντες > G and at the end of 8: αὐτῷ: τῶν G. I will describe the situation in RA 250 first and then RA 788. The apparatus of *AGK* is not as clear as it probably should be in this instance, for it needed to list ἀναλαβόν as the text of RA 250 (G).<sup>16</sup>

Image 1: RA 250, fol. 9r



The word before the omitted ὅτι is ἀναλαβόν and this word is the last word of the line in RA 250. There is space at the end of the line for the reading ἀναλαβόντες αὐ, which probably indicates that the *Vorlage* of RA 250 had the text ἀναλάβοντες αὐ|τῶν, and subsequently RA 250 committed the error of *paralepsis* due to *homoiooteleuton* (-οντες) from a text with similar line endings. That there is exactly one line missing from RA 250 and that the mistake involves a line break shows that the scribe of RA 250 carefully preserved the layout of his *Vorlage*; that is, he copied it line by line. When he came to the end of the first line containing ἀναλαβόντες αὐ, his eye must have skipped to the second line containing ἤκοντες and wrote τῶν instead.

Image 2: RA 788, p. 15



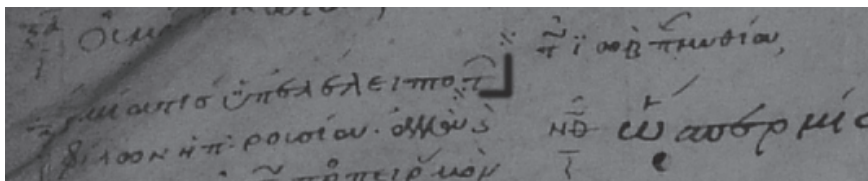
15. *AGK*, 1:320.

16. Images of RA 250 are from the Münchener Digitalisierungs Zentrum Digitale Bibliothek and can be accessed at the folling website: <http://daten.digitalisierungs-zentrum.de/~db/bsb00002181/images/>. The images of RA 788 were made available to me by Melissakis and used with permission.

RA 788 has the full text of the oldest catena, and one can see it also preserves the text of exactly one line, but the line endings are different than RA 250. This different situation in RA 788 leads me to believe that RA 250 was probably copied from a different exemplar than RA 788. Although it is possible to imagine a copyist misconstruing the text of RA 788 in a similar way, it is easier to explain the mistake at the line break than in the middle of the line.

A second example provides more insight into the relationship between RA 788 and RA 250. It is taken from B 241,2–3.<sup>17</sup> The original text of the catena is as follows: μία τις ὑπέλειπτο τῷ Ἰώβ παραμυθία τῶν φίλων ἢ παρουσία· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν αὐτῷ πρὸς πειρασμὸν ἔτρεψεν ὁ διάβολος. The Hagedorns did not list the variant of RA 250 in *AGK*, which places τῷ Ἰώβ παραμυθία after ἀλλὰ. This variant is now significant for determining the relationship of RA 250 to RA 788.

Image 3: RA 788, p. 10



In RA 788, the three words, τῷ Ἰώβ παραμυθία, are placed in the margin, and an index holds their place in the original line. The reading of RA 788 reflects the original text of the catena. Although the index is below the line, it is still clear that the index was placed in the space between -πτο and τῶν indicating that the words should be read before τῶν. RA 250, however, has these words after ἀλλὰ without the index since the words in the margin have been inserted into the text itself. The index and note are clear in RA 788 so it is probable that RA 250 was not looking at RA 788 as his exemplar. Int must have interpreted the situation differently. It either placed the index closer to ἀλλὰ (insuring that RA 250 would copy them after ἀλλὰ), or it placed the words in the margin into the text after ἀλλὰ. Given the reading in RA 788, it is improbable that RA 250 had it for its exemplar, since the reading is clear. Therefore, it seems more probable to posit that RA 250 had a different exemplar than RA 788, and the corruption was already in this text. It is possible to explain that RA 250 could have made the mistake by misreading RA 788 directly, but the alternative that the error was already present in the intermediate copy seems more probable.

There is a third example, which is perhaps more convincing. It comes from the προθεωρία to chapter KA.<sup>18</sup> In our correspondence, D. Hagedorn explained

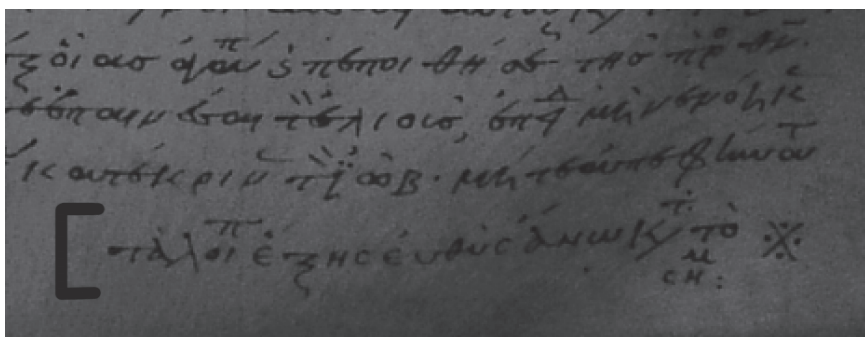
17. *AGK*, 1:271.

18. *AGK*, 3:143–44.



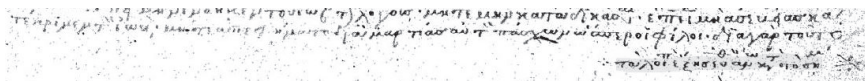
that their *α-Vorläuferkatene* did not have *προθεωρίαι* as introductions to a following chapter, since it had no chapters at all, but sometimes it did preserve excerpts from what later became known as *προθεωρίαι* in the form of regular fragments. In order to avoid long repetitions in their edition, they did not publish these excerpts from the *α-Vorläuferkatene*, but they tried to explain the differences in the apparatus.

Image 4: RA 788, p. 135



In this particular fragment, the situation in RA 788 is clear and straightforward. The scribe did not have ample space to finish his text so he left a note at the bottom of the page, which reads: τὰ λοιπὰ ἐξῆς (ἐξῆς cod.) εὐθὺς ἄνω κ(α)τὰ τὸ σημεῖον ✱, which means, “you will have the rest immediately at the top of the page one finds the sign and the continuation of the comment.

Image 5: RA 250, fol. 58r



In RA 250, the same note is found at the bottom of the page, yet it should be observed that the stichometry already differs from RA 788 since the line break in RA 250 (διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο) occurs on the top of page 136 in RA 788, that is, in the continuation of the note. When one turns the page of RA 250, one does not find the asterisk or the continuation of the note. What happened to the continuation of the text? The text and the asterisk actually appear earlier on folio 58r in line 8 from the top of the folio. We, therefore, do not find it probable that the scribe of RA 250 had RA 788 for his exemplar. Since the scribe of RA 788 continued the text correctly, it would be very difficult to posit that RA 250 made the mistakes he did with the text of RA 788 in front of him. Given this evidence, the easiest explanation is to posit that there was an intermediate copy, which was

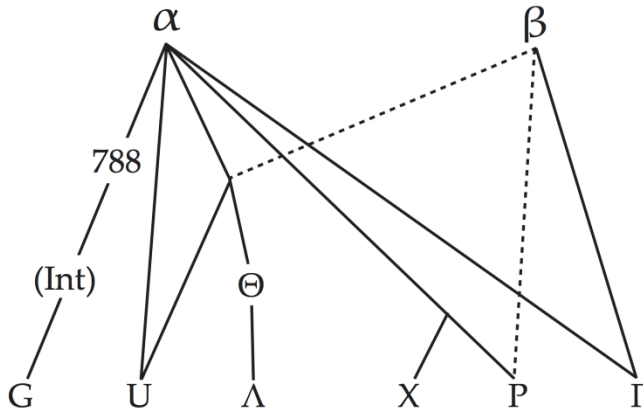
the exemplar of RA 250. The scribe who produced this copy understood the note in RA 788 correctly, because he was able to continue the text correctly and had produced the accurate text which only differed from RA 788 with respect to the page break. Apparently, the scribe of RA 250 did not understand the meaning of this note, and he certainly was not aware of the original page break preserved in RA 788. Therefore he transmitted a corrupt text from a different exemplar than RA 788.

#### 4.7. CONCLUSION

Although positing an intermediate text between textual witnesses is not preferable, the kinds of variants between RA 788 and RA 250 require it. The positing of an intermediate copy helps explain how the significant variants arose. When one combines the different pieces of textual evidence, the theory of transmission that best fits the evidence is that RA 788 is the ancestor of Int, which was the exemplar of RA 250, that is, a theory of direct textual transmission (788 → Int → 250). The omissions of Hexaplaric fragments and exegetical fragments from RA 250 and the significant textual variants between RA 250 and RA 788 indicate that this theory is probably correct. An alternative theory is that the exemplar of RA 250 was a sibling of RA 788 and not a copy of RA 788, that is, the exemplar of RA 250 and RA 788 were parallel and equal copies of their *Vorlage* (788 = Int → 250). However, there are two problems with this theory. (1) We have found no places in RA 788 where it contained an error and in the same place RA 250 preserved the correct text from the putative sibling of RA 788. If RA 250 descended from a sibling of RA 788, one would expect to find mistakes in RA 788 and the correct text in RA 250. However, there was no instance where RA 250 preserved the correct text and RA 788 had the error. (2) The direct textual transmission theory requires only one strand of textual transmission, which is simpler than the one which requires two. These reasons make the first theory the most probable.

If this conclusion is sound, RA 788 is now the purest copy of the  $\alpha$ -*Vorläuferkatene* of Job. Therefore, one should analyze the catena text and the text of the Hexaplaric fragments in light of the pristine character of this witness. The following stemma is a revision of the stemma of the Hagedorns in AGK. RA 788 has been placed closest to  $\alpha$  as the purest witness of the  $\alpha$ -*Vorläuferkatene*.

Image 6: Revised Manuscript  
Stemma of Job Catena<sup>19</sup>



## 5. SIGNIFICANT READINGS FROM THE HEXAPLARIC FRAGMENTS OF RA 788

In this section, I will offer significant examples from RA 788 for establishing the text of the Hexaplaric fragments of Job. These examples will illustrate the significance of RA 788 with respect to Hexaplaric attributions, textual variants, and the Hexaplaric signs.

### 5.1. HEXAPLARIC ATTRIBUTIONS

The first example comes from Job 13:14a. I supply the entry from Woods's dissertation:

|       |                                                                                                                   |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| HT    | עַל־מָה אֶשְׁחָדָה בְּשָׁרִי בְּשֹׁנִי                                                                            |
| LXX   | ἀναλαβὼν τὰς σάρκας μου τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν                                                                              |
| ⟨σ'⟩  | ἐνεκα τίνος ἀφαιρῶ σάρκας ἐμαυτοῦ ὁδοῦσιν ἰδίῳις                                                                  |
| Witl: | C (= 250 3005) cF <sup>138 139 260 559 643 732</sup> 505                                                          |
| Var:  | τίνος] τινας 740   ἀφαιρῶ] αφερω C (= 250)   σάρκας] σαρκας 740  <br>ἐμαυτοῦ] μου C (= 3005)   ἰδίῳις] εμοις 3006 |

It is also worth citing the notes section of Woods's entry in full:

19. For the original stemma, see *AGK*, 1:73. I thank my student, Kirk Huizenga, for his technical skill in the production of this image.

Ziegler treats the anonymous fragment as a scholion, and thus, he does not make mention of it in the second apparatus of the *Edition* (*Beiträge*, 73). It concerns itself with the translation of  $\text{יְצַחֲרֵם בְּשָׁרֵם אֶשְׁחָדֶה}$ ; however, the question arises over ἔνεκα τίνος, which would seem to arise without a reason in a scholion to the OG text ἀναλαβὼν τὰς σάρκας μου τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν. See also the translation of the Vulgate: *quare lacero carnes meas dentibus meis*. Symmachus could be the translator; see Num 2:17, Eccl 3:11, and Amos 1:11, which use the attached possessive suffix with ἰδίους. According to D. Fraenkel, Symmachus is the only one of the three who translates  $\text{אֶשְׁחָדֶה}$  with ἀφαιρεῖν (I Kgdms 25:28; Ps 31 (32):1, 5) (*Nachlese*, 393).<sup>20</sup>

Woods, fully dependent on D. Hagedorn's *Nachlese*, has adequately treated this fragment, which was not included in the Hexaplaric materials by Ziegler or Field before him.<sup>21</sup> The new evidence of RA 788 preserves the following fragment and attribution to Symmachus:  $\sigma'$  ἔνεκα τίνος ἀφαιρῶ σάρκας ἐμαυτοῦ ὀδοῦσιν ἰδίους. RA 788 clearly preserves the attribution to Symmachus and confirms Fraenkel's conjecture. The angle brackets, which represent a reading against the tradition, will be removed in the forthcoming edition.

Another interesting example occurs at 41:1a. I cite the critical edition:<sup>22</sup>

|       |                                                                  |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| HT    | הַחֲלִיחַתִּי וְנִכְזְבָה                                        |
| LXX   | οὐχ ἐόρακας αὐτόν                                                |
| θ'    | ἰδοὺ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ διεψεύσατο                                     |
| Witl: | ↓C (= 788-250 3005) cI <sup>732</sup> cII 555 ↓252               |
| Attr: | θ' C (= 788) cI <sup>732</sup> cII 555] σ' 252; > C (= 250 3005) |
| Var:  | διεψεύσατο] > 252                                                |

At 41:1a, the new evidence of RA 788 shows that the C group preserves only one Hexaplaric fragment and that it is properly attributed to θ'. Ziegler's *Edition* lists the following two fragments:  $\sigma'$  ἰδοὺ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ <διαψεύσεται> 252; θ' ἰδοὺ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ διεψεύσατο C'.<sup>23</sup> The fragments are the same except that RA 252 omits διεψεύσατο and also has σ' for the attribution. RA 788,

20. Nancy Woods, "A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Job: Chapters 1–21" (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2009), 252–53.

21. Ursula Hagedorn and Dieter Hagedorn, *Nachlese zu den Fragmenten der jüngeren griechischen Übersetzer des Buches Hiob*, NAWG 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 393. Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1875), 25. Joseph Ziegler, *Beiträge zum griechischen Iob*, AAWG 147, MSU 18 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 73.

22. John D. Meade, "A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Job 22–42" (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2012), 396.

23. Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Iob*, Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum 11.4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 403.

therefore, confirms that RA 252 contains a variant text and attribution and not a separate Hexaplaric fragment.

The fragment at 31:31a is illustrative of the significance of RA 788 and the degeneration of the catena of Job. The critical edition has:<sup>24</sup>

|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| HT       | יְהוָה מְתִיב אֶמְרָא אֵלֶיךָ                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| LXX      | εἰ δὲ καὶ πολλάκις εἶπον αἱ θεράπαιναί μου                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| α' σ' θ' | εἰ μὴ εἶπον οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς σκηνῆς μου                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Wit1:    | ↓C (= 788-250 3005) ↓cI <sup>137 139 732</sup> ↓cII ↓555 ↓161                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Attr:    | α' σ' θ' C (= 788 3005)] λ' 512-513 555 161; (α' εἰ μὴ εἶπον, θ' οἱ ἄνδρες, σ' τῆς σκηνῆς μου) 138-255 559 612 740; σ' 260; (α' εἰ μὴ πολλάκις: εἰ μὴ εἶπον θ' οἱ ἄνδρες σ' τῆς σκηνῆς μου) 395; (θ' οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς σκηνῆς μου: εἰ μὴ πολλακις α' εἰ μὴ εἶπον) 680; > C (= 250) 643 3006 |
| Var:     | εἰ] εἰ]μη C (= 788)   μὴ] + πολλακις 161 512-513 555   εἰ—ἄνδρες] > 260 643 3006                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

Ziegler's *Edition* presents two separate fragments: α' εἰ μὴ εἶπον C σ' θ' οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς σκηνῆς μου C.<sup>25</sup> However, the *Attr* apparatus shows that there is no witness that attests to this division of readings and attributions. Rather the C group attests one original fragment and attribution.

There were probably four stages of development. First, C (= 788 3005) attests to the original lemma and attribution. Both of these witnesses keep the Hexaplaric fragment distinct from the exegetical fragment (εἰ μὴ πολλάκις),<sup>26</sup> since in RA 788 the Hexaplaric fragment occurs on the left side of the bible text and the exegetical fragment is on the right side. In RA 3005, the Hexaplaric fragment appears at the top right of the folio, while the exegetical fragment occurs clearly below it, marked with an index. Most important is the fact that the lemma appears as *one continuous* fragment in both witnesses. Second, the original fragment was divided between the Three, and this divided fragment entered into the tradition of the archetype of cI as attested by RA 740 RA 255-138 RA 612. The lemma was divided into three distinct readings, and each part was assigned to one of the three. Third, RA 395 and RA 680 attest a further stage of development. Below RA 612 on the stemma of the cI (Γ) redaction are manuscripts RA 395 and RA 680.<sup>27</sup> These manuscripts have inserted εἰ μὴ πολλάκις in different places, so that in RA 395 the exegetical fragment is part of an Aquila fragment, while in RA 680 it is part of a Theodotion fragment. Fourth, the cII group contaminates both the exegetical fragment and the Hexaplaric

24. Meade, "Critical Edition," 199.

25. Ziegler, *Iob*, 351.

26. For the critical edition, see AGK, 3:134. Field listed this fragment as from Ἄλλος in Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, 56.

27. AGK, 1:61. RA 612 = Π, while RA 395 = Λ and RA 680 = Ε.

fragment, since it combines the two fragments under a reading attributed to λ': οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οὕτως ἐξέδωκεν· εἰ μὴ πολλάκις εἶπον οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς σκηνῆς μου.<sup>28</sup> RA 788 and RA 3005 provide a clear view to the oldest Greek catena and make this reconstruction of the text history probable.

The last examples of the significance of RA 788 come from two fragments from 42:10c. I present the critical edition for the two fragments.<sup>29</sup>

|       |                                                                   |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| HT    | :מִשְׁנֵה (בִּי־אֶת־לְבָבִי־לְבָבִי־הָיָה־יְהוָה־יְהוָה)          |
| LXX   | (ἔδωκεν δὲ ὁ κύριος διπλᾶ ὅσα ἤν ἐμπροσθεν Ἰῶβ) εἰς διπλασιασμόν. |
| σ' θ' | Sub ※                                                             |
|       | Wit1: C (= 788) ↓248                                              |
|       | Wit2: lemma] > La                                                 |
|       | Attr: σ' θ'] > 248                                                |
| α'    | εἰς δευτέρωσιν                                                    |
|       | Wit1: ↓C (= 788-250 3005)                                         |
|       | Attr: α' C (= 788)] > C (= 250 3005); <α'> Edition                |

I will treat the α' fragment first, and then the fragment attributed to σ' θ'. This fragment is only preserved in the C group. The Hagedorns commented on it in their *Nachlese*, since RA 3005 contained the fragment previously known only in RA 250, but these witnesses did not preserve the attribution.<sup>30</sup> Based on translation equivalents, Ziegler's *Edition* originally posited an attribution to <α'>, but his *Beiträge* posited that perhaps σ' should be accepted as the translator on the basis of 2 Suppl 34:22, where Sym renders מִשְׁנֵה with ἐν τῇ δευτερώσει.<sup>31</sup> He also suggested the possibility of an attribution to α', given that he renders the root מִשְׁנֵה with δεύτερος, δευτεροῦν, and δευτέρωσις (for מִשְׁנֵה in Deut 28:37).<sup>32</sup> Now, RA 788 is the first manuscript to attest the attribution to α', and the new edition will remove the angle brackets on the basis of this evidence.

Regarding the fragment attributed to σ' θ', Ziegler's second apparatus notes that εἰς διπλασιασμόν is under the asterisk *sine nomine* in RA 255 and RA 248. Concerning RA 255, Ziegler misinterpreted the evidence for the asterisk, since the scribe of this manuscript used decorative asterisks to bracket the last line of a

28. The Hagedorns had already observed this corruption in the *cII* group. See *AGK*, 3:134. For the Nicetas catena, see *Catena Græcorum Patrum in beatum Iob: collectore Niceta Heraclæe metropolitæ ex duobus mss. Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ codicibus, Græcè nunc primum in lucem edita, and Latinè versa*, ed. by Patrick Young (London: Ex typographio Regio, 1637), 477.

29. Meade, "Critical Edition," 429–30.

30. Hagedorns, *Nachlese*, 411.

31. Ziegler, *Beiträge*, 50. Idem, *Iob*, 410.

32. Ziegler, *Beiträge*, 50. Joseph Reider, *An Index to Aquila: Greek-Hebrew, Hebrew-Greek, Latin-Hebrew, with the Syriac and Armenian Evidence*, completed and revised by Nigel Turner, VTSup 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 52.

κεφάλαιον (e.g. 255, 176v, 177v, 179r, 179v). In RA 248, there is a clear asterisk at the beginning of the line at ὅσα, and perhaps there is a faint asterisk before εἰς in the same line. RA 788 confirms that there is an asterisk before εἰς, and it also attributed the phrase to Th and Sym. In the same verse, Syh preserves an obelus before διπλᾶ, indicating that the Hexapla considered this word to be absent from the Hebrew but present in the Greek. The omission of the phrase in La suggests that it was not part of the Hexaplaric version. Although La in Job is usually a faithful witness to the Hexaplaric recension, in this case, La may attest the OG and not the Hexaplaric version. It renders διπλᾶ with *duplicia* and does not have an isomorphic equivalent for Hebrew הַשְׁמָלָה. With respect to translation equivalents, Sym uses διπλοῦν for הַשְׁמָלָה in Exod 16:22, δευτέρως in 2 Suppl 34:22, and δεύτερος in 2 Kings 24:18 (Field retroversion from Syh). Th uses διπλῆ for הַשְׁמָלָה in Isa 61:7. In the LXX corpus, διπλασιασμός is only used here so there are no other points of comparison. Since both Th and Sym use διπλῆ for הַשְׁמָלָה, perhaps they used a different word from the same root, because the OG already had διπλᾶ earlier in the verse. As the critical text of Ziegler stands, there is a double translation for הַשְׁמָלָה. Due to the new evidence of RA 788, it is now probable to suggest that a Hexaplaric fragment from Th and Sym has corrupted the textual transmission of the LXX.

## 5.2. TEXTUAL VARIANTS

RA 788 is also significant for the readings it supplies and thus for the establishing of the original text of the Hexaplaric fragments.

The Sym fragment at Job 9:22 is a good example of the significance of RA 788 for establishing the text. I cite Woods's critical edition:

|        |                                                                 |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| HT     | :הוא מְכַלֵּה (הוא מְכַלֵּה תַּם וְיָרָע)                       |
| LXX    | (διὸ εἶπον Μέγαν καὶ δυνάστην) ἀπολλύει ὀργή                    |
| σ'     | αὐτὸς ἀναλίσκει                                                 |
| Wittl: | C (= 250 3005) ↓ <i>cF</i> <sup>139 260 559 643 732</sup> ↓ 505 |
| Attr:  | σ'] > C (= 250) <i>cF</i> <sup>139 260 559 643 732</sup> 505    |
| Var:   | αὐτός] οὕτως <i>cF</i> <sup>139 260 559 643 732</sup> 505       |

It is also worth citing Ziegler's presentation of the evidence in the *Edition*'s II App: (σ') οὗτος (sic recte Field; οὕτως codd) ἀναλίσκει C.<sup>33</sup> Woods, dependent on the Hagedorns's *Nachlese*, comments:

The correct reading is found in C (= 250 3005) and not οὕτως (הוא מְכַלֵּה); until now, C (= 250) was not registered, though Ziegler had access to the manuscript. Field's conjecture is unnecessary (*Nachlese*, 391; *Kollationen*, 65).<sup>34</sup>

33. Ziegler, *Iob*, 251.

34. Woods, "Critical Edition," 194–95.

One value of primary research is that it causes one to go back and reexamine the evidence in light of new evidence. Significantly, Woods's edition updates the evidence for the attribution to  $\sigma'$ , and therefore the angle brackets are removed. Regarding the text of the fragment, RA 788 preserves the very significant reading  $\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . Because RA 788 is the ancestor of RA 250, the latter needed to be reexamined and upon further consideration it is clear that it too reads  $\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . This reading explains the variant  $\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omega\varsigma$ , which arose in the *cI* group and consequently confirms Field's conjecture.<sup>35</sup> Therefore the purest witness of the  $\alpha$ -*Vorläuferkatene* preserves  $\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  for Hebrew אֲטֹס, which Sym rendered also with  $\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ .<sup>36</sup> Now, only RA 3005 contains  $\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ , a text which it may have received independently of the  $\alpha$ -*Vorläuferkatene*<sup>37</sup> or that resulted from copying  $\alpha\upsilon$  instead of  $\sigma\upsilon$ .<sup>38</sup> In any case, RA 788 probably has the correct text of Symmachus.

Job 14:5c is another example of where RA 788 establishes the correct text. The critical edition is as follows:

|           |                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| HT        | (לא יעבור) עשיתי [קח Q] (קח K)                                                                                                              |
| LXX       | εἰς χρόνον ἔθου (καὶ οὐ μὴ ὑπερβῇ)                                                                                                          |
| $\sigma'$ | ἄρον αὐτῶ διέταξας                                                                                                                          |
|           | <i>WitI</i> : $\downarrow C$ (= 257 406 3005) $\downarrow cI$ $\downarrow cII$ (Polychr) $\downarrow 505$ $\downarrow 560$ $\downarrow 709$ |
|           | <i>Attr</i> : $\sigma' > C$ (= 406 3005) 3006 <i>cII</i>                                                                                    |
|           | <i>Var</i> : αὐτῶ] αὐτου <i>cI</i> <sup>-732</sup> <i>cII</i> 505 709 [διέταξας] εταξας <i>cI</i> 560; $> C$ (= 406)                        |

Again, Ziegler's presentation of the evidence in the II App of his *Edition* is worth citing:  $\sigma'$  ἄρον αὐτοῦ (-τω 732) ἔταξας *C*.<sup>39</sup> Woods's comments, dependent on the *Nachlese*, are cited in full:

The variants of *C*, (αὐτῶ, with the exception of 732, and διέταξας) were not previously registered for witnesses. They must be regarded as the original, considering the tradition. αὐτοῦ corresponds better to the Hebrew, but this argument is not compelling for Symmachus, as Hanhart notes (*Nachlese*, 393).<sup>40</sup>

35. Field, *Auctarium ad Origenis Hexapla*, 6. Field had already conjectured from his evidence, which had only  $\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omega\varsigma$ , that the original reading was  $\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .

36. José Ramón Busto Saiz, *La Traducción de Simaco en el Libro de los Salmos*, Textos y Estudios 22 (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1985), 79.

37. See *AGK*, 1:65. Perhaps this variant comes from the  $\beta$ -Katene or from other sources that have entered into the U-tradition. The Hagedorns call the  $\beta$ -Katene another Job catena, from which both RA 3005 (U) and the  $\Gamma$ -editor drew (see the manuscript stemma *supra*).

38. This interchange is only sporadic and is not indicative of phonological change during the period in question. See Francis Thomas Gignac, *Phonology*, vol. 1 of *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Testi e documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità 55 (Milan: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1976), 216–17.

39. Ziegler, *Iob*, 271.

40. Woods, "Critical Edition," 266.



Woods's edition updates the text of this fragment by choosing *διέταξας* instead of *ἔταξας*, since the *C* group preserves this reading. However, because this fragment had dropped out of RA 250, there was no way to determine the text of the purest witness of the *C* group. We now know this text because RA 788 preserves both the attribution to *σ'* and the complete fragment. It confirms *διέταξας* as the correct text but it has *αὐτοῦ* in place of *αὐτῷ*. There are three reasons to accept *αὐτοῦ* as the correct text: (1) the genitive is now found in the best witness to the tradition, RA 788, (2) the genitive case does correspond better to the Hebrew in general and to the translation technique of Sym in particular,<sup>41</sup> and (3) the phonological interchange of *ου* > *ω(ι)*, especially in final position, is well attested during this period and therefore one can explain how the variant *αὐτῷ* arose in the course of the textual transmission.<sup>42</sup>

### 5.3. HEXAPLARIC SIGNS

With the exception of 42:10c discussed above under attributions, RA 788 did not contribute any significant new data for the asterisked materials of Job. In a few cases, it did supply attributions to Theodotion for those lines where there was no known attribution or where the attribution was weakly attested. In one instance, RA 788 also confirmed the authenticity of the obelus in RA 3005.

I cite the critical edition for 40:31b:<sup>43</sup>

|        |                                                  |                                             |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| HT     | :וּבְצִלָּהּ דָּגִים רַאשׁוּ׃                    |                                             |
| E      | καὶ ἐν πλοίοις ἀλιέων κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.             |                                             |
| θ'     | Sub ※                                            |                                             |
| Wit1:  | <i>C</i> (= 788) <i>cI</i> (= 740 612) Arm La Sa |                                             |
| Attr:  | θ' <i>C</i> (= 788)] > rel                       |                                             |
| Var:   | lemma] om Sa   31b sub ※ 788 740 612 Arm La      |                                             |
| NonGr: | La                                               | <i>et in navibus piscatorum caput eius.</i> |
|        | Arm                                              | և ի նաւս ձկնորսաց խալաւ նորա                |

Previously, Ziegler listed the evidence as follows: 31b sub ※ 612-740 La; om 31b Sa.<sup>44</sup> RA 788, along with the Armenian daughter version, confirms that the line belongs under the asterisk. In Job, Origen normally inserted lines from the version of Theodotion, thus on the basis of this and the consideration of translation

41. Busto Saiz confirms that in the Psalter Sym normally translates the Hebrew pronominal suffix with the Greek genitive, when the Hebrew pronoun is used as a possessive. See Busto Saiz, *Traducción de Simaco*, 82.

42. Gignac, *Phonology*, 208–11. The reverse interchange *ω(ι)* > *ου* is also attested during this period, but given reasons (1) and (2) it is more probable to posit the change *ου* > *ω(ι)* in this particular case.

43. Meade, "Critical Edition," 394–95.

44. Ziegler, *Iob*, 402.

technique one could reasonably posit that this line belonged to him. RA 788 now confirms this judgment by providing explicit attribution to Theodotion.

Job 41:18b provides an instance where RA 788 confirms previously weaker testimony to the attribution. The critical edition is as follows:<sup>45</sup>

|    |                            |                                                                                          |
|----|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| HT | :תַּיִת מִסֵּעַ וְשָׂרִיחַ |                                                                                          |
| E  | δόρυ ἐπηρμένον καὶ θώρακα· |                                                                                          |
| θ' | Sub ※                      |                                                                                          |
|    | Wit1:                      | C (= 788) cI-138 260 [612] [680] [732] 248 Arm La Sa                                     |
|    | Attr:                      | θ' 788 740] > rel                                                                        |
|    | Var:                       | lemma] om Sa   18b sub ※ 788 740 255 559(mend 18b-19)<br>395 3006 137 643 139 248 Arm La |
|    | NonGr:                     | La ※ <i>hastae elatio et thoracis</i> (+ √ β)<br>Arm ※ qł̄ḥp l̄ ḥḥqwl̄p                  |

Ziegler presented the evidence in his II App as follows: 18b sub ※ 248 C (740 θ' ※) La; om 18b Sa.<sup>46</sup> RA 740 (= F in Hagedorn's Γ stemma) is the best witness to the Γ redaction of the Job catena.<sup>47</sup> It is therefore a very important witness to the Job catena, but before knowledge of RA 788 one did not know whether the attribution to Theodotion was part of the redaction or part of the *α-Vorläuferkatene*. RA 788 now confirms that the attribution is authentic to the *α-Vorläuferkatene*.

Job 42:10b provides an example in which RA 788 and RA 3005 preserve the obelus and a scholion. The critical edition is as follows:

|     |                                                                    |                           |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| HT  | —(בְּהַתְּפִלָּו בְּעַד רְעִהוּ)                                   |                           |
| LXX | (εὐξαμένον δε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν φίλων) ἀφῆκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν |                           |
| Sub | ÷                                                                  |                           |
|     | Wit1:                                                              | C (= 788 3005)            |
|     | Attr:                                                              | ÷ οὐ κεῖται ἐν τῷ ἐβραϊκῷ |

The *Attr* apparatus is not preserving an attribution but is used in these situations in my edition to record the scholia related to the Hexaplaric signs. In the Job catena, it is common, though not absolutely so, for the scholion “it is not in the Hebrew” to occur beside the line marked with an obelus. The origination of this type of scholion and ones similar to it will need to be examined at a later time. Since the words are not in the Hebrew it is probable that RA 788 and RA 3005 have preserved the original work of Origen in this case. That these manuscripts are the only witnesses to the obelus and scholion should not be surprising, since they are the best witnesses to this tradition.

45. Meade, “Critical Edition,” 409.

46. Ziegler, *Iob*, 406.

47. *AGK*, 1:61.

## 6. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have argued that RA 788 is the purest witness to the  $\alpha$ -*Vorläuferkatene* of Job. It is the ancestor of RA 250 and even RA 250 is probably a copy of an intermediate witness and does not descend from RA 788 directly. I then showed how this analysis has direct relevance for a critical edition of the Hexaplaric fragments of Job, since RA 788 generally preserves correct Hexaplaric attributions, correct readings of fragments, and even proper placement of Hexaplaric signs. This manuscript will be fully incorporated into the forthcoming critical edition of the Hexaplaric fragments of Job.



# Did Origen Use the Aristarchian Signs in the Hexapla?

*Peter J. Gentry*

Abstract: Whether or not Origen employed Aristarchian signs in the fifth column of the Hexapla is a debated matter to this day. Propaedeutic to this question is the extent to which we can distinguish in our textual witnesses the text of the fifth column as opposed to the hexaplaric recension derived from it. Important and neglected evidence investigated to resolve this question concerns the colophons of the Syro-Hexapla, the Tetrapla, and the work of Pamphilus and Eusebius.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In 2006 social historians Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams entertained and instructed us in *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book* concerning the cultural matrix of Origen and Eusebius and their contribution to the development of book-making. Although much in this fascinating read was not new, I was completely arrested by the following statement concerning the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla:

Many scholars hold that Origen furnished this column with the Alexandrian critical signs, the obelus and the asterisk, and that its text was supplemented from that of Theodotion, given in the next column to the right. *There is no reason to believe them.* Rather, where one column lacked material to parallel that presented in others, it was simply left blank. (emphasis mine)<sup>1</sup>

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1. Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 88.

In the endnote, the authors cite Jennifer Dines in support of their view and Bernhard Neuschäfer against.<sup>2</sup>

What was strange to me (the first of three in this study) is that I could have written six hundred pages on “The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job” and never even have considered this question. Perhaps this is what John William Wevers called *focus*, a discipline necessary for completing a doctoral thesis. Nonetheless, I scurried to my bookshelf to find the delightful introduction to the Septuagint written by Jennifer Dines. I found that she admitted the question as problematic, acknowledged arguments on both sides as serious, and appeared to decide in favour of the absence of the signs in the fifth column.<sup>3</sup> Since I was the son of missionaries, I hastened to convert this pagan. As I entered into discussion by email with Dines, I found her as delightful in person as she is in her written work.

A brief but excellent summary of the chief players and positions in the debate is available in Natalio Fernández Marcos’s magisterial introduction, *The Septuagint in Context*.<sup>4</sup> Here I may note a second matter that was strange: although I was privileged to participate in the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla at Oxford in 1994,<sup>5</sup> which I was sure at the time was the most intensive colloquium on the Hexapla in a hundred years, I found that one of the most illuminating treatments was not part of that august gathering. It is the little known article by Olivier Munnich given almost a year earlier and published in *Origeniana Sexta*.<sup>6</sup> Munnich, who acknowledges the insights of our common cherished friend Detlef Fraenkel, specifies four important primary sources on the Hexapla: (1) four fragments of the synopsis that survive and inferences from Ra 344, (2) colophons in some of the manuscripts, particularly Codices Marchalianus, Sinaiticus, and the Syro-Hexapla, (3) marginal notes in manuscripts of the Greek Bible, and (4) statements made in patristic sources, particularly those of Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, and Rufinus.

One aspect of the debate that has not been adequately considered is a detailed description of the history of the hexaplaric recension and its precise

2. See Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), and Bernhard Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, 2 vols., Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 18 (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1987).

3. Dines, *Septuagint*, 101–3.

4. Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, trans. W. G. E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 213–15.

5. Alison Salvesen, ed., *Origen’s Hexapla and Fragments*, TSAJ 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998).

6. Olivier Munnich, “Les Hexaples d’Origène à la lumière de la tradition manuscrite de la Bible grecque,” in *Origeniana Sexta: Origène et la Bible; Actes du Colloquium Origenianum Sextum Chantilly, 30 août–3 septembre 1993*, ed. G. Dorival and A. Le Boulluec, BETL 118 (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 167–85.

relationship to the *o'* text. Please note the precise use of terms. The *o'* text is what can possibly be reconstructed as the fifth column of the Hexapla. The hexaplaric recension is a recension that arose from copying and revising separately only the fifth column. Perhaps if further light can be cast on this history, the debate may be resolved. We might discover more precisely what was in the fifth column and how it was changed to end up as the hexaplaric recension. Such an investigation is propaedeutic to the question raised in the title. I hope to bring my research on Ecclesiastes to bear on this problem.

## 2. THE ROLE OF THE SYRO-HEXAPLA

In the short time allotted to consider this issue, I want to focus our attention on the Syro-Hexapla and in particular on the colophons found there. In fact, I have found that the research on this topic is multidisciplinary, entailing the following areas: (1) accurate knowledge of book copying procedures, (2) the codicology of the manuscript sources, (3) geography, (4) history, and (5) the textual relations of the various witnesses and the history of the textual transmission.

### 2.1. BOOK MAKING AND CODICOLOGY

The colophons were collected and studied by the great philologists in the past such as Eduard Schwartz and Giovanni Cardinal Mercati. The last publication, however, to present some of the texts was by Mercati in 1941.<sup>7</sup> While he does deal with the colophons in Codex Marchalianus and Sinaiticus more thoroughly, he abbreviates his presentation of those in Codex Syro-Hexaplaris and provides the reader with only some 40 percent of the text. Some of his retroversions are his own in Greek, while others are borrowed from Henricus Middeldorpf and are in Latin.<sup>8</sup> Pierre Nautin, in his famous book on Origen, also abbreviates the colophons.<sup>9</sup> Thus the book by Grafton and Williams, using sources like Mercati and Nautin, do not have the full picture. I hope to remedy this situation. John Meade and I are collaborating on a brief monograph which will collect and publish the full texts of all the colophons in the original, with analysis and commentary.

In 2003, I published an article in *Aramaic Studies* entitled "Hexaplaric Materials in Ecclesiastes and the Rôle of the Syro-Hexapla."<sup>10</sup> Included was an analysis of the colophon to Ecclesiastes in Codex Syro-Hexaplaris. The third

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7. Giovanni Mercati, *Nuove Note di Letteratura Biblica e Christiana Antica*, Studi e Testi 95 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1941), 1–48.

8. See Henricus Middeldorpf, *Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris: Liber quartus Regum e codice parisiensi, Jesaias, duodecim Prophetæ minores, Proverbia, Jobus, Canticum threni, Ecclesiastes e codice mediolanensi* (Berlin: Enslin, 1835).

9. Pierre Nautin, *Origène: Sa Vie et son Oeuvre* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977).

10. Peter J. Gentry, "Hexaplaric Materials in Ecclesiastes and the Rôle of the Syro-Hexapla," *AS* 1 (2003): 5–28.





that the last three parts constitute a colophon or colophons in the Greek *Vorlage* of the Syriac translation. The second part mentions a colophon in the Greek *Vorlage* of the Syriac translation, which describes how it was produced. It claims that the source text was physically similar with marginal notes and that these marginal notes or scholia were copied by no less than Pamphilus and Eusebius themselves. The third and fourth sections constitute the colophon in the source text from which the Greek *Vorlage* was copied and belong together as the word “and again” (καὶ ἄνω) indicates. The third section employs the first person plural to indicate Pamphilus and Eusebius found the materials that they provided in the marginal notes in Origen’s Hexapla. The fourth section declares that Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected the text produced in this way.

The final statement is difficult to interpret. In fact, much of the commentary on these colophons is sheer speculation. I suggest that this statement means that the source text for the *Vorlage* of the Greek Copy used by the Syriac Translators was produced by scribes under the supervision of Pamphilus and Eusebius. The correction process involved one person reading the source text aloud and the other making corrections in the target copy.

What is the evidence for the copying scenario that I have suggested? One of the best discussions of ancient book-making is the 1956 article by T. C. Skeat, “The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production.”<sup>12</sup> He draws attention to the colophon to Esther in Codex Sinaiticus,<sup>13</sup> which is worth citing here, as a basis for understanding the colophons in Codex Syro-Hexaplaris:

Ἀντεβλήθη πρὸς παλαιώτατον λίαν ἀντίγραφον δεδιωρθωμένον χειρὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Παμφίλου. Πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει τοῦ αὐτοῦ παλαιωτάτου βιβλίου ὅπερ ἀρχὴν μὲν εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τῶν βασιλείων· Εἰς δὲ τὴν Εσθὴρ ἔληγεν. τοιαύτη τις ἐν πλάτει ιδιόχειρος ὑποσημείωσις τοῦ αὐτοῦ μάρτυρος ὑπέχειτο ἔχουσα οὕτως:

Μετελήμφθη καὶ διορθώθη πρὸς τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ Ὁριγένους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διορθώμενα. Ἀντωνῖνος ὁμολογητῆς ἀντέβαλε, Πάμφιλος διώρθωσα τὸ τεῦχος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πολλὴν καὶ χάριν καὶ πλατυσμόν. [καὶ εἶγε μὴ βαρὺ εἰπεῖν, τούτῳ τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ παραπλήσιον εὐρεῖν ἀντίγραφον οὐ ῥᾶδιον.]

>>>>>>

διεφώνει δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ παλαιώτατον βιβλίον πρὸς τὸδε τὸ τεῦχος εἰς τὰ κυρία ὀνόματα

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12. T. C. Skeat, “The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production,” in *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*, ed. J. K. Elliott, NovTSup 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 3–32.

13. Based on the manuscript, “Codex Sinaiticus,” <http://www.codex-sinaiticus.net/en/>.

## Translation:

Transcribed in transmission from a very old copy; corrected by the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilus. At the end of this same very old book, which began at First Kingdoms and ended at Esther, such a signature, broadly speaking, in the martyr's own hand is appended as follows:

Copied and corrected in relation to the Hexapla of Origen, as corrected by himself. Antoninus the confessor collated, and I, Pamphilus corrected the volume in prison, by the great and wide favour of God. [And if it not be presumptuous to say so, it would not be easy to find a copy equal to this copy.]

Now the old book disagrees with this volume in respect to certain proper names.

## Commentary:

The note is divided into two by indentation. The first part is by a corrector or scribe of Codex Sinaiticus who tells us that he used an extremely old manuscript containing Kingdoms to Esther to correct Codex Sinaiticus. This ancient copy was corrected by Pamphilus. The corrector of Codex Sinaiticus cites the colophon in his source text to prove this.

The second part of the note is a copy of the actual colophon in the source text that was written in Pamphilus's own handwriting. It states that the source text was first copied from the Hexapla and then corrected against the Hexapla with Antoninus as collator and Pamphilus as corrector. Also noted is the fact that Pamphilus did the work in prison.

For a date, Skeat suggests 309 since Pamphilus was martyred the following year.<sup>14</sup> The sentence stating that the manuscript is the best copy ever may have been written by Pamphilus or perhaps by the scribe who corrected Codex Sinaiticus using his manuscript.

The explanation provided by Skeat for the process of correcting the manuscript is that a team of two was required: one person, that is, Antoninus, read the source text aloud at dictation speed, while the other person, the corrector, entered corrections into the manuscript that had been newly copied.

Skeat's explanation has been confirmed in further research in an article published in 1986 by Pierre Petitmengin and Bernard Flusin.<sup>15</sup> They cite a letter written by the Patriarch Timothy I (727/8–823) of Baghdad around 800.<sup>16</sup> The letter is addressed to one Sergius, concerning a project entailing making three copies of a Syro-Hexapla manuscript in approximately six months by a team of

14. Op. cit., 18.

15. Pierre Petitmengin and Bernard Flusin, "Le Livre Antique et la Dictée: Nouvelles Recherches," in *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière: Antiquité Païenne et Chrétienne*, ed. E. Lucchesi and H. D. Saffrey (Geneva: Cramer, 1984), 247–62.

16. For the text in Syriac, see O. Braun, "Ein Brief des Katholikos Timotheos I. über biblische Studien des 9. Jahrhunderts," *OrChr* 1 (1901): 299–313.

eight people. Six of the eight people were copyists, while two were lectors. These lectors not only read the source text for the copyists but were also responsible for correcting the manuscripts with one reading the source text aloud while the other entered corrections into the text of the copy. It is an extremely interesting document since so little documented description of the practices involved in book-making are available. Although the date of the letter written by Timothy I is indeed late, we may be able to assume consistent practices in copying over the previous four hundred years as the situation seems exactly parallel to the work of Pamphilus and Eusebius.

Another interesting parallel is the number of people in the scribal team and the number of copies made. When Constantine commanded Eusebius to send him fifty copies of the Bible for use in churches, Eusebius promptly responded ἐν πολυτελῶς ἡσκημένοις τεύχεσιν τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσὰ διαπεμψάντων ἡμῶν (*Vit. Const.* 4.37.1). Scholars have debated greatly the phrase τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσά: does it mean books laid out in three or four columns; books copied in quires with three or four bifolia per quire; or three or four copies at a time? Skeat argues persuasively for the last meaning, especially since these words modify the participle διαπεμψάντων. He believes that the urgency of the matter and the risk of incurring the wrath of a capricious Emperor motivated Eusebius to send the manuscripts off as soon as they were completed rather than wait until all were completed. It may be, however, that three or four codices were all that could be produced at one time, given the mechanics of the process and the operational size of Eusebius's scriptorium, however magnificent at the time. The main point of the magisterial study of Codex Sinaiticus by Milne and Skeat was to show that the manuscript was produced by three scribes, not four.<sup>17</sup> This fits well with the data given in the letter by Timothy I who assembled a double scribal team with one lector and three scribes each.

Before further parallels are drawn, we turn now to the colophons for Ecclesiastes and Canticum.

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17. See H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum, 1938). See also Dirk Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*, TS 3/5 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007). David Parker argues for four scribes on the basis of a recent study. See D. C. Parker, *Codex Sinaiticus: The Story of the World's Oldest Bible* (Peabody, MA: Hendrikson, 2010), 49, 63. It is an unpublished paper by Amy C. Myshrall, "The Presence of a Fourth Scribe in Codex Sinaiticus?" (October, 2006), which Prof. Parker passed on to me. Nonetheless, one of the scribes could be more of a lector / supervisor as well as a minor copyist. Thus the evidence for Codex Sinaiticus coincides well with the description in Letter 47 of Timothy I.

Colophon to Ecclesiastes in Codex Syro-Hexaplaris:  
Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C. 313. Inf.; VIII. Folio 70r

ܐܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ  
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Translation:

It was noted in the Greek book from which this book of Qoheleth was translated into Syriac, after its end, as follows: In the same manner Qoheleth was taken from the very same manuscript in which also those that are similar to it afterwards were set together. Moreover, by the hand of the Holy Pamphilus are these (books). Pamphilus and Eusebius, we corrected [them].

Ἐκκλησιαστῆς ὁμοίως μετελήφθη ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀντιγράφου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ [τὰ λοιπὰ] ἐφέξῃς παρετέθησαν, καὶ πάλιν χειρὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Παμφίλου ταῦτα· «Πάμφιλος καὶ Εὐσέβιος διωρθώσαμεν». (Abbr. retroversion by Mercati, 45)

Commentary:

This colophon is carefully divided into four parts by a major punctuation sign in Syriac (ⲥ). This punctuation sign has been represented in the translation by a colon and three periods set in bold type. Although Mercati was well aware of the importance of the punctuation, his retroversion into Greek and that of Middeldorpf into Latin do not clearly mark it or show it, which is the key to grasping the four part structure of the colophon. The first part indicates that the last three parts constitute a colophon or colophons in the Greek *Vorlage* of the Syriac translation. The second part describes further how the Greek *Vorlage* or parent text was copied. It affirms that the text of Qoheleth was taken from exactly the same manuscript of the hexaplaric text. It indicates that there was one codex which contained all the sapiential books. The verb rendered “set together” (ܡܠܟܐ) means that all the sapiential books were put together in a single codex, in accordance with the practice of textual transmission in which the Greek Old Testament was transmitted in blocks of books. Moreover, the adverbial phrase “in the same way” (ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ) clearly shows that this colophon is grammatically and semantically dependent on that of Proverbs. The third and fourth sections constitute the colophon in the source text of the Greek *Vorlage* and belong together as the wording “and again” indicates. The third

could mean that this text was produced by Pamphilus, that is, by scribes under his supervision, or it could mean that Pamphilus was the one who put the sapiential books into a block, that is, a single codex. The fourth declares that Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected the text produced in this way. This correction involved one person reading the source text aloud and the other making corrections in the target copy.

Colophon to Canticum in Codex Syro-Hexaplaris  
Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C. 313. Inf.; VIII. Folio 72r

[illegible]

Translation:

The Book of the Song of Songs according to the Version of the Seventy-Two is completed. It was translated into Syriac from the Greek Book in which was the following note: In the same way also Song was taken from the very same codex. In which were noted at the end also these things: taken from the Hexapla, from these things that we found, of Origen, according to the version of the rest (of the books). Moreover, by his own handwriting: Pamphilus and Eusebius, we corrected [them].

Commentary:

Once again a punctuation sign denoting a major break divides the text into four distinct sections. The first part affirms that the text translated into Syriac is from the Septuagint, here called the Version of the Seventy-Two, a name that is neither shortened nor abbreviated. It also affirms that the last three parts constitute a translation of a colophon or better colophons in the Greek *Vorlagen*. The second part describes how the Greek *Vorlage* was copied. Note again, that this sentence is semantically dependent on the colophons for both Ecclesiastes and Proverbs as we can see from the adverbial phrase “in the same way” (ܐܢܝܢ ܕܝܠܕܝܢܐ). Canticum was taken in transmission from a hexaplaric text just as

Ecclesiastes and Proverbs were. In addition, it was taken from the very same codex, that is, a codex in which the sapiential books had been placed together. Finally, this Greek *Vorlage* had a colophon indicating its source.

Parts three and four go together as is indicated by the phrase “and again.” The third part has the first person plural indicating that Pamphilus and Eusebius discovered materials in the Hexapla of Origen which they wished to insert as marginal notes or scholia. The phrase “according to the version of the rest of the books” is semantically dependent on the earlier colophons to Proverbs and Ecclesiastes where the Hexapla is specified. The source text of the Greek *Vorlage* had its colophon in Pamphilus’s and Eusebius’s own handwriting stating that they had corrected the text. This seems to mean that Pamphilus and Eusebius had scribes copy the sapiential texts into a codex and they checked it by one person reading the text aloud and the other making corrections in the target copy. They would have also have added the marginal notes.

From the colophons to Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticum considered so far, the following observations are worth noting. First by comparing our colophons with those attested in Greek, we can easily see the equivalents in Greek since the Syriac translators were so committed to formal equivalence:

|         |             |                        |
|---------|-------------|------------------------|
| ܡܬܥܠܡܐ  | μετελήφθη   | copied in transmission |
| ܡܬܥܠܡܐ  | ἀντεβλήθη   | collated               |
| ܕܡܬܥܠܡܐ | παρετέθησαν | set together           |
| ܐ ܕܝܕ   | διωρθώσαντο | corrected              |
| ܡܬܥܠܡܐ  | ἀντίγραφον  | copy                   |

Second, the sapiential books were transmitted in a block, or single codex / roll. The evidence for this is supplied at the back of Rahlfs’s *Verzeichnis* where he lists all the manuscript in the blocks in which they were transmitted. This section is entitled “Übersicht über das handschriftliche Material für die einzelnen Teile des A.T.”<sup>18</sup> There are seven blocks as follows:

1. Octateuchus
2. Reg., Par., Esdr.
3. Est., Idt., Tob.
4. Mac. I–IV
5. Ps.Od.
6. Libri sapientiales (Prov. Eccl. Cant. Iob. Sap. Sir. Ps. Sal.)
7. XVI prophetae

So when scribes attempted to produce a pandect Bible, they had to assemble a group of seven codices or rolls, roughly speaking. The colophons present early

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18. A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testament*, MSU 2 (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1914), 373–439.

Third, attention to the full texts of the colophons reveals a genealogy of at least three generations of texts:

Syriac Translation  
|  
Greek *Vorlage* of Syriac  
|  
*Vorlage* of Text in Alexandria

Some scholars suggest that the colophons by Pamphilus and Eusebius were copied through several generations of manuscripts. I am not sure about this. The colophons in the Codex Marchalianus are actually *before* the book and not after. This is an example of a colophon being copied but did not belong originally to the source copy and shows the scribe's way of indicating a good tradition but not a source text actually produced by Eusebius. Nonetheless, if Paul of Tella and his team translated around 617 and the copy in Alexandria was made between 300 and 350, it would make the source manuscript over 250 years old at the time of translation.

## 2.2. GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

A number of colophons give information about dates, people, and places. We have opportunity to consider only one, the Colophon to 3 Kingdoms in BM Add. 14437:

[illegible]

Translation:

This book (from which the present work was translated from Greek into Syriac) was copied from the Hexapla, that is, from the Six Columns that was among the texts of the Six Columns that was among the books of Caesarea in Palestine and was compared to a manuscript in which was noted at the end as follows: I, Eusebius, corrected as accurately as possible. Translated, then, from the Greek Language into Syriac in the month Shebat of the 927th [year] according to the numbering of Alexander, Fourth Indiction at Enaton of Alexandria in the Holy Monastery of Antonine Monks.

Elsewhere, Paul of Tella is mentioned as translator. Here we have a claim for the same three generations of manuscripts.<sup>19</sup> The Syro-Hexapla is a translation of copies of the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla into Syriac. As we can see from the manuscript, included in the margins of this scholarly translation are notes on the text including translations of selected readings from Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus. This translation was made by Paul, Bishop of Tella, in 617 CE at the Antonian Monastery at Enaton, a relay post on the coastal road 14 kilometres west of the city of Alexandria. Tella d'Mauzalath (between Edessa and Mardin) was the centre of a diocese of the Syrian Orthodox Church. Paul, bishop of Tella, probably fled to Alexandria due to the Persian invasion led by Khusraw II Parwez Hormezd. Nonetheless, Patriarch Aphram Barsoum in *The Scattered Pearls* (SS. 39, 313) claims that Patriarch Athanasius I had invited Paul of Tella to come to the Antonian Monastery to do the translation. No doubt once Paul was granted asylum there, they needed to give him a job.

There is an interesting colophon at the very end of Codex Syro-Hexaplaris:

Colophon to Milan, Bib. Ambr. C 313 Inf. (fol. 193v)

ܬܠܬܐ ܕܡܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܡܠܬܐ  
ܕܡܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܡܠܬܐ  
ܕܡܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܡܠܬܐ  
ܕܡܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܡܠܬܐ  
ܕܡܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܡܠܬܐ

Translation:

This book belongs to the renowned monastery  
of the 'Mother of God' which is in the desert of Scete (Nitria)  
and is designated monastery of the Syrians.

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19. The evidence is conveniently gathered in Robert J. V. Hiebert, "Syriac Biblical Textual History and the Greek Psalter," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry, JSOTSup 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 179, n. 3.



May he who reads pray for the monk Yohanan  
from the abode of Mar Gabriel.<sup>20</sup>

Codex Syro-Hexaplaris belonged to the Syrian monastery of the Nitrian Desert in Egypt known as Deir as-Suryan and is written in a late eighth or early ninth century hand (s. colophon, Blatt 193v). This area, also known as the Desert of Scete (Wadi El-Natrun), is some 80–90 kilometres south of Alexandria. While the precise role of the monk called Yohanan is unclear, what is clear is that the manuscript belonged to the Deir as-Suryan Monastery south of Alexandria. Consequently, this manuscript is not far from its source in both place and time.

### 2.3. ANALYSIS OF TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION AND TEXTUAL RELATIONS

For the critical Edition of Ecclesiastes to be published soon in the Göttingen Septuaginta series, the hexaplaric recension is attested by the following witnesses:

*O* = V-253-475-637 Hi Syh (S<sup>c</sup> 411)

The main members of the *O* group are V-253-475-637 as the hyphen indicates. The group is not always unified in attesting the reading of the hexaplaric text (see discussion *infra*). Nonetheless, variants from *O* or a part thereof occur in approximately 320 instances (against the critical text).

The siglum Hi represents the biblical text of Jerome's Commentary on Ecclesiastes. This text is clearly related to the *O* Group. There are 60 agreements with *O*, 18 of which are singular agreements. The main problem is the extent to which Hi really represents the Old Latin or the extent to which Jerome freely and spontaneously corrected his Old Latin source text as he produced the Lemma of his Commentary.

S<sup>c</sup> agrees with a member of the *O* Group in approximately 50 cases and against the *O* Group in 11; approximately eight of these are singular agreements.

Ms 411 is a late manuscript where the scribe used manuscripts from a variety of sources to correct his source text. Among these was the hexaplaric group. There are over 180 readings where 411 agrees with *O* against the critical text; 21 of these are singular agreements.

The Syro-Hexapla (Syh) also transmits a hexaplaric text but is a distant member of the group. Syh agrees with at least one member of *O* in 107 instances, and in 61 of these instances, *O* is unified.

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20. I acknowledge gratefully the assistance of Jerome Lund in reading this text.

## 3. CONCLUSION

We arrive at the following conundrum. The Syro-Hexapla claims to derive from the text of the Seventy in Origen's Hexapla. Better and more than any other source, it preserves lines marked with the Aristarchian signs: asterisk, obelus, metobelus, and lemnisk. These signs appear to be used correctly for the most part. In the margins are readings from Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus. The Syro-Hexapla on the whole tends to preserve more of these readings than any other source. Nonetheless, the main text is not a very close witness of the hexaplaric recension as far as we can tell from a study of relations in the textual tradition.<sup>21</sup>

I propose the following solution: when we look at the Syro-Hexapla, we are looking at a recension derived and descended from the Tetrapla and not the Hexapla.<sup>22</sup>

Ruth Clements's arguments that the Tetrapla preceded the Hexapla are not convincing.<sup>23</sup> In Caesarea, Origen came into contact with Jewish rabbis and needed better exegesis. The Hexapla enabled him to compare the text of the Seventy with the Hebrew Text. This was done by marking differences in the fifth column using the asterisk and the obelus. Origen actually speaks of asterisk and obelus, even though he never uses the word Hexapla, Tetrapla, or speaks of a multitedition bible in columns (see Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 15.14 and *Ep. Afr.*, 3–7). Eusebius states that Origen prepared the Tetrapla separately (Eusebius, *Eccl. theol.* 6.16). Once he had a good grasp on the relations between the LXX and the

21. This fact has been noted by many scholars, most recently by Timothy M. Law, "La Version Syro-Hexaplaire et la Transmission Textuelle de la Bible Grécque," in *L'Ancien Testament en syriaque*, ed. F. Briquel Chatonnet and Ph. Le Moigne, *Études syriaques* 5 (Paris: Geuthner, 2008), 101–20.

22. After presentation of the paper in Munich, this proposal was confirmed by the colophon to the Twelve Prophets in Codex Syro-Hexaplaris, which says "the Twelve Prophets were taken in transmission from a copy that was like the version of the Tetrapla." See Robert Hiebert, "Syriac Biblical Textual History and the Greek Psalter," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, 178–204. Hiebert provides an excellent list of colophons and notes the Tetrapla as the basis for the Syro-Hexapla in many books. Also discovered afterwards is the earlier research of R. G. Jenkins who pursued the same trail of evidence and concluded similarly: R. G. Jenkins, "Colophons of the Syrohexapla and the *Textgeschichte* of the Recensions of Origen," in *VII Congress of the IOSCS: Leuven 1989*, ed. Claude E. Cox, SBLSCS 31 (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1991), 261–77; idem, "Hexaplaric Marginalia and the Hexapla-Tetrapla Question," in Salvesen, *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*, 73–87.

23. Ruth Clements, "Origen's Hexapla and Christian-Jewish Encounter in the Second and Third Centuries," in *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima*, ed. Terence L. Donaldson, *Studies in Christianity and Judaism / Études sur le Christianisme et le Judaïsme* 8 (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 303–29.

Hebrew, he did not need the first two columns, nor did he even need the full text of the versions of the *recentiores*. The suffix -pla does not mean a text in columns, although this was true of the Hexapla. The Tetrapla was fourfold: it contained four Greek versions. By the way, the Syro-Hexapla is the only source that transmits the note *ὁμοίως*. This indicates that Aquila or Theodotion has the same text as that of the Seventy without copying it verbatim. In the Tetrapla, Origen had all the exegetical ammunition he needed to carry on debates or do exegesis.

Even if one does not accept my proposal concerning the Tetrapla, the following point is clear: this text was transmitted by Pamphilus and Eusebius and gradually altered to match the *vulgo* text. They are the originators of the hexaplaric recension; perhaps even Origen made alterations to the base text of the Tetrapla in transferring the *ο'* text from Hexapla to Tetrapla. Once we clearly distinguish between the Hexapla and the recension that came from it in our sources, we can better address the question of whether the Aristarchian signs were in the original Hexapla.

Many handbooks on the Septuagint suggest that the Hexapla may have survived until the conquest of the Arabs in 638.<sup>24</sup> One may well wonder if all of it survived past the Diocletian Persecution. Eusebius does say that Scriptures were destroyed at that time (H.E. 8.2). We do not know anything about the period between Origen's death and the time when Pamphilus became active and influential at Caesarea. We do know that Pamphilus was responsible for preserving much of Origen's library (Jerome, *Vir. ill.*, § 75). Although the prevailing view is that no complete copy of the synopsis was ever made, Reinhart Ceulemans has shown that this perspective must be modified.<sup>25</sup>

An exhaustive search on the term "hexapla" in the TLG revealed that the word originated as a nominalised form of the adjective in the neuter plural. Nonetheless, the Antiochian Fathers use the term in the singular. Colophons in Codex Syro-Hexaplaris use the Syriac word for column plus the numeral four or six for Tetrapla and Hexapla. Later Syriac sources simply use a Greek loan word transliterated into Syriac: ܠܚܬܡܢܐ.<sup>26</sup> It seems that this word in the letter of Timothy I just means hexaplaric. This usage may have already started in the time of Eusebius as some of the colophons show.

There is much that we do not know, but this is a fruitful area of research.

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24. E.g., Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 211.

25. Reinhart Ceulemans, "The Greek Christian Afterlife of the Minor Versions: The Possibilities of a Shift in Perspective," in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 101–17.

26. In the colophon to 3 Kingdoms in British Library Add. 14437, the word is spelled in Syriac as ܠܚܬܡܢܐ.



# Theodoret and the Antiochene Text of the Psalms

Reinhart Ceulemans

**Abstract:** In the critical edition of the Greek Psalter published by Alfred Rahlfs in 1931, the siglum *L* does not always denote the Antiochene text (i.e., “Lukian”) but rather the vulgar Byzantine text represented by the mass of minuscule manuscripts of the Psalms. This anomaly results from Rahlfs’s inevitably limited consultation of the commentary by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, the most important witness of the Antiochene text. The present article shows that the available edition of this commentary (by Johann Schulze, 1769) represents Theodoret’s biblical text even less reliably than Rahlfs surmised and that the differences between the Antiochene and the koine text are by consequence more numerous than Rahlfs’s apparatus gives to show. Only new and critical research of (the manuscript transmission of) Theodoret’s commentary can uncover the “original” Antiochene text and distinguish it from its later, vulgar development.

Both in his 1907 study<sup>1</sup> and 1931 edition<sup>2</sup> of the Greek Psalter, Alfred Rahlfs showed how the immense popularity this text enjoyed in Late Antiquity and Byzantium (a popularity unrivalled by any other Septuagint book) not only resulted in an unparalleled amount of manuscript copies, commentaries, and catenae but also influenced the transmission of the text in a profound way. As a consequence, the textual history of the Greek Psalms is very different from that of other Septuagint books.

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1. Alfred Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters: Nebst einem Anhang; Griechische Psalterfragmente aus Oberägypten nach Abschriften von W.E. Crum*, Septuaginta-Studien 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907); repr. *Septuaginta-Studien I–III: Vermehrt um einen unveröffentlichten Aufsatz und eine Bibliographie; Mit einem Nachruf von Walter Bauer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 105–360.

2. Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis*, Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931; repr. 1979).

A crucial role in this matter was played by the Antiochene text.<sup>3</sup> A particular redaction of the Septuagint Psalter was shaped and used in Syria from the fourth century CE, not least by Christian authors like John Chrysostom and Theodoret of Cyrrhus who operated in the Antioch region. Such was the situation also of several other Septuagint books—in the case of the Psalms, however, the use of the Antiochene text grew out to be far less restricted. Rahlfs's research revealed that it was the Antiochene text that from the sixth century onwards was used as the standard text of the Psalms in Byzantium (in liturgy and elsewhere).<sup>4</sup> It became the "vulgar text," which pushed aside all other text types: almost all of the very many minuscule manuscripts of the Psalms transmit that koine text. Rahlfs argued that this popular use went hand in hand with a modification of the Antiochene text: the vulgar text of the Psalms is rooted in, but not identical with the Antiochene text.

Of crucial importance to Rahlfs's treatment of this topic is the commentary on the Psalms by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*CPG* 6202): it is precisely through this text that Rahlfs managed to see that the vulgar text developed out of the Antiochene one (of which, in general, Theodoret is a known representative). It was also through Theodoret's commentary that Rahlfs was able to deduce that the Antiochene and the later vulgar text are not identical (see below).

# 1. THEODORET'S COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS

In the 440s, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, who is known as one of the most prolific authors of the so-called Antiochene "school" of exegesis, commented upon the entirety of the Psalter.<sup>5</sup> Despite its length (almost seven hundred pages of running Greek text!), this commentary was very popular and copied very often. At least eighty manuscript witnesses are known to exist, which date from the ninth to the seventeenth century and contain the complete text or a substantial

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3. Throughout this article, the term "Antiochene text" is preferred over that of "Lucianic recension."

4. Strictly speaking, the line of reasoning was the other way around: following in the footsteps of Friedrich Baethgen ("Der textkritische Werth der alten Uebersetzungen zu den Psalmen," *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 8 [1882]: 407–22), Rahlfs first identified a vulgar text type and thereupon was able to perceive a link with the Antiochene one.

5. On the date of confection, see Martin Brok, "Touchant la date du Commentaire sur les Psaumes de Théodoret de Cyr," *RHE* 44 (1949): 552–56, and Brian Croke, "Dating Theodoret's Church History and Commentary on the Psalms," *Byzantion* 54 (1984): 59–74. Readers in need of a basic introduction to Theodoret's Psalter commentary will find useful information in the publications by Jean-Noël Guinot, especially *L'exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr*, ThH 100 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1995) and the articles reprinted in *Le dernier grand exégète de l'école d'Antioche au V<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 1 of *Théodoret de Cyr exégète et théologien*, Patrimoines christianisme (Paris: Cerf, 2012).

part of it.<sup>6</sup> This very extensive direct tradition has never been fully documented let alone studied.

The popularity of Theodoret's commentary is also shown by the very prominent position it occupies in the catena traditions of the Psalms. Research has proven that very extensive sections or shorter fragments have been included in virtually all catenae on this book, sometimes in secondary position, but very often as one of the sources of primary importance.<sup>7</sup> In other words, the number of catena manuscripts in which substantial parts (at times even the entire text) of the commentary can be found, is well over one hundred.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, a complete Old Slavonic translation of Theodoret's commentary has survived<sup>9</sup> and pieces of one into Armenian.<sup>10</sup> Both of those versions are old and

6. An overview was published by Alfred Rahlfs but is far from complete: *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, MSU 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1914), 405–6. The remark (405 n. 3) on the decreased popularity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries still appears valid.

7. The standard survey of Theodoret's presence in the catenae on the Psalms is offered by Robert Devreesse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques," *DBSup* 1 (1928): 1135–37. The most complete (yet not centralized) information can be found dispersed over the four published volumes of Gilles Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes: Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, 4 vols., SSL 43–46 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986–1995), and the unpublished fifth one (PhD diss., Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1984). Compare also Ekkehard Mühlénberg, *Untersuchungen zu den Psalmenketenen*, vol. 3 of *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, PTS 19 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978), passim.

8. It has been argued that, offering an important testimony, the catena tradition needs to be taken into consideration by the critical editor of Theodoret's text: see Dorival, *Chaînes exégétiques*, 5:2431. This claim might be true, but the direct tradition needs to be examined in full first: for the establishment of a critical edition, that tradition should have priority. The same remark is valid with regard to the testimony of the translations mentioned in the following notes.

9. Jacques Lépassier, *Étude linguistique et philologique*, vol. 1 of *Les Commentaires des Psaumes de Théodoret (version slave)*, Textes publiés par l'Institut d'Études slaves 7.1 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale—Institut d'Études slaves, 1968). Further references are offered by Margaret Dimitrova, "The Old Testament Commentaries in Medieval South Slavonic Manuscripts: Metatext, Context, and Translation," in *On the Fringe of Commentary: Metatextuality in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures*, ed. Sydney H. Aufrère, Philip S. Alexander, and Zlatko Pleše, OLA 232 (Leuven: Peeters—Département Oosterse Studies, 2014), 405–22. To my knowledge, this translation has not been published.

10. This translation, too, is unpublished. See the research by Bernard Outtier: "La version arménienne du commentaire des psaumes de Théodoret: Premier bilan," *Revue des études arméniennes* 12 (1977): 169–80; "La version arménienne du commentaire des psaumes de Théodoret. Nouveaux témoins de la tradition directe," *Revue des études arméniennes* 17 (1983): 241–48; "Une page des relations byzantino-arméniennes: La réception des œuvres de Théodoret de Cyr en Arménie," in *L'Arménie et Byzance: Histoire et culture*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 12 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 181–86. A part of the Armenian version itself was translated into Georgian (edited in

have been characterized as textual witnesses of significant importance. A Latin translation was also made, but as late as the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

The textual history of Theodoret's commentary has not been studied in detail. One knows that the text changed drastically in the course of its transmission and that a longer and shorter recension exist, but that is as far as our knowledge goes.<sup>12</sup>

The commentary was edited twice but never in a critical fashion. Jacques Sirmond (1642) published the text as he appears to have taken it from a single manuscript, which he did not identify.<sup>13</sup> Side by side with the Greek text he printed Antonio Carafa's Latin translation (see n. 11). There are many differences between the Greek and Latin text, which certainly result from the fact that Sirmond relied on a manuscript other than the one translated by Carafa. In addition, the Greek text has been characterized as not offering the full commentary.<sup>14</sup>

In 1769, Johann Ludwig Schulze reprinted the edition by Sirmond (i.e., both Sirmond's Greek text and Carafa's translation) and also consulted some other sources.<sup>15</sup> He claims to have collated the entire commentary with three manu-

1979: see the reference in "Une page des relations," 182 n. 3), which just like the Armenian text was transmitted under the name of Epiphanius of Salamis (CPG 3784).

11. *Beati Theodoretī Episcopi Cyri Interpretatio in omnes Davidis Psalmos: Cathena explanationum veterum sanctorum patrum in omnia tum Veteris, tum Novi Testamenti cantica*, trans. Antonio Carafa (Padua: Apud M.A. Gallassium Brixiensem, 1565). Carafa did not identify the Greek manuscript that he translated, but it was the *Vaticanus gr.* 1232: see Pierre Batiffol, *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V d'après des documents nouveaux*, Petite bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie (Paris: Leroux, 1890), 70.

12. Even this information is very vague. See, for example, Marie-Josèphe Rondeau, *Les travaux des Pères grecs et latins sur le Psautier: Recherches et bilan*, vol. 1 of *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (IIIe-Ve siècles)*, OrChrAn 219 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1982), 134–36.

13. *Beati Theodoretī episcopi Cyri opera omnia in quatuor tomos distributa: Quorum plurima Graece, quaedam etiam Latine nunc primum prodeunt; Graeca cum manuscriptis exemplaribus diligenter collata, Latinae versiones ad Graecorum normam exactae et recognitae; Tomi I pars altera in qua sunt Interpretatio in Psalmos et Interpretatio in Canticum Cantorum*, ed. Jacobus Sirmond (Paris: Sumptibus S. Cramoisy & G. Cramoisy, 1642), 393–981. It is possible but not certain that the source manuscript was one that was kept in Paris at the time.

14. In codices of the direct tradition both E. Große-Brauckmann and M.-J. Rondeau found passages that are absent from Sirmond's edition. See Emil Große-Brauckmann, "Der Psaltertext bei Theodoret," in *Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1911): 339; repr. MSU 1.3 (Berlin, Weidmann, 1915), 74 (see the description of "Cod. 4"); and Rondeau, *Travaux des Pères grecs et latins sur le Psautier*, 135 (Sirmond testifies to the "recension courte").

15. *B. Theodoretī episcopi Cyri opera omnia ex recensione Iacobi Sirmondi denuo edidit, Graeca e codicibus locupletavit, antiquiores editiones adhibuit, versionem*



scripts that at the time were kept in Augsburg.<sup>16</sup> For particular sections, he consulted additional witnesses in the form of two Florentine codices and the edition of some fragments by Jean Garnier.<sup>17</sup> For most of the commentary, he only recorded in the apparatus the variants of these documents,<sup>18</sup> but here and there he used their evidence (that of the Augsburg codices in particular) to change the text of Sirmond. Those changes to the text (corrections as well as additions: they are identified in the apparatus)<sup>19</sup> served Schulze's main goal of presenting a Greek version that is more in line with the Latin translation than was Sirmond's text. It is with the same purpose that he also modified Carafa's Latin translation he printed side by side with the Greek text—modifications that are pointed out in no way whatsoever.

The latter observation is ominous in terms of the reliability of Schulze's undertaking. Indeed, his collations have been characterized as being imperfect,<sup>20</sup> and his choice of sources is not very fortunate either. The edition by Garnier, for example, contains excerpts attributed to Theodoret in a manuscript of the catena of Nicetas (*CPG* C 21): not only is this a young catena, but the particular manuscript used by Garnier has been exposed as a witness of inferior quality,<sup>21</sup> and as a consequence the additions that Schulze made on the basis of Garnier's

*Latinam recognovit, et variantes lectiones adieci; Tomus I*, ed. Ioannes L. Schulze (Halle: Typis et impensis Bibliopolii Orphanotrophei, 1769), 601–1586. This edition is reprinted in PG 80:857–1998. Schulze presented his sources and methods (both in general and with respect to the Psalter commentary in particular) on pp. xiv–xix [= PG 80:23–27]. It is this information the reader finds summarized here.

16. Now all of them are in Munich. For their identification, I rely on Große-Brauckmann, "Psaltertext bei Theodoret," 337 [= 72].

17. The edition is *Beati Theodoreti episcopi Cyri operum tomus V. nunc primum in lucem editus*, ed. Joannes Garnerius (Paris: Sumptibus viduae E. Martini et J. Boudot, 1684), 7–20 [*sic*: not 7–27, as written by Devreesse, "Chânes exégétiques grecques," 1136. Devreesse was also wrong in stating that these pages are reprinted in PG 84:19–32: those columns in fact reprint pp. 1–6 of Garnier's edition].

18. In addition, Schulze's apparatus contains comments on the Septuagint text and on readings from  $\text{oi } \gamma'$  cited by Theodoret (those comments include occasional collations with some manuscripts and editions of the Septuagint and the Hexapla) as well as information taken from the editions of patristic fragments and catenae. See the presentation on pp. xviii–xx of Schulze's edition [= PG 80:27–28].

19. The additions are also marked with quotation marks in the main text (changed into square brackets in the PG reprint).

20. Große-Brauckmann, "Psaltertext bei Theodoret," 337 [= 72].

21. The manuscript is not *Vaticanus* gr. 247, as indicated by Schulze (xviii = PG 80:26) but *Vaticanus*, *Palatinus* gr. 247. A negative judgment is passed on the quality of this codex not only for the fragments from Theodoret's commentary (Dorival, *Chânes exégétiques*, 3:511–12), but also for its other contents (e.g., Giovanni M. Vian, "I codici vaticani del «Commento ai Salmi» di Atanasio," *Vetera Christianorum* 13 [1976]: 128).

edition have been labeled as being inauthentic and *delenda*.<sup>22</sup> A similar problem, typical of editions that isolate fragments from catena compilations, also haunts Schulze's reliance upon both Florentine codices and one of the Augsburg manuscripts: all three of them are catenae,<sup>23</sup> and it has been argued that some of the materials that Schulze added on their authority are in fact not Theodoret's.<sup>24</sup> Aside from these issues of authenticity, those catena manuscripts also suffer from the basic problem of not representing the direct tradition, which is the one that deserves preference, especially when it is as rich as that of Theodoret's commentary.<sup>25</sup> Both other Augsburg manuscripts do represent that direct tradition, but one of them is incomplete (breaking off at the exegesis of Ps 94:8) and does certainly not belong to the oldest strand of transmission.<sup>26</sup> The other is older and almost complete (although the very first section of Theodoret's preface and the exegesis of Pss 74 to 78:1 are missing) but poses problems of its own.<sup>27</sup>

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22. Große-Brauckmann, "Psaltertext bei Theodoret," 340 [= 75] and Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 243.

23. The *Florentinus*, *Laurentianus Plut.* VI 3, the first Laurentian manuscript mentioned by Schulze, is a catena that relies on earlier compilations: see the references in CPG C 29 and Dorival, *Chânes exégétiques*, 4:419–62. The second manuscript from Florence, the *Laurentianus Plut.* V 14, was not attached to any catena type by G. Karo and I. Lietzmann, "Catenarum graecarum catalogus," *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1902), 65, but has now been identified as a witness of the abovementioned catena of Nicetas (Dorival, *Chânes exégétiques*, 3:499–500). The *Monacensis gr.* 359 (Schulze's "cod. 3") covers in its capacity as a witness of catena type VI (Karo and Lietzmann, "Catenarum graecarum catalogus," 30) only the first fifty Psalms—in the Munich manuscript even that section is not complete: see Marcel Richard, "Les premières chaînes sur le Psautier," *Bulletin d'information de l'IRHT* 5 (1956): 87–98 and "Les manuscrits de la chaîne du type VI sur les psaumes," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 3 (1973): 25–26; repr. *Opera minora* (Turnhout: Brepols; Leuven: University Press, 1977), nos. 70–71.

24. See Große-Brauckmann, "Psaltertext bei Theodoret," 339 [= 74] (on the *Monac. gr.* 359).

25. Compare n. 8 above.

26. This manuscript, the *Monacensis gr.* 527 (Schulze's "cod. 2"), is dated to the fifteenth century.

27. The *Monacensis gr.* 478 (Schulze's "cod. 1"), which scholars date to the twelfth century, contains for the sections on Pss 73:18 to 74 and 79 to 88:8 many additions in the margins that are not Theodoret's: together they form a catena that appears related to types mentioned in CPG C 30 and C 27, although the precise nature of that relation is disputed (compare Mühlenberg, *Psalmekommentare*, 11–12 and Dorival, *Chânes exégétiques*, 3:92–96). Apart from that marginal catena, Große-Brauckmann pointed out the presence (in the main text of Theodoret's commentary) of many additions to the exegesis of Pss 51–100. Although spurious, many of them were included into the text by Schulze: see Große-Brauckmann, "Psaltertext bei Theodoret," 338–39 [= 73–74] (and earlier Rahlfs, *Text des Septuaginta-Psaltern*, 175 [= 279] n. 2).

In sum, the quality of Schulze's edition is crippled by a poor choice of sources, poor collations, and poor text-critical criteria. Adding to these problems is the unknown identity of the manuscript used by Sirmond (the source that lies at the basis of this editorial tradition). One can only conclude that the most recent edition of Theodoret's commentary on the Psalms is untrustworthy and fails to offer a reliable picture of this text.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. THEODORET IN RESEARCH ON THE ANTIOCHENE TEXT OF THE PSALMS

Such a conclusion poses problems to the scholar who aims to recover the Antiochene text of the Psalms, for in this process Theodoret's commentary plays a vital role. It was this text that made Rahlfs observe the link between the vulgar text of the Psalms, offered by the majority of Septuagint minuscule manuscripts, and the Antiochene text: he noticed that a great many of the readings he characterized as being typical of the vulgar text and which distinguish it from other text types could also be found in the commentary of Theodoret, who in general is known to have used the Antiochene text of the Septuagint.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, however, he saw that several readings offered by Theodoret differ from the vulgar text. Unsure how to interpret these differences, Rahlfs wondered whether they did not just result from the poor quality of Schulze's edition, which in 1907 was Rahlfs's only access to Theodoret's commentary.<sup>30</sup>

That is why, at Rahlfs's request,<sup>31</sup> Emil Große-Brauckmann carried out additional research on the Psalter text used by Theodoret in his commentary and why he not only compared it with the koine text and other text types but also consulted additional manuscripts of Theodoret's commentary, in order to fathom the reliability of Schulze's edition.<sup>32</sup> Next to collating anew the three *Monacenses* that had been used by Schulze (cf. nn. 23 and 26–27), Große-Brauckmann collated two manuscripts of the commentary's direct tradition that are older than any of Schulze's codices. One of them contains almost the

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28. See Devreesse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques," 1136 (on Schulze's text): "Cette édition du commentaire de Théodoret n'inspire donc qu'une confiance limitée."

29. *Psalmi cum Odis*, 63: "Die lukianische Rezension finden wir ferner in Theodorets Kommentar zum Psalter, und gerade mit Hilfe dieses Werkes habe ich in S.-St. 2 [= Rahlfs's 1907 study, RCJ], S. 177 den Lukiantext des Psalters festgestellt."

30. Throughout his *Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, 172–76 [= 276–80], Rahlfs mentioned the unreliability of Schulze's edition several times. See, e.g., 175 [= 279]: "... ergibt sich, wie dringend gerade Theodoret einer neuen Bearbeitung bedarf."

31. See Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 63–64: "Auf meine Veranlassung hat E. Große-Brauckmann den Psaltertext bei Tht auf sein Verhältnis zu L unter Heranziehung mehrerer Tht-Hss. untersucht."

32. Große-Brauckmann's article (see the reference in n. 14) appeared 1911, in the interval between Rahlfs's study and edition of the Psalter text.

complete text,<sup>33</sup> while the other one third of it.<sup>34</sup> Of yet two other (incomplete) manuscripts, evidence was included sporadically and indirectly.<sup>35</sup> Among the many useful observations that Große-Brauckmann offered in his study, there are some that are particularly pertinent to the topic of this article.<sup>36</sup>

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33. The *Berolinensis* gr. 4° 38 (“Cod. 4” in Große-Brauckmann’s terminology), is dated to the eleventh century, but some minor parts (one at the beginning and one at the end of the commentary) were supplemented by a hand from the fourteenth or fifteenth century—those were ignored by Große-Brauckmann. The codex offers a redaction of the commentary that is more extensive than the one edited by Sirmond (compare n. 14), but the lemma text is not always offered in full. The manuscript was destroyed in WWII (see <http://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/abteilungen/handschriften/abendlaendische-handschriften/signatureuebersicht/?action=permalink&request=31017859>).

34. The *Vindobonensis*, *theol. gr.* 294 (called “Cod. 184” by Große-Brauckmann) transmits the commentary on the first fifty Psalms only and even then incompletely: the beginning and ending of that section were added in the sixteenth century by Andreas Darmarius, not always on the basis of the commentary’s direct tradition. Große-Brauckmann believed the original layer to have been copied in the ninth/tenth century (which would make the codex one of the oldest known witnesses of the commentary; so also Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 323), but the more recent and detailed catalogue description dates it to the eleventh century: see Herbert Hunger and Wolfgang Lackner, *Codices theologici 201–337*, vol. 3.3 of *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Museion*, Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Neue Folge, Vierte Reihe: Veröffentlichungen der Handschriftensammlung 1.3.3 (Vienna: Hollinek, 1992), 321–23.

35. Große-Brauckmann did not access these manuscripts directly, but through *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus. Tomus tertius*, ed. Robert Holmes and James Parsons (Oxford: Clarendon, 1823). The first of these manuscripts, the *Florentinus*, *Laurentianus* *Plut.* XI 5 (“Cod. 288”), was dated by Große-Brauckmann to the twelfth century (so also Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 68), but was exposed by more recent and detailed analysis to have been written by two eleventh-century hands, while some smaller sections were supplemented in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries: see Sofia Kotzabassi, *Βυζαντινά χειρόγραφα από τὰ μοναστήρια τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀσίας* (Athens: Ἑφεσος, 2004), 103. In the preface to their edition of the Psalms, Holmes and Parsons stated that they only collated the section on Pss 1–18 (not 17, as mentioned by Rahlfs), which is why Große-Brauckmann only used its evidence for these first Psalms. The manuscript, however, contains the complete text of Theodoret’s commentary (and is—curiously—indeed mentioned by Holmes and Parsons in the apparatus to Pss 20:13 and 73:2). The second manuscript (“Cod. 210”) was lost already before 1911 (see Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 332) and is described by Holmes and Parsons as a manuscript that was written in the thirteenth or fourteenth century and which contains only the biblical text of the Psalms. On the basis of certain readings, however, Große-Brauckmann (“Psaltertext bei Theodoret,” 337 [= 72] and 340 [= 75]) surmised that this codex contained the commentary of Theodoret.

36. The following paragraphs summarize insights that can be gathered from Große-Brauckmann’s study. Compare the summary given by Rahlfs in *Psalmi cum Odis*, 64.

Confirmation was offered that Schulze's edition fails to offer a reliable text of Theodoret's commentary. The manuscripts collated by Große-Brauckmann differ from the edition remarkably often; and although many of their variants, which appear preferable, also occur in the manuscripts consulted by Schulze, they do not show up in his apparatus. A posteriori, Schulze's edition does not offer a trustworthy picture of the Psalter text used by Theodoret either. Große-Brauckmann found several passages where in Schulze's edition Theodoret's biblical lemma text is identical with the koine text, but where the manuscripts of the commentary give a different lemma—one that has singular readings or agrees with particular text types other than the vulgar text.<sup>37</sup> In that way, Große-Brauckmann<sup>38</sup> pointed out remarkable and/or frequent parallels between Theodoret's Psalter text and representatives of the so-called occidental text type (manuscripts R, 188 and 27: sixth, seventh and ninth century respectively),<sup>39</sup> the upper Egyptian text type (papyrus U from the seventh [?] century), the so-called A group (codex 55: tenth century)<sup>40</sup> and—most frequently and conspicuously—the *codex Vaticanus* (manuscript B, the main representative of the lower Egyptian type). These text types were characterized in Rahlfs's 1907 study as ancient, as a rule pre-Hexaplaric, and in any case older than the vulgar text; their transmission in Septuagint manuscripts is also much more limited than that of the koine text.

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37. Also the opposite observation was made by Große-Brauckmann: in some cases the manuscripts give as Theodoret's biblical text a lemma that is identical with the koine text, while Schulze's edition has a different reading.

38. "Psaltertext bei Theodoret," 364–65 [= 99–100]. Nomenclature of Psalter text types that I offer here is taken from Rahlfs's 1907 and 1931 publications. The sigla that are cited are those that can be found in Rahlfs's *Verzeichnis* and the updated redaction by Detlef Fraenkel, *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, Supplementum 1.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004). In addition to those mentioned here, Große-Brauckmann also listed codex 39 as a manuscript with which Theodoret's biblical text often agrees, but this witness was already lost when he carried out his research: he took its readings from Holmes and Parsons's edition. According to the preface of that edition, the manuscript was a parchment one from the ninth century (so also Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 330). In his *Text des Septuaginta-Psaltern*, 55 [= 159; siglum "E" instead of "39"], Rahlfs had carefully suggested that this codex regularly differs from the koine text.

39. On the latter manuscript's belonging to this text type, see Rahlfs, *Text des Septuaginta-Psaltern*, 54 and 99 [= 158 and 203; with use of the siglum "M" instead of "27"] and *Psalmi cum Odis*, 32. For codex 188, see *Text des Septuaginta-Psaltern*, 95–96 [= 199–200; with use of the siglum "H"] and *Psalmi cum Odis*, 32.

40. See Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 70 (adjusting *Text des Septuaginta-Psaltern*, 55 [= 159], which did not rely on complete collations). The A group was assembled by Rahlfs not so much on the basis of certain agreements between its members as because of their shared disagreement from the vulgar text.

At many *loci* in Theodoret's commentary, Große-Brauckmann found in the manuscripts a lemma text that agrees with these text types and differs from the koine text and about which he could decide with reasonable certainty<sup>41</sup> that it was the Psalter text used by Theodoret—even when in many of those cases Schulze's edition simply cites the vulgar text. For some passages, the manuscript evidence of the commentary was not unisonous: some codices (notably the *Berolinensis* and the *Vindobonensis*) offer as Theodoret's biblical text a reading that agrees with that of the text types mentioned above, while other manuscripts (the *Monac. gr.* 478 and the *Monac. gr.* 527, in particular) give a lemma that is identical to the vulgar text. It is probable that in such cases, Theodoret's original text had the older, rarer non-vulgar Psalter reading, which in the course of the commentary's transmission was adapted to the ubiquitous koine text.

These findings of Große-Brauckmann not only showed that Schulze's edition of Theodoret's commentary must not be used for critical research on the textual history of the Psalms but also confirmed that Theodoret's Psalter text often differed from the later vulgar text—more often than Rahlfs surmised in 1907. In his study, Große-Brauckmann limited himself to the collection and analysis of these data: modestly, he did not attempt to interpret the evidence explicitly in view of the thorny issue that had Rahlfs command the study, that is, the precise relation between the Antiochene and the vulgar text of the Psalms and the extent to which Theodoret can be used to uncover the “original” Antiochene layer (see n. 45). Although Große-Brauckmann did not draw any explicit conclusions in this regard, his research undoubtedly marks an important contribution to this debate.

His 1911 study laid bare numerous parallels between the Psalter citations in the commentary of Theodoret and those in the exegesis by Theodore of Mopsuestia (*CPG* 3833) and John Chrysostom (*CPG* 4413) as well as the Syro-Hexapla.<sup>42</sup> In general, Theodore and Chrysostom are known users of the Antiochene text, and in the case of the Psalter also the Syro-Hexapla was influenced by this text.<sup>43</sup> This is a strong confirmation that the Psalter text used by Theodoret is the Antiochene one.<sup>44</sup> Here and there this text is identical with

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41. See, by way of example, Große-Brauckmann's term “sichere B-Lesarten” (“Psaltertext bei Theodoret,” 351 [= 86]).

42. Comparison between Theodoret's commentary and those by Theodore and Chrysostom is not always possible, since the latter two (at least in their form preserved at present) do not cover the complete Psalter.

43. Rahlfs took the Syro-Hexapla for a main witness of the Antiochene text, but this view was adjusted by Robert Hiebert, who identified it as a recension of the Syriac Philoxenian text, related in some way to the Greek Antiochene one. See the summary (with references) in Reinhart Ceulemans, “The *ὁμοίως* Notes in the Syro-Hexapla Version of the Song of Songs,” *OCP* 79 (2013): 9–10 n. 16.

44. Noteworthy in this regard is the fact that among the manuscripts that Große-Brauckmann listed as having a Psalter text with which Theodoret's commentary fre-

other, ancient text types of the Psalms, and at other times it goes its own way. In a similar way, it agrees to a large extent with the later vulgar text, but not completely (and less often than Schulze's edition gives to believe).

These insights were integrated by Rahlfs in the preface to his 1931 edition. They confirmed the suspicion he had in 1907, namely, that the koine version is a later development of the Antiochene text and that both are not identical. In those cases where Theodoret's biblical text differs from the large body of Septuagint minuscule manuscripts, it is Theodoret who witnesses to the "original" Antiochene text, while the Septuagint minuscule manuscripts represent a later development that characterizes the vulgar text and that is alien to the "original" Antiochene text.<sup>45</sup>

Convincing as his hypothesis may be, Rahlfs was unable to put it into practice in the actual edition. He did not succeed in seeing through the dominant influence of the koine version and reaching back to the Antiochene text,

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quently agreed (see n. 38), is a codex "269," which is the *Vaticanus, Palatinus gr.* 44. This is not a Septuagint manuscript but a witness of the so-called Hesychius Antonelli, a commentary on the Psalms that is attributed to Hesychius of Jerusalem (*CPG* 6552; on the identification of this manuscript as a commentary, see Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 242—in his 1907 study (21 and 55 [= 125 and 159]) Rahlfs had still treated it as a common Septuagint manuscript). It is possible that just like Theodore and Chrysostom, the Hesychius Antonelli was a user of the Antiochene Psalter text (see Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 67–68), but confirmation requires further research.

45. *Psalmi cum Odis*, 66: "Tht weicht, wie in S.-St. 2 [= Rahlfs's 1907 study, *RC*] und Mitt. d. S.-U. 1 [= Große-Brauckmann's study, *RC*] betont ist, manchmal sicher vom gewöhnlichen *L*-Texte ab.... Der ursprüngliche antiochenische Text wird also nicht überall so gelautet haben wie der spätere offizielle Text der griech. Kirche." See already earlier, *Text des Septuaginta-Psalter*, 236 [= 340; stress mine]: "[Die Rezension Lucians] hat im Laufe der Zeit alle übrigen Texte verdrängt und ist, *allerdings wohl nicht ganz unverändert* ..., zum offiziellen Texte der griechischen Kirche geworden." It should be pointed out explicitly that in this article I use the term "original Antiochene text" (compare "der ursprüngliche antiochenische Text" in Rahlfs's citation) only to refer to the text that was used especially in Syria from the fourth to sixth centuries (which popular terminology would call the "Lucianic recension," see n. 3) as it is contrasted with the koine text that is a later development of it. The term does not in any way refer to any supposed elements in the Antiochene (/Lucianic) text that pre-date the fourth century (i.e., the so-called proto-Lucianic problem, or what P. L. Hedley called "the ancient element in the Lucianic text")—that is a topic that receives no treatment whatsoever in this article (neither did it in Rahlfs's publications). Many studies fail to understand what Rahlfs meant with the "original Antioche text" and by consequence misjudge his edition: examples include P. L. Hedley, "The Göttingen Investigation and Edition of the Septuagint," *HTR* 26 (1933): 57–72; Albert Pietersma, "Proto-Lucian and the Greek Psalter," *VT* 28 (1978): 66–72; Larry J. Perkins, "The So-Called 'L' Text of Psalms 72–82," *BIOCS* 11 (1978): 44–63.

obscured as it was by the domination of the *Vulgärtext*.<sup>46</sup> The main reason for Rahlfs's failure is precisely the unreliability of his way of access to the commentary of Theodoret: Große-Brauckmann's work had confirmed Rahlfs's suspicions about the inferior quality of Schulze's edition (compare n. 30 above). Although realizing that the Antiochene and the koine text are not identical, Rahlfs in the end saw no other solution than to identify them in his edition:<sup>47</sup> the siglum *L* in the apparatus, chosen to refer to "L[ukian]," in fact always denotes the large body of younger Septuagint manuscripts (i.e., the *Vulgärtext*), also in cases where it differs from Theodoret's commentary and from the Antiochene text.

### 3. THE IMPORTANCE OF FURTHER RESEARCH

This treatment of the Antiochene text in the apparatus is poor and is another element that keeps Rahlfs's edition from giving a reliable representation of the textual history of the Septuagint Psalter.<sup>48</sup> The ultimate reason for this deficiency is the untrustworthiness of Schulze's edition. Today, this is still the most recent edition of Theodoret's commentary: when one wishes to improve upon Rahlfs's work, new research on Theodoret's text is needed. It should be stressed that the work by Große-Brauckmann is certainly no finishing point: it confirmed that Schulze's edition fails to represent in a correct way the biblical text used by Theodoret but did not replace it with systematic research. The following pages aim to illustrate how further critical research of Theodoret's commentary can bring us to identify the Antiochene text and distinguish it from the koine text in a better way than Rahlfs did in the apparatus of his *Psalmi cum Odis*.

The following two examples show how consultation of further<sup>49</sup> manuscript witnesses of Theodoret's commentary lends further support to Rahlfs's

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46. *Psalmi cum Odis*, 69 (stress mine): "Diese vielen Zeugen lehren, daß auch der Lukiantext im Laufe der Zeit Veränderungen erlitten hat, und daß wir den später üblichen Text nicht ohne weiteres für den ursprünglichen Lukiantext halten dürfen. Doch scheint es mir sehr schwierig, das Ursprüngliche mit genügender Sicherheit festzustellen."

47. For this, Rahlfs was severely criticized, for example by Albert Pietersma ("The Present State of the Critical Text of the Greek Psalter," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Udo Quast, MSU 24 [Göttingen; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000], 12–32), but also by other scholars. None of them, however, were in turn able to improve upon Rahlfs's work.

48. One might recall that, in opposition to all subsequent Göttingen editions, that of the Psalms does not take as completely as possible the Greek transmission into account up to the sixteenth century (and does not rely on own collations of all witnesses). An all-encompassing view on the textual history could in other words from the outset not be reached.

49. Große-Brauckmann himself directly collated two manuscripts of Theodoret's commentary that were not used by Schulze (see nn. 33–34). For this article, I consulted



decision (taken on the basis of Große-Brauckmann's research) to mistrust Schulze's edition.

(1) As Theodoret's lemma text of Ps 26:6b, Schulze's edition (770 = PG 80:1052C) cites *θυσίαν αἰνέσεως καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ*. This reading is the koine one: it can be found in nearly all minuscule manuscripts of the Psalter.<sup>50</sup> It was indeed known to Theodoret, but he explicitly cited it as a variant reading that differs from his lemma text: "Ἐνία μέντοι τῶν ἀντιγράφων, *θυσίαν αἰνέσεως ἔχει καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ* (Schulze 771 = PG 80:1052D–53A, italics mine). It would only make sense that Theodoret's lemma text reads differently, and so it does. Both of the manuscripts consulted by Große-Brauckmann cite the reading *θυσίαν αἰνέσεως* (without *καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ*) as the lemma text, as does also the *Monac. gr.* 527 consulted earlier by Schulze.<sup>51</sup> On the basis of this information, and because of the fact that this shorter reading is the one that Theodoret commented upon in his exegesis, Rahlfs cited in his apparatus *θυσίαν αἰνέσεως* as the reading of Theodoret, against Schulze's edition.<sup>52</sup> This decision is now confirmed by other manuscripts of Theodoret's text: both the *Venetus, Marcianus gr.* 20 (f. 67) and the *Parisinus gr.* 844 (f. 61<sup>v</sup>) give the shorter reading *θυσίαν αἰνέσεως* (without *καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ*) as Theodoret's biblical text.

(2) As Theodoret's lemma text of Ps 44,13a, Schulze's edition (893 = PG 80:1193D) offers *καὶ προσκυνήσεις αὐτῷ. Καὶ θυγάτηρ Τύρου ἐν δώροις*—a reading that is identical to that of the koine text.<sup>53</sup> It indeed seems to be present in all the manuscripts consulted by Schulze. In his exegesis, however, Theodoret appeared to hint that his Psalter text had a plural form, agreeing with the Old Greek *καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτῷ θυγατέρες Τύρου ἐν δώροις*.<sup>54</sup> This reading was indeed found by Große-Brauckmann in the manuscript evidence of the commen-

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four additional codices: the Venetian and Parisian manuscripts mentioned below and the *Atheniensis*, EBE 1, which is dated to the tenth century by Ioannes and Alkibiades I. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Athens: Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1892), 1. These four parchment manuscripts offer almost the complete text of Theodoret's commentary in direct tradition and are among the oldest witnesses—none of them was used by Rahlfs or Große-Brauckmann.

50. [Excerpt from Rahlfs's apparatus:] *ἀλαλαγμου* B' R' Ga A' 2021 2030] *αινεσεως* και *αλαλαγμου* L: hanc lectionem nouit etiam Tht.

51. See Große-Brauckmann, "Psaltertext bei Theodoret," 358 [= 93], on the one hand, and p. 770 nn. 7–8 in Schulze's edition (= PG 80:1052 nn. 74–75), on the other hand.

52. [Excerpt from apparatus:] *αλαλαγμου* B' R' Ga A' 2021 2030] *αινεσεως* U' Tht'. See also Rahlfs, *Text des Septuaginta-Psaltern*, 172 [= 276].

53. [Excerpt from Rahlfs's apparatus:] *προσκυνήσουσιν* B' 2013' R''(R\* -nesin) Ga Tht'HeThCh A'] -νησεις L 1219 | *θυγατερες* B' 2013' R'Aug Tht'HeThCh A'] *θυγατηρ* S Ga L.

54. Compare Rahlfs, *Text des Septuaginta-Psaltern*, 172–73 [= 276–77].

tary that he consulted, but only in one codex.<sup>55</sup> For Rahlfs, this was sufficient proof to cite in his edition Theodoret as a witness to the text [...] προσκυνήσουσιν [...] θυγατέρες [...], against Schulze's edition.<sup>56</sup> This decision is fortunate, since the very same reading can be found in three further manuscripts of Theodoret's commentary: the *Marcianus* gr. 20 (f. 117<sup>v</sup>), the *Parisinus* gr. 844 (f. 104), and the *Parisinus* gr. 1051 (f. 121<sup>v</sup>).<sup>57</sup>

These two examples show how the consultation of further manuscript evidence of Theodoret's commentary confirms the suspicions against Schulze's edition. The manuscripts mentioned here are among the oldest witnesses of the commentary:<sup>58</sup> the *Marcianus* gr. 20 has been dated to the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century,<sup>59</sup> and both Parisian codices to the ninth (*Paris. gr. 1051*)<sup>60</sup> and tenth (*Paris. gr. 844*)<sup>61</sup> centuries respectively. They lend further support to Rahlfs's decision to not always accept the text of Schulze's edition. Both examples also reveal how important this topic is to research on the textual history of the Psalter, since in both cases Schulze's edition makes Theodoret's biblical text agree with the vulgar version, whereas in fact it is very probable that the bishop of Cyrrhus read a biblical text that differs from that koine one. The fact that in both examples the correct reading of Theodoret agrees with the Syro-Hexapla and (in the case of Ps 42:13) also with the commentaries of Theodore and Chrysostom confirms that it offers the original Antiochene version.

In sum: in both examples discussed here, the *L* reading in Rahlfs's apparatus does not offer the Antiochene text, but the different, vulgar text. In these cases Rahlfs was aware of this, but three further examples show that the same phenomenon might be involved in cases where Rahlfs did not suspect it.

(3) In verse 17:20, Rahlfs edited between square brackets two stichs that are lacking in the Hebrew Psalter: ῥύσεται με ἐξ ἐχθρῶν μου δυνατῶν | καὶ ἐκ τῶν μισούντων με. The apparatus shows that these stichs cannot be found in all

55. Große-Brauckmann, "Psaltertext bei Theodoret," 352 [= 87]. The *Berolinensis* also has the reading θυγατέρες, but not προσκυνήσουσιν.

56. See the excerpt from the apparatus in n. 53.

57. In the last manuscript, the form θυγατέρες is in fact combined with the reading προσκυνήσεις.

58. For the dating of these manuscripts, I rely on the information offered in the catalogue descriptions (see the following notes).

59. Elpidio Mioni, *Thesaurus Antiquus: Codices 1–299*, vol. 1 of *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti*, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Indici e Cataloghi n.s. 6 (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, 1981), 34.

60. Henri Omont, *Ancien fonds grec: Théologie*, part 1 of *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Picard, 1886); repr. as the first part of Henri Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements* (Paris: Leroux, 1898), 211.

61. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, 158.

Septuagint witnesses: some have both lines, others only the first, and none of the stichs are preserved in *L'*, a siglum that refers to the combination of the large mass of minuscule manuscripts and Theodoret's commentary.<sup>62</sup> In Schulze's edition (707 = PG 80:980B), indeed no sign of any of both lines can be found, but this is quite problematic: the exegesis shows that Theodoret knew the third stich.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, both the *Marc. gr.* 20 (f. 42) and the *Paris. gr.* 844 (f. 29<sup>v</sup>) give this stich in Theodoret's lemma text. It is likely, then, that against Rahlfs's apparatus, Theodoret does not agree with *L* (but with the Syro-Hexapla instead).

(4) The apparatus of Rahlfs's edition shows that in Ps 49:10a, the vulgar text and Theodoret together (= *L'*) read ἀγοῦ instead of the much more poorly attested δρυμοῦ.<sup>64</sup> Schulze's edition (927 = PG 80:1233A) indeed gives ἀγοῦ as Theodoret's lemma text. However, three of the four ancient witnesses that were consulted for this article have the reading δρυμοῦ instead: *Paris. gr.* 1051 (f. 133<sup>v</sup>), *Paris. gr.* 844 (f. 115), and *Atheniensis, EBE* 1 (f. 82<sup>v</sup>). Confronting this evidence with Rahlfs's apparatus, one sees that this reading can also be found in the Syro-Hexapla and in uncial manuscript T, an ancient witnesses of the Antiochene text.<sup>65</sup> This invites the assumption that Theodoret read δρυμοῦ, that this is the Antiochene reading and that, against Rahlfs's apparatus, it differs from the koine text.

(5) According to the apparatus of Rahlfs's edition, the large body of minuscule manuscripts as well as Theodoret (= *L'*) added the words ἐν τῇ δόξῃ μου to the end of Ps 56:8.<sup>66</sup> Schulze's edition (980 = PG 80:1293A) indeed offers this addition in Theodoret's lemma text, but one notices that the Greek author nowhere cited it in his exegesis of the verse. Interestingly, in the *Paris. gr.* 844 (f. 129<sup>v</sup>), these words ἐν τῇ δόξῃ μου were added by a later hand: the original text lacks them and thus agrees with the text of other witnesses of the Antiochene text (such as Theodore of Mopsuestia).

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62. [Excerpt from Rahlfs's apparatus:] 20<sup>3-4</sup> hab. B' U' R'' A', 20<sup>4</sup> > S Sy, 20<sup>3-4</sup> > Ga *L'*: cf. S.-St. 2, p. 43. 62/63; uerba uncis inclusi, quia ex 18 repet. uid.

63. Compare the line ῥύσεται με ἐξ ἐχθρῶν μου δυνατῶν with the way in which Theodoret paraphrased the biblical text: Ἐλπίζω δὲ ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσει με βοήθειας, καὶ κρείττων ἔσομαι τῶν δυσμενῶν, καὶ μάλιστα πλείστην ἔχωσι δύναμιν (Schulze 707 = PG 80:980B; italics mine).

64. [Excerpt from Rahlfs's apparatus:] δρυμου B'' 2013' R TSy 1219' ἀγοου *L'* A: ex 11<sup>2</sup>.

65. On this role of T (seventh century), see Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 63. (The siglum is explained in Rahlfs's *Verzeichnis* and the updated edition by Fraenkel, *Überlieferung*.)

66. [Excerpt from the apparatus:] ασομαι και ψαλω B' R'' Ga TSyTh 55] + εν τη δοξη μου *L'* (Th<sup>p</sup> σου pro μου; cf. Mitt. d. S.-U. 1, p. 88): ex 107<sup>2</sup>.

## 4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

These last three examples show that the differences between the Antiochene text of the Psalms (represented amongst other witnesses in Theodoret's lemma text) and the later koine text could very well be much more numerous than the apparatus of Rahlfs's Psalter edition gives to show. For the three verses in question, Rahlfs followed Schulze's edition without any ado,<sup>67</sup> but consultation of further manuscripts of Theodoret's text seems to indicate that the edition is incorrect.

With his 1907 study and 1931 edition, Rahlfs designed the theoretical framework for a critical recovery of the "original"<sup>68</sup> Antiochene text: Theodoret's commentary offers the key to that recovery but is available only in an unreliable edition. That edition cannot be used, since it very often fails to reproduce the biblical text used by Theodoret and instead offers a lemma text that is brought in closer alignment to the koine text, which dominated the manuscript transmission. This process took place more often than Rahlfs surmised: the siglum *L* in his apparatus refers even less often to the original Antiochene text than he knew.

Today, Rahlfs's theoretical framework still needs to be put into effect. This can only be done through new and critical research of Theodoret's commentary. Such research needs to start from the manuscript tradition of that text: collations need to show which manuscripts occupy relevant positions in the stemma,<sup>69</sup> and the biblical lemma text and citations of those witnesses need to be investigated. Only then can the original Antiochene text be distinguished from the later development that is the *Vulgärtext*.

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67. Examples 4–5 were in fact mentioned by Große-Brauckmann ("Psaltertext bei Theodoret," 355 [= 90] and 353 [= 88]).

68. On this term, see n. 45.

69. Obviously, the stemmatic position also needs to be determined for the manuscripts mentioned in the last part of this article—only then can the observations articulated here be meaningful.

# Die griechischen und syrischen Erzählvarianten in „Bel et Draco“ als Hinweise auf den Charakter des Überlieferungsprozesses

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Abstract: In continuation of my papers to Dan 1–6 (2007) and Susanna (2010), this contribution examines Dan 14 by comparing the two Greek versions and the Peshitta with each other. We can observe—in addition to stylistic differences in vocabulary and syntax—variants that are relevant to its content. Surprisingly, such narrative variations are more frequent here than in most other books of the Greek canon. These variations reveal shifts of narrative interest, which can be detected in some manuscripts of the Latin tradition, too. These phenomena are not sufficiently explained by the assumption of copyists and redactional or editorial changes. Instead, I favour another explanation model: a (long-lasting) mesh of written and oral transmission.

In Weiterführung meiner Papers zu Dan 1–6 (Ljubljana 2007) und zu Susanna (Helsinki 2010) sollen die beiden griechischen Fassungen und die Peschitta zu Dan 14 miteinander verglichen werden. Dabei fallen—neben eher formalstilistischen Unterschieden in Wortschatz und Syntax—auch inhaltlich relevante Erzählvarianten auf, wie dies in dieser Häufigkeit nur in wenigen andern Büchern des griechischen Kanons zu beobachten ist. Die oben genannten drei Fassungen offenbaren Verschiebungen des Erzähl-Interesses, was sich ebenfalls in den handschriftlichen Varianten der lateinischen Überlieferung nachweisen lässt. Diese Phänomene sind mit der Annahme von Abschreibern und redaktionellen Veränderungen nicht genügend erklärbar. Stattdessen favorisiere ich als Erklärungsmodell ein (lange andauerndes) Ineinander von schriftlicher und mündlicher Weitergabe.

Wer über die sogenannten deuterokanonischen Schriften arbeitet, kann in den Handschriften sowie in den alten Übersetzungen erstaunlich viele Varianten beobachten, die inhaltlich relevant sind und als eigentliche Erzählvarianten gelten dürfen. Offenbar sind diese Texte noch weniger fixiert als die Bücher des hebräischen Kanons. Im Folgenden untersuche ich die Erzählung «Bel et Draco» (Dan 14) auf Erzählvarianten, indem ich vier Fassungen miteinander vergleiche: Peschitta und Vulgata, ursprüngliche Septuaginta und sogenannter Theodotion.

## 1. PESCHITTA

In der Peschitta<sup>1</sup> stehen Dan 1–6 nahe bei MT und Theodotion, wogegen die deuterokanonischen Danielerzählungen erheblich von Theodotion abweichen.<sup>2</sup> Meistens handelt es sich um ein syrisches Plus. Als Motivationen lassen sich dafür erkennen:

(1) Verdeutlichung der Aussagen Theodotons. Neben eher pedantischen Vervollständigungen gibt es auch Veranschaulichungen: Daniel streut nicht einfach Asche, sondern „siebt mit einem Sieb“ (14). Der König ruft „von ausserhalb der Tür“ (18); er sieht Fussspuren „auf dem Boden“ (20). Die aufgebrachten Babylonier sagen „Einer zum Andern“ (28). Der Engel ergreift nicht nur Habakuks Haar, sondern „hebt seine Hand“ (33).

(2) Häufig handelt es sich um dramatisierende oder emotionalisierende Erzählzüge. Direkte Reden werden durch Vokative verlebendigt.<sup>3</sup> Formulierungen werden mit dem Wort „alle“ aufgeladen.<sup>4</sup> Nicht nur das Bersten des Drachen, sondern auch sein Tod wird erwähnt (27). Zweimal wird ausdrücklich

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1. Inhaltlich relevante Varianten betreffen jeweils die gesamte Handschriftentradition, wie sich am Apparat der Leidener Ausgabe zeigt. Dies entspricht der stabilisierten Textform der Peschitta in den meisten biblischen Büchern.—Zur andern Situation in Susanna siehe Edgar Kellenberger, „Die Pluriformität der syrischen Fassungen von „Susanna“ als Frage nach dem Charakter des Überlieferungsprozesses,“ *BN* 151 (2011): 63–70.

2. Vgl. die Zusammenstellung durch Richard A. Taylor, *The Peshitta of Daniel*, MPIL 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), besonders 301–6. Ferner A. G. Kallarakkal, „The Peshitta Version of Daniel: A Comparison with the Massoretic Text, the Septuagint and Theodotion“ (theol. diss., Hamburg, 1973). Nicht überzeugend ist, dass Kallarakkal den syr. Kurztext „dass Bel lebendig ist“ (6) als primär erklärt und den Langtext Βηλ εἶναι ζῶν θεός als sekundär (198: „Θ’ has consulted S and has taken over ‘living’ from S“).

3. Zusätzliche Vokative in 9.19.27.

4. Die Priesterfamilien verzehren „alles“ (8.13.18.21). Der König tötete sie „alle“ (22).—Ein längeres Plus über den Priesterbetrug (13) bringt die Steigerung „(sie verzehrten), was dem Bel hingelegt worden war, und verzehrten alles, was dem Bel gehörte, und führten weg, was übrig blieb“ (zur letzten Aussage vgl. auch Vers 21 LXX).

9. Ebenfalls die jüngere Nacherzählung des Josippon kennt keine monotheistische Zuspitzung: גדול אלהי דניאל על כל אלהים (Dagmar Börner-Klein, *Josippon* [Wiesbaden: Marix, 2010], 79). Ähnlich auch die Chronik des Jerachmeel (siehe die Synopse bei

die Auseinandersetzungen um den Monotheismus im Laufe der Jahrhunderte an Aktualität verloren? Gleichwohl überrascht die radikale Streichung. Diese ist wohl schrittweise geschehen; denn in einigen Theodotion-Handschriften fehlt entweder nur Kyrios oder nur die Exklusivitätsformel.<sup>10</sup> Dieser Befund ist in einer mündlichen Erzählpraxis leichter erklärbar als bei der Annahme schriftlicher Redaktionsarbeit. Doch dazu später.

## 2. VULGATA

Die Vulgata folgt Theodotion getreuer, doch gibt es interessante Ausnahmen. Galt das soeben erwähnte Minus der Monotheismusformel für alle Handschriften, so betreffen manche Abweichungen nur einen Teil der Handschriften. Als Tendenz lässt sich öfters eine Annäherung an die inhaltlich verwandte Erzählung Dan 6 erkennen, doch ohne dass deren Formulierungen wortwörtlich kopiert worden wären.

2.1. Am augenfälligsten ist ein ausführliches Plus als Schlussvers 42: Entgegen Theodotion spricht hier der König ein hymnisches Bekenntnis. Dieses Plus, das Dan 6,26-28 nahekommt, ist in verschiedenen Varianten überliefert, die je nachdem leichter oder stärker von Dan 6 abweichen:

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Unterstreichungen = Abweichungen von 6,26–28

In Klammern (...): *variae lectiones*

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|                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 42: Tunc rex ait:<br>paveant (+ omnes) habitantes<br>(habitatores) universam terram (in<br>universa terra) Deum ( <u>Domini</u> ) Danihelis                                                                               | Dan 6,26 (25) Tunc Darius rex<br>scripsit universis populis tribubus et<br>linguis habitantibus in universa terra<br>6,27 (26) ... tremescant et paveant<br>Deum Danihelis ipse est enim Deus<br>vivens et aeternus ... |
| <u>quia</u> ipse <u>est</u> (— e.) liberator <u>et</u> (— l.e.)<br>salvator faciens signa et mirabilia<br>( <u>miracula</u> ) in celo et in terra (— <u>i.c.e.i.t.</u> )<br>qui liberavit Danihelem de <u>lacu</u> leonum | 6,28 (27) ipse liberator <u>atque</u><br>salvator faciens signa et mirabilia in<br>caelo et in terra<br>qui liberavit Danihelem de <u>manu</u><br>(lacu) leonum                                                         |

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Vor allem die zweite Hälfte zeigt eine deutliche Nähe zu Dan 6, so dass Textvarianten in den Vergleich einzubeziehen sind:

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Klaus Koch *Deuterokanonische Zusätze zum Danielbuch*, Bd. 1, AOAT 38.1 [Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1987]).

10. Auch die Vulgata-Handschriften sind betr. *Dominum* (bezw. *Domine*) gespalten. Basis ist hier und im folgenden der Apparat der kritischen Ausgabe: *Liber Danihelis*, Biblia sacra iuxta Latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem 16 (Rom: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1981).



(1) Am Schluss des Plus erstaunt die Ersetzung von *de manu leonum* (Dan 6,28) durch die konventionellere Formulierung *de lacu leonum*. Letztere Wendung ist sowohl in Dan 6 und 14 geläufig,<sup>11</sup> wogegen „aus der Hand der Löwen“ bei Theodotion und in der Vulgata nur an dieser einen Stelle (6,28)<sup>12</sup> vorkommt.<sup>13</sup> Das Plus gründet also auf einer Angleichung an eine konventionelle Formulierung.

(2) Die Beobachtung, dass die (Dan 6 entsprechende) Formulierung „im Himmel und auf Erden“ in einigen Handschriften fehlt, spricht eher für ein allmähliches Wachstum des Plus. Zwar könnte man erwarten, dass das ganze Zitat aus Dan 6 das Primäre wäre. Doch warum sollte dieses Zitat sekundär verstümmelt oder entgegen Dan 6 umformuliert worden sein? Es ist darum kaum plausibel zu machen, dass Elemente erst sekundär wegfielen oder verändert wurden. Leichter ist die Annahme eines allmählichen Textwachstums.

2.2. Die Rede Habakuks (Vers 37) beginnt in Theodotion mit der Anrede „Daniel, Daniel“, was von der Vulgata in fast sämtlichen Handschriften zu einem einfachen „Daniel“ verkürzt wird;<sup>14</sup> doch viele Handschriften bringen das Plus „Daniel, Knecht Gottes“ (*serve Dei*), was oft als Eintragung aus Dan 6,21 erklärt wird, weil nur dort dieselbe Formulierung—diesmal im Munde des Königs Darius—begegnet.<sup>15</sup> Allerdings ist wiederum eine Inkongruenz zu beachten, denn in Dan 6 heisst es darüber hinaus *serve Dei viventis* (bzw. τοῦ ζῶντος). Warum fehlt dieses *viventis* in Dan 14? Bei einer schriftlichen Redaktionsarbeit ist das weniger erklärbar, als wenn man einen assoziativen Überlieferungsprozess annimmt, der eher auf mündlichem Weg zustandekam.<sup>16</sup>

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11. Zusätzlich zu dieser lateinischen Handschriften-Variante (14,42) noch in Dan 6,8.13.17.20.25; 14,31.34 (ebenso an den meisten Stellen die LXX). Damit sind sämtliche Belege in der griechischen und lateinischen AT-Überlieferung genannt.

12. Verständlicherweise verlassen manche Vulgata-Handschriften hier den singulären Theodotion-Text *χειρὸς* und bringen die vertrautere Formulierung *lacu*.

13. Theodotion: ὅστις ἐξείλατο τὸν Δανιηλ ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν λεόντων. Möglicherweise handelt es sich um eine Reminiszenz an das analoge Bekenntnis Davids in 1Sam 17,37 (κύριος, ὃς ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ λέοντος).—Merkwürdigerweise formuliert die LXX in 6,28 zwar anders, aber bringt in 6,17 die (singuläre) Formulierung Ὁ θεός σου ... ἐξελεῖται σε ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν λεόντων als frommen Wunsch des Königs.

14. Man wird annehmen dürfen, dass die Verkürzung auf Hieronymus oder seine Quelle zurückgeht; möglicherweise wurde die Intensivierungsfunktion der semitischen Namensdoppelung in der römischen Kultur nicht mehr verstanden.

15. Entsprechend auch nur an dieser einen Stelle in Theodotion.

16. Auch an anderen Stellen gibt es kleinere—vor allem verdeutlichende—Zusätze, doch jeweils nur in einzelnen Handschriften. Es handelt sich hier um Spuren der Nachgeschichte, die vom Weiterleben der Erzählung zeugen.—Hingegen ist wohl Hieronymus verantwortlich für das Plus in Vers 10 (9), wo die Rede ist von siebenzig Priestern Bels ἐκτὸς γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων, was Hieronymus dreigliedrig übersetzt: *exceptis uxoribus et*

## 3. THEODOTIEN UND LXX

Vergleiche zwischen den beiden griechischen Fassungen sind bereits mehrfach unternommen worden.<sup>17</sup> Neben den bisherigen wertvollen Einzelbeobachtungen möchte ich auf neue Aspekte hinweisen, die bisher nicht die gebührende Beachtung gefunden haben.

## 3.1. ÜBEREINSTIMMENDE KERNSÄTZE

An welchen Stellen die beiden Fassungen wörtlich gleiche (oder zumindest fast gleiche) Sätze bringen, ist ebenso beachtenswert wie die häufige Untersuchung der Unterschiede in Vokabular und Syntax. Auffälligerweise befinden sich unter den Übereinstimmungen gerade auch Kern-Sätze, die für das Erzählganze wesentlich sind:

- In der Exposition wird der Konfliktpunkt genannt (5): Der König fragt Daniel *Διὰ τί οὐ προσκυνεῖς τῷ Βηλ*;
- Bei der Lösung des zweiten Konflikts (27): Daniel wirft/gibt die tödliche Speise *εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ δράκοντος, καὶ φαγὼν διεπράγη*.
- Bei der Steigerung des Konflikts (28): Die Menge ruft *Ιουδαῖος γέγονεν ὁ βασιλεὺς· τὸν Βηλ κατέσπασε καὶ τὸν δράκοντα ἀπέκτεινε*.
- Der theologische Zielsatz (41) ist nur insofern leicht verschieden, als LXX in der 3. Person und Theodotion in der 2. Person formuliert: *Μέγας ἐστὶ (εἶ), κύριος (-ιε) ὁ θεός (+τοῦ Δαυνηλ), καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν αὐτοῦ (σοῦ) ἄλλος*.

Denselben Sachverhalt habe ich vor drei Jahren an der Susanna-Erzählung gezeigt.<sup>18</sup> Dort erklärte ich den Befund so, dass—analog zur Überlieferung der Jesus-Logien—zentrale Aussagen sich beim mündlichen Erzählen stärker einprägen und darum eher unverändert gelassen werden.

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*parvulis et filiis*. So in allen Vulgata-Handschriften; an den Parallelstellen (Verse 15.20.21) fehlen überall die *parvuli*.

17. Insbesondere: Joachim Schüpphaus, "Das Verhältnis von LXX- und Theodotion-Text in den apokryphen Zusätzen zum Danielbuch," *ZAW* 83 (1971): 49–72. Klaus Koch, *Deuterokanonische Zusätze zum Danielbuch*, Bd. 1–2, AOAT 38.1–2 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1987). Armin Schmitt, "Die griechischen Danieltexte (»θ« und »ο«) und das Theodotionproblem," *BZ* 36 (1992): 1–29. Andreas Wysny, *Die Erzählung von Bel und dem Drachen: Untersuchungen zu Dan 14*, SBB 33 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996). R. H. v. d. Bergh, "Reading „Bel and the Dragon“ as Narrative: A Comparison between the Old Greek and Theodotion," *Acta patristica et Byzantina* 20 (2009): 310–23.

18. Edgar Kellenberger, "Schriftliche und mündliche Weitergabe in der griechischen Susanna-Erzählung," in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS Helsinki 2010*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 59 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 41–50 (bes. 46–49).

### 3.2. VERMISCHUNGEN IN DER HANDSCHRIFTLICHEN TRADIERUNG?

Blieb die Überlieferung der beiden griechischen Fassungen getrennt, oder zeigen sich in den Handschriften Vermischungen? Der Apparat der Göttinger Septuaginta notiert 30 Lesarten, die mit der andern Fassung identisch oder von ihr übernommen worden seien.<sup>19</sup> In vielen dieser Fälle wird man jedoch mit einer unabhängigen Entwicklung rechnen müssen, und auch die Revisionsarbeit des Origenes kann zu Angleichungen geführt haben. In folgenden Textangleichungen rechne ich am ehesten mit redaktioneller hexaplarischer Revisionsarbeit:

(1) Auffällig ist die Differenz in der täglichen Essensportion des Bel (3): LXX nennt 4 Schafe, Theodotion steigert auf 40. Doch zwei Zeugen des Theodotiontexts lesen die niedrigere Zahl.<sup>20</sup> Umgekehrt liest Syh die hohe Zahl und nennt auch den nur bei Theodotion erwähnten Wein.

(2) Diskutabel ist ein längeres Plus zu Beginn der Drachenepisode, weil hier nicht nur die beiden griechischen Fassungen voneinander differieren, sondern einige Textzeugen einen Text zeigen, der zwischen den beiden Fassungen vermittelt. In 24 fragt der König Daniel:

| LXX                                                                               | Theodotion<br>Angleichende<br>Textzeugen<br>(Mss; Bo, Arm) | Theodotion<br>Vermutlicher<br>Originaltext<br>(Vaticanus; Vulgata) |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (967= 88=Syh)                                                                     |                                                            |                                                                    |
| 24 ... Μὴ καὶ τοῦτον ἐρεῖς ὅτι<br>χαλκοῦς ἐστίν; ἰδοὺ ζῆ καὶ ἐσθίει<br>καὶ πίνει· | = LXX                                                      | _____                                                              |
|                                                                                   | = Theodotion                                               | Οὐ δύνασαι εἰπεῖν ὅτι<br>οὐκ ἔστιν οὗτος θεὸς<br>ζῶν·              |
| προσκύνησον αὐτῷ.                                                                 | = Theodotion                                               | καὶ προσκύνησον αὐτῷ.                                              |

(3) Daniel verwendet—laut LXX—die Riesensumme von 40 Minen Pech für die Speise, die den Drachen töten soll (27). Die Lesart der LXX (μάζαν im Singular) ergibt ein Riesenbrot, wogegen Theodotion realistischer erscheint, wenn er die Pluralform μάζας bringt und beim Pech auf eine Mengenangabe verzichtet. Allerdings zeigen eine Minuskel und die Peschitta eine

19. „o“ (14 mal, in den Versen 2<sup>2x</sup>.10<sup>2x</sup>.26.27.28.34.36.38<sup>3x</sup>.39.42); „ex o“ (8 mal, in den Versen 4<sup>2x</sup>.15.23<sup>2x</sup>.24.35.42<sup>2x</sup>); „cf o“ (Vers 42). Umgekehrt: „= θ“ (6.19.20.27<sup>2x</sup>); „cf θ“ (27.34). Siehe auch den zweiten (hexaplarischen) Apparat.—Zum Vergleich: In Susanna notiert der Apparat nur 10 Fälle (siehe Kellenberger, „Susanna,” 49).

20. 26 und Bo.

Traditionsvermischung, indem sie zwar die Singularform der LXX bieten, aber entgegen der LXX keine Mengenangabe beim Pech nennen.

(4) In der Anklage der Menge, dass Daniel den Bel zerstört habe (28), bringen die vor-origenistische LXX sowie Theodotion dieselbe Formulierung *κατέσπασεν*, wogegen die Variante *κατέστρεψε* vermutlich auf Origenes zurückgeht, wenn sie einerseits von 88 und Syh sowie andererseits von Theodotion-Handschriften bezeugt wird.<sup>21</sup>

### 3.3. BEZIEHUNGEN ZU DAN 6

Beide griechischen Fassungen kennen die Vorstellung des Heraufziehens aus der Löwengrube (*ἀνασπάω*). LXX bringt dieses Verbum beim Risiko, dass Daniel vorzeitig durch Menschen gerettet würde (6,18[17]),<sup>22</sup> hingegen Theodotion nur in 14,42 als Heraufziehen am Morgen nach der Rettung,<sup>23</sup> was hier als Reminiszenz an Dan 6 wirkt.

Weitere Annäherungen zwischen den beiden Löwen-Erzählungen nannte ich bereits in der Diskussion der Vulgata-Handschriften (siehe oben 2.1. und 2.2.).

### 3.4. BEZIEHUNGEN ZU ANDEREN PROPHETENBÜCHERN

Um den Propheten Habakuk nach Babel zu transportieren, packt ihn der Engel am Kopfhair (36). Entgegen der kürzeren Formulierung in LXX (*τῆς κόμης αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς*) formuliert Theodotion ausführlicher und nähert sich sprachlich der inhaltlichen Analogie in Ez 8,3:

| 36 LXX                                                                              | 36 Theodotion                                                                                                              | Ez 8,3 LXX                             |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος ὁ<br>ἄγγελος κυρίου τοῦ<br>Αμβακουμ τῆς κόμης<br>αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς | καὶ ἐπελάβετο ὁ<br>ἄγγελος κυρίου τῆς<br><u>κορυφῆς</u> αὐτοῦ <u>καὶ</u><br><u>βαστάσας</u> τῆς κόμης τῆς<br>κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ | ἀνέλαβέν με τῆς<br><u>κορυφῆς</u> μου, |
| ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ<br>λάκκου τοῦ ἐν<br>Βαβυλῶνι.                                | ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν εἰς<br>Βαβυλῶνα ἐπάνω τοῦ<br>λάκκου ἐν τῷ ῥοίζῳ τοῦ<br>πνεύματος αὐτοῦ.                                       | καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα<br>...          |

21. Siehe den Apparat der Göttinger Ausgabe (mit Hinweis auf die Parallele in Vers 22).

22. Theodotion hat hier ein grösseres Minus.—LXX gebraucht das Verbum sonst nur noch in Hab 1,15 und Am 9,2.

23. LXX hier *ἐξήγαγεν*.

Das Wort κορυφή „Spitze (z.B. eines Berges)“ steht in Ez 8,3 für **בְּצִצַּת ראש**. Mit **צִצַּת** (eigentl. „Aufblühendes“) ist dort etwas Hervorstehendes wie eine Haarlocke gemeint. An eine kultische Funktion denken Aquila und Theodotion bei ihrer Übersetzung mit *κράσπεδον*, was entweder „Schlafen-Locke“ oder—an andern Stellen (Num 15,38f)—„Quaste (eines Gewands)“ bedeutet. Noch in jungen Nacherzählungen der Habakuk-Episode bleibt eine solche Vorstellung lebendig, wenn in ihnen **צִצַּת** begegnet.<sup>24</sup> Wir dürfen darum schon für die Theodotion-Fassung vermuten, dass κορυφή diese genuin jüdische Assoziation leisten soll.<sup>25</sup>

Andererseits findet sich ein gewichtiges Minus am Beginn von Dan 14: Der Titelvermerk betr. Habakuk fehlt, bzw. ist ersetzt durch eine politisch-geschichtliche Einordnung in die Zeit des Kyrus. Hier und andernorts sind die Verbindungen zum Habakuk-Buch dichter in LXX als bei Theodotion.<sup>26</sup>

### 3.5. STRENGES JUDENTUM

Wiederum lassen sich gegenläufige Entwicklungen beobachten, welche einer eindeutigen Linie von A nach B zuwiderlaufen:

LXX gebraucht *προσχυνέω* ausschliesslich im Munde oder in Aktivitäten des Königs (4.5.24),<sup>27</sup> wogegen die analoge Aktivität Daniels mit *προσεύχομαι* ausgedrückt wird (4). Jedoch Theodotion gebraucht *προσχυνέω* undifferenziert auch für die Aktivitäten Daniels (4.25).<sup>28</sup> Erscheint hier LXX als orthodoxer, so gilt das Umgekehrte beim nächsten Beispiel: Nur in LXX schwört Daniel vor

24. Josippon (**בְּצִצַּת ראש**): Börner-Klein, 77); Jerachmeel (**בְּצִצַּת ראש**). In den rabbinischen Texten bedeutet **צִצַּת** (oder **צִצִּית**) ebenfalls entweder „Haarlocke“ (bMen 42a, bJom 76b, bZeb 26a) oder „Quaste (am Gewand)“.

25. Ein weiteres Theodotion-Plus im selben Vers ist *ἐν τῷ ῥοίῳ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ*. Das eher seltene Lexem *ῥοίος* „Schwirren (von Flügeln, Pfeilen u.a.)“ lässt sich von keiner Bibelstelle herleiten, sondern ist hier offenbar eine kreative Formulierung, auch wenn verschiedene biblische Passagen assoziativ Pate gestanden haben mögen. Es handelt es sich um den einzigen Beleg von *ῥοίος* bei Theodotion. Die drei Belege in LXX (2Makk 9,7; SapSal 5,11; Ez 47,5) sind eher negativ konnotiert; dasselbe gilt für die fünf Belege bei Josephus.

26. Nachweis bei Marti J. Steussy, *Gardens in Babylon: Narrative and Faith in the Greek Legends of Daniel*, SBLDS 141 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1993), 156–63. Andererseits findet Schüpphaus bei Theodotion mehr Verzahnung und Angleichung an Dan 1–12 („Verhältnis,” 55).

27. Dies entspricht dem einhelligen LXX-Sprachgebrauch im ganzen Danielbuch (siehe bes. Dan 3 und 6,27f). Anders z.B. Bar 6,5; 1Makk 4,55; Tob 5,14; Sir 50,17.

28. Für Theodotion liegt der Kontrast zwischen Daniel und den Heiden in der Verehrung des „lebendigen Gottes“.

dem König beim „Gott der Götter“ (7).<sup>29</sup> Dies erschien Theodotion wohl als zu wenig orthodox, weswegen bei ihm Daniels Schwur gänzlich fehlt.

### 3.6. MACHTPOSITION VON DANIEL UND KÖNIG

Bereits Schüpphaus hat herausgearbeitet, dass die LXX den König in der Rolle eines Schiedsrichters im Antagonismus zwischen Daniel und den Priestern Babylons darstellt. Daniel erscheint hier darum kämpferisch und initiativ. Hingegen Theodotion rückt die Befehle des Königs ins Zentrum, denen sich Daniel gehorsam unterzieht und so „mehr passiv der Auseinandersetzung beiwohnt“.<sup>30</sup> Entgegen Schüpphaus bedeutet dies aber keinen Machtverlust für Daniel, im Gegenteil. Daniels *smartness* zeigt eine besonders raffinierte Machtposition: Im Gegensatz zum König muss Daniel seine Macht nicht sichtbar beweisen, sondern kann sich siegesgewiss ins zweite Glied stellen; denn er ist sich sicher, dass seine Sache dank seinem Gott erfolgreich ausgehen wird. Daniels Zurückhaltung kontrastiert in der zweiten Erzählfälfte eindrucklich mit der Ohnmacht des befehlsgewaltigen Königs, der gezwungenermaßen<sup>31</sup> Daniel an die revoltierende Bevölkerung ausliefert und darunter ohnmächtig leidet.

Die Peschitta stellt hingegen Daniels Machtposition wieder sichtbarer dar, ja hier kommunizieren und handeln Daniel und der König sozusagen auf gleicher Höhe miteinander (ich erinnere z.B. an die gemeinsame Siegel-Aktion in 14). Wenn sich die Peschitta damit der Erzähl-Position der LXX etwas annähert, so steht dahinter m.E. keine direkte Abhängigkeit. Sondern es handelt sich um eine natürliche Variations-Breite von erzählerischen Sichtweisen.

### 3.7. UNTERSCHIEDE IN DER WORTWAHL

Die Forschung beobachtete bisher zwei Tendenzen, die sich unter Umständen konkurrenzieren können: Einerseits soll Theodotion seltene Lexeme in der LXX-Fassung durch geläufigere ersetzt haben. Andererseits gebrauche er feinere und gewähltere Formulierungen.<sup>32</sup> Doch nicht alle zu beobachtenden Vokabel-Differenzen lassen sich so erklären. Theodotions Neuformulierung in 28 mit

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29. ὁ μὲν δὲ σοὶ κύριον τὸν θεὸν τῶν θεῶν, ὅτι οὐθὲν βέβρωκε πώποτε οὗτος. Syh kennzeichnet dies mit Obelos. Der Eid begegnet nur hier im Munde des Daniel (hingegen Dan 2,47 im Munde Nebukadnezars).

30. Schüpphaus, „Verhältnis“, 57–62.

31. 30: ἀναγκασθεῖς (nur Theodotion).

32. Schüpphaus, „Verhältnis“, 53, kombiniert beide Tendenzen: „(Es) spricht alles dafür, dass TH einerseits bestimmte Wörter und Ausdrücke durch ihm geläufigere ersetzte, andererseits sich einer gewählteren und feineren Ausdrucksweise bediente.“

dem seltenen Wort ἀγανακτεῖν ist weder geläufiger noch feiner und gewählter.<sup>33</sup> Dasselbe gilt in 8 für das seltene φάσκων in der LXX-Fassung.<sup>34</sup> Wenn Schüpphaus Theodotons Neuformulierung ἐβλασφήμησεν als „theologisch feiner“ beurteilt,<sup>35</sup> so leuchtet dies kaum ein; eher haben wir hier mit einer dramatisierenden Absicht Theodotons zu rechnen. Im Weiteren gebraucht Theodotion mehrmals seltene Wörter, ohne dass seine Motivation dabei deutlich wird: ἔκδοτος,<sup>36</sup> ἐπείγειν,<sup>37</sup> λαμβάνειν τὸ ἄριστον.<sup>38</sup>

Es erweist sich als unmöglich, die Motivation für Theodotons Wortwahl bei seinen Umformulierungen in klare Regeln zu fassen. Wir müssen mit unterschiedlichsten Absichten rechnen; möglicherweise gehen diese auf mehr als eine einzige Person zurück.

### 3.8. STILISTISCHE UND SZENISCHE GESTALTUNG

Die Forschung beurteilt die Theodotion-Fassung meistens als eine stilistische Verbesserung gegenüber LXX. So bringt z.B. Schüpphaus zahlreiche und plausible Beobachtungen für Theodotons Tendenz, die LXX-Vorlage zu glätten, zu vereinfachen und zu verbessern.<sup>39</sup> Gleichwohl lässt sich auch das Umgekehrte beobachten: Zuweilen erscheint Theodotion stilistisch unbeholfener als LXX. Einige Beispiele:

- (1) Bereits weiter oben (siehe 3.4.) wurden die beiden griechischen Fassungen zu 36 miteinander verglichen. Theodotons Formulierung macht hier einen überladenen Eindruck und wirkt mit seinen vielen Satzgliedern als stilistischer Fremdkörper: καὶ ἐπελάβετο ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου τῆς κορυφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ βαστάσας τῆς κόμης τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐπάνω τοῦ λάκκου ἐν τῷ ῥοίῳ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ. Ist dies von einer einzigen Person so (um-)formuliert worden, oder haben wir hier mit einem längeren Wachstumsprozess zu rechnen?

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33. ἀγανακτεῖν nur hier bei Theodotion; in der LXX finden sich nur wenige Belege (4Makk 4,21; SapSal 5,22; 12,27). Hingegen ist das Verbum in den synoptischen Evangelien beliebt.

34. LXX: sonst nur noch Gen 26,20; 2Makk 14,27.32; 3Makk 3,7.

35. Schüpphaus, „Verhältnis,“ 53.—Der Wortstamm βλασφημ- ist in LXX und bei Theodotion selten. In Dan 3,96 bringt LXX das Verbum und Theodotion das Nomen.

36. Nie in LXX; bei Theodotion nur in 22.

37. 28; das Wort begegnet in der Bedeutung „drängen“ noch in 2Makk 10,19 (und vom überheissen Ofen noch in Dan 3,19 LXX).

38. 37 (singular!). Stattdessen hat hier LXX ἐσθίειν (vgl. Tob 2,1 LXX codd. BA).

39. Schüpphaus, „Verhältnis,“ 51.

(2) Das Präsens historicum, das in den unterschiedlichsten Literaturgattungen ein geläufiges Ausdrucksmittel ist und auch in der LXX Verwendung findet,<sup>40</sup> begegnet in 40 LXX, als der König zu seiner Überraschung Daniel noch am Leben sieht: ἐξῆλθε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ ταῦτα πενθῶν τὸν Δανιηλ καὶ ἐγκύψας εἰς τὸν λάκκον ὅρα αὐτὸν καθήμενον. Das Präsens historicum kann auf besonders lebendige Weise die Dramatik eines überraschenden Geschehens verdeutlichen, so dass der Hörer unwillkürlich den Atem anhält.<sup>41</sup> Umso erstaunlicher ist, dass die Theodotion-Fassung dieses starke Ausdrucksmittel abschwächt: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἦλθε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ πενθῆσαι τὸν Δανιηλ· καὶ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον καὶ ἐνέβλεψε, καὶ ἰδοὺ Δανιηλ καθήμενος. Diese Abschwächung ist umso auffälliger, als die Theodotion-Fassung das Präsens historicum häufiger als die LXX-Fassung verwendet, allerdings in weniger dramatischem Zusammenhang.<sup>42</sup>

(3) Sowohl die LXX- wie die Theodotion-Fassung pflegen Gestalten bei ihrer ersten Erwähnung syntaktisch mit ἦν einzuführen: Daniel (2), Bel (3), die Priesterfamilien (10 ἦσαν), der Drache (23) sowie Habakuk (33; letzterer allerdings nur bei Theodotion, wogegen LXX bekanntlich Habakuk bereits im Titel erwähnte). Auch die Löwengrube wird in LXX derart eingeführt: ἦν δὲ λάκκος ἐν ᾧ ἐτρέφοντο λέοντες ἐπτά (31). Hingegen Theodotion verzichtet auf eine solche Einführung und erwähnt unvorbereitet die Löwengrube: οἱ δὲ ἐνέβαλον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων. Erst im Nachhinein liefert er die Umstände nach und gebraucht dafür ἦν (31-32): καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἡμέρας ἑξ. 32 ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ ἐπτά λέοντες. Das dreimalige ἦ(σα)ν in 31–33 (inclusive Einführung von Habakuk) ist auffällig und erscheint stilistisch eher ungeschickt. Dasselbe gilt für das zweimalige λέοντες ἐπτά (31.32), wobei diese Zahlenangabe für den Gang der Erzählung unwichtig erscheint. Ein solcher funktionsloser Erzählgang erstaunt und passt schlecht zur beliebten Annahme, dass die Theodotion-Fassung eine Revision der LXX sei.

40. Zum Gebrauch in der LXX siehe John C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1968), 213–14. Der Gebrauch differiert von Buch zu Buch sehr; für Dan 1–14 erkennt Hawkins 1 LXX-Beleg und 5 Theodotion-Belege.

41. Eduard Schwyzler and Albert Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik*, Band 2: Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik (4. Auflage; Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft; München: C.H. Beck, 1975), 271: „Der Sprecher und der Hörer sehen in warmer Anteilnahme die Geschehnisse gleichsam vor Augen, wie auf einer Bühne.“ Schwyzler gebraucht die Termini „expressives praesens pro praeterito“ und „dramatisches Präsens“. Siehe auch Albert Rijksbaron, *The Syntax and Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1984), 22: Das Präsens historicum „highlights decisive actions“ und „turning points in the story, which introduce a new series of actions“.

42. Weniger eindrücklich in 30: καὶ εἶδεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ἐπιέγουσιν αὐτὸν σφόδρα, καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Δανιηλ (anders in LXX: ἐπισυνήχθη). Die übrigen 4 Belege der Theodotion-Fassung beschränken sich auf das Verbum λέγειν (2,10.27; 6,14.16).—Die LXX in Dan 1–14 verwendet das Präsens historicum lediglich an der soeben besprochenen Stelle, dafür aber mit grösserem dramatischem Effekt.



Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass eine ganze Reihe von Beobachtungen gegen die geläufige Hypothese sprechen, dass eine geradlinige Entwicklung von LXX zu Theodotion führe. Das Verhältnis der beiden griechischen Fassungen zueinander erscheint mir bedeutend komplexer zu sein.

#### 4. SCHLUSS

Die überdurchschnittliche Pluriformität in der Überlieferung von Dan 14 lässt sich auf allen Ebenen beobachten: Die griechischen und ebenso die nicht-griechischen Fassungen zeigen je verschiedene und in sich selbst komplexe Erzählzüge. Alle Texte zeigen auch Partien, die nach heutigen literar-ästhetischen Vorstellungen als „unreif“ bzw. als nicht befriedigend ausgearbeitet erscheinen. Das traditionsgeschichtliche Dickicht, das wir in die graue Vorzeit einer mündlichen Tradition zu verbannen pflegen, bleibt auch in den zu vergleichenden Texten erhalten. Ebenfalls die handschriftliche Weitergabe der Texte zeigt häufig eine Fortsetzung kreativer Veränderungen. Offenbar wurde die Erzählung nie „fertig“, das heisst nie ganz stabil.

Diese Erzählung will nicht nur unterhalten, sondern dient apologetischen, legitimatorischen und glaubensstärkenden Zielen. Darum muss sie immer wieder erzählt werden, wogegen eine rein schriftliche Dokumentation ungenügend bliebe.<sup>43</sup> Ein solches *re-telling* führt zu mündlichen Erzählvarianten, wie sie ein kreativer Erzähler unwillkürlich vornimmt. Durch ein *re-writing* werden sie schriftlich dokumentiert.<sup>44</sup>

Deshalb plädiere ich für ein Modell eines gleichzeitigen Ineinanders von schriftlicher und mündlicher Überlieferung.<sup>45</sup> Dieses folgt anderen Gesetzen, als die exegetische Forschung meistens voraussetzt. Letztere ist stärker geprägt von der Vorstellung einer redaktionellen Tätigkeit in der Art von Origenes, der in seiner Hexapla die überkommenen Texte verbessern will und vor Ver-

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43. Steussi, *Gardens*, 163, zählt die Daniel-Erzählungen „to the class of literary compositions that would be read/heard repeatedly (like a popular song today) rather than a single time (like most magazine stories).“ 195: Daniel-Legenden funktionierten „rather ... as occasions for context-sensitive interpretation through continued storytelling.“

44. Stärker in schriftlichen Bahnen denkt Hans Debel, „Greek «Variant Editions» to the Hebrew Bible?“, *JSJ* 41 (2010): 161–90 (189): „Creative scribes and redactors, as well as some translators, still felt free to creatively transform the textual material they inherited into a new literary composition.“

45. Von einem „continuum of retelling and rewriting tradition“ (angesichts der Situation in Qumran und anderswo) redet Hans Debel, „Rewritten Bible, Variant Literary Editions and Original Text(s): Exploring the Implications of a Pluriform Outlook on the Scriptural Tradition“, in *Changes in Scripture*, ed. Hanne von Weissenberg, BZAW 419 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 65–91 (84).

mischungen nicht zurückschreckt.<sup>46</sup> Problematisch ist auch die häufige Vorliebe für ein lineares Entwicklungsschema.<sup>47</sup> Doch beim *re-telling* führt häufig nicht nur eine Entwicklungslinie von A nach B, sondern gleichzeitig ist auch eine gegenläufige Linie von B nach A möglich. In meinem Beitrag versuchte ich, dafür Belege zu zeigen. Ein solches *floating* von Erzählvarianten macht die konventionelle Suche nach einem „Urtext“ obsolet.<sup>48</sup> Doch dafür wird umso deutlicher, wie die Lebendigkeit der vielfältigen Überlieferung funktionierte, die sich einer endgültigen kanonischen Fixierung lange entzog.

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46. Dass sogar bei Origines die Aufnahme einer mündlichen Erzählvariante nicht auszuschliessen ist, dazu siehe Kellenberger, „Schriftliche und mündliche Weitergabe,” 49: Dan 13,7 beschreibt Susanna als περιπατοῦσαν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς τὸ δειλινόν (fehlt in 967!), was eine Reminiszenz an Gen 3,8 (θεοῦ περιπατοῦντος ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ δειλινόν) darstellt.

47. Ein Beispiel: Lawrence Mitchell Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King*, HDR 26 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 137 zieht versuchsweise eine Entwicklungslinie im Blick auf eine „increased emphasis on the hostility of the majority ethnic group“ (Dan 14 LXX → Theodotion → Dan 6 LXX → Dan 6 MT). Gleichzeitig räumt er jedoch ein: „There were likely other variant versions circulating as well.“

48. Vergleiche das grundsätzliche Urteil von Debel, „Rewritten Bible,” 85f: „As a consequence, the traditional conception of textual criticism as reconstructing the «original text» of the Hebrew Bible appears as an ill-fated undertaking—a vain quest for a holy grail which one can never hope to find.“ Ähnlich die argumentenreiche neue Studie von David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, (Oxford: University Press, 2011).

# The Armenian 1 Samuel

*Jouni Harjumäki*

Abstract: This paper is about the Armenian translation of the first book of Samuel/Kingdoms.<sup>1</sup> I will first briefly consider the history of the Armenian translation and the textual character of 1 Samuel. Then, I will illustrate some linguistic differences between Armenian and Greek, using some text-critically ambiguous cases. The final section discusses some intentional changes made by the translator.

## 1. THE TEXTUAL CHARACTER

The Bible was translated into Armenian in the first half of the fifth century. The story is first told in Koriwn's fifth century work *Life of Mashtots*, a biography of the inventor of the Armenian alphabet and one of the Bible translators. According to Koriwn, there were two stages in the translation process. The first stage was based on texts in a language that is not specified—possible candidates are Greek and Syriac. During the second stage, the earlier translation was *confirmed* (the Armenian verb used is հաստատել) using Greek manuscripts which Mashtots's pupils brought from the west. What this means is not clear: it might be revising, correcting, or checking. Further, Koriwn does not discuss the textual character of these texts, he only refers to them as *reliable* (ճշմարիտ).<sup>2</sup>

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1. I would like to thank Anneli Aejmelaesus for her comments on earlier versions of this paper, as well as giving me the opportunity to work on the Armenian 1 Samuel in the first place. Thanks are also due to Peter Cowe and Peter Gentry for their valuable comments at the Munich conference of the IOSCS.

2. See, e.g., Claude E. Cox, "The Syriac presence in the Armenian translation of the Bible, with special reference to the book of Genesis," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syrian Studies* 10 (2010): 45–67, esp. 46–47.

Even if this tradition does not tell us what the initial source language was and what really happened in the second phase, this story matches quite well with what we find in the texts themselves. In at least some books, there is evidence of two strata of translation activity. These may well match with the two phases described in the Armenian historiographical tradition.

We sometimes find a split in the manuscript tradition with variants preserving readings from both layers. Not only might the base text in these phases have been different, but the translation technique may differ as well. Needless to say, this complicates the picture when we want to study the translation or use it in textual criticism.

The textual bases for translations of different books differ heavily. To mention but two examples, in Deuteronomy, Claude Cox's analysis has revealed that there is no Syriac foundation; rather, the Armenian Deuteronomy is textually closest to a Byzantine text type with considerable Hexaplaric influence.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Daniel, according to Peter Cowe's conclusion, was initially translated from a Lucianic Greek text and the Peshitta simultaneously and then revised using another type of Greek text, which was not Hexaplaric.<sup>4</sup>

The textual character of 1 Samuel has been the object of a study by Bo Johnson.<sup>5</sup> He postulates three strata: (1) an initial translation from Syriac, (2) a revision to a Lucianic standard, and (3) a Hexaplaric transformation. This three-layer model has been criticized by Cowe, and indeed, the evidence Johnson gives for the Syriac basis is hardly convincing. Most unique agreements between the Peshitta and Armenian are about word order, with which the Armenian translators frequently took liberties. These agreements thus cannot be used as solid evidence for the textual history of Armenian. The other unique readings shared by Peshitta and Armenian are very few and minor.

Sebastian Brock, writing a few years before Johnson, argues that if there was a translation from Peshitta, there would be more traces in common proper names. Only with Goliath is there a hint, as both Armenian and Syriac have *goliad*.<sup>6</sup> However, the variant with the final *d* is also attested in the Greek tradition, and, in any case, the story of David and Goliath might well have been borrowed from Syriac tradition and then circulated orally. Granted, there might

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3. Claude E. Cox, *The Armenian Translation of Deuteronomy*, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 2 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1981), 298–99 and 326–27.

4. S. Peter Cowe, *The Armenian Translation of Daniel*, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 9 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 350–52.

5. Bo Johnson, *Die armenische Bibelübersetzung als hexaplarischer Zeuge im 1. Samuelbuch*, ConBOT 2 (Lund: Gleerup, 1968).

6. Sebastian P. Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuaginta Version of I Samuel*, Quaderni di Henoch 9 (Turin: Zamorani, 1996), 20–21.

be Syriac *influence* in the Armenian 1 Samuel, but to say that it was its initial *Vorlage* is an overstatement, as no solid evidence points to this.

Thus, we are left with two strata in 1 Samuel: Lucianic and Hexaplaric. Of these, Lucianic was the original, and the revision was based on a Hexaplaric witness. This has been demonstrated by Cowe in connection with his collation of Armenian for the Madrid edition of the Antiochene text.<sup>7</sup> The works by Johnson and Cowe are the major works on the Armenian 1 Samuel. Johnson mainly concentrates on it as a Hexaplaric witness and Cowe on its Lucianic element.

## 2. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GREEK AND ARMENIAN

As both Greek and Armenian are old Indo-European languages, their typological differences are not very extensive. Still, there are important issues that have to be taken into account when using the Armenian version in textual criticism or when studying translation technique. These issues have been dealt with by many scholars; here I will illustrate only a few cases where the Armenian could represent more than one Greek variant.<sup>8</sup>

In general, most of the morphological “limitations” of Armenian expressing Greek forms are due to a smaller amount of verbal forms in Armenian. Thus, most examples I give are about variants in verbal forms.

Greek has many near-synonymous verbs that differ only by their preverb (also called compound verbs), a grammatical feature lacking in fifth century Armenian. There are many cases of bifurcated Greek manuscript tradition, where it is not possible to say where Arm stands. For example, the verbs *απαγγελλω* and *αναγγελλω* frequently mix in the Greek tradition. In 25:12, we have such a case.

### 1. 25:12, preverbs<sup>9</sup>

καὶ ἀπεστράφησαν τὰ παιδάρια Δαυὶδ εἰς ὁδὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀνέστρεψαν καὶ ἦλθον καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Δαυὶδ κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα  
ἀπήγγειλαν] ἀπηγγειλον 379; ἀνηγγειλαν A B 846 O CII<sup>242</sup> b s  
244 342 460 Ra

7. S. Peter Cowe, “La versión armenia,” in 1–2 *Samuel*, vol. 1 of *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega*, ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz (Madrid: CSIC, 1989), LXXI–LXXIX.

8. Peter Cowe gives more examples from 1 and 2 Samuel/Kingdoms in “La versión armenia.” For further examples of linguistic differences, see Erroll F. Rhodes, “Limitations of Armenian in Representing Greek,” *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, ed. B.M. Metzger (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 171–81 and Claude E. Cox, “The Use of the Armenian Version for the Textual Criticism of the Septuagint,” *La Septuaginta en la Investigación Contemporánea*, ed. N. Fernández Marcos (Madrid: CSIC, 1985), 25–35.

9. The examples consist of the critical Greek text, its relevant variants, the Armenian text, and an English translation of the Armenian. The English translation is based on NETS.

Եւ դարձան մանկունքն Դաւիթի ի ճանապարհ իւրեանց, եւ եկին  
**պատմեցին** Դաւիթի ըստ բանիցն այնոցիկ:

And David's lads turned away on their way and returned, and came [and] **told**  
 David according to these words.

The Armenian verb used here, պատմեմ, could translate both of these variants.

In Armenian, when the verb տւեմ “say” is connected to another verb with the conjunction եւ “and,” and this verb is in the aorist, տւեմ is in the present form. Hence, in 14:11, where Greek has variants in aorist and present, we are not able to say which one was in the *Vorlage* of Arm.

2. 14:11, տւեմ “to say”

καὶ εἰσῆλθον ἀμφοτέροι εἰς Μεσσάβ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων. καὶ **λέγουσιν** οἱ  
 ἀλλόφυλοι

λέγουσιν] ειπον L

Եւ մտին երկոքեան ի կիրճս այլազգեացն. եւ **տւեմ** այլազգիքն.

And both of them came (aor.) to the gorge of the Philistines. And the  
 Philistines **say** (pres.):

Finally, to give one example on nouns, Armenian has demonstrative suffixes, of which the proximal demonstrative, -u, coincides with the plural accusative ending. As these demonstrative suffixes were added with considerable liberty, we have cases where we cannot use Arm as a witness between a Greek split to singular and plural:

3. 26:19, demonstrative suffixes

καὶ νῦν ἀκουσάτω δὴ ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς **τὸ ῥῆμα** τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ  
 τὸ ῥῆμα] τα ρηματα M 247 L CI-46-242 a d 29 55 71 158 245 554 707 Sa

Եւ արդ լուիցէ տէր իմ արքայ **գրանս** ծառայի իւրոյ.

And now let my lord the king hear the **word/words** of his servant.

In the examples I have given above, the Lucianic and Hexaplaric witnesses stand on different sides of the split.<sup>10</sup> As these two traditions were the origins of the different strata of the Armenian translation, we have no way to determine which variant Arm translates.

### 3. UNIQUE READINGS IN ARM

In the latter part of my paper, I give examples of Armenian formulations not attested anywhere else in the manuscript tradition of 1 Samuel. These rise from

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10. Johnson sees Armenian agreeing with the Lucianic variant τα ρηματα in example 3, although he does not give any arguments for his view (*Die armenische Bibelübersetzung*, 87).

what is usually called *translation technique*. It is important to note that in addition to Zohrapian's 1805 edition of the Bible<sup>11</sup> (which uses eight manuscripts but does not give all variants attested in them), I have collated two other manuscripts, namely, Jerusalem 1925 and Matenadaran 1500. Trying to be on the safe side, the readings I now give are attested in all these sources. In individual cases, however, one of course cannot exclude the possibility of a later inner-Armenian change. In any case, we need not go into the Armenian manuscript tradition here. For 1 Samuel, it has been examined by Johnson in connection with his 1968 work on the Armenian as a Hexaplaric witness.<sup>12</sup>

For their editions of Armenian Daniel, Deuteronomy, and Job,<sup>13</sup> Cowe and Cox have examined the translation technique and commented on the decisions made by the translators. These include grammatical features, consistency in vocabulary, pluses and interpretations. For most of the features examined by Cowe and Cox, corresponding examples can be found in 1 Samuel. I shall limit the discussion to only a few points, namely addition of certain particles, word order and pronouns, and finally, interpretative readings.

#### 4. PARTICLES

Cox lists some half a dozen particles which the translator of Deuteronomy has freely added. In addition to the conjunction եւ “and,” which is freely and frequently added or omitted, these are uhuu “behold,” արդ “now,” այլ “but,” իսկ “but, in fact, yet,” զի “that,” and աւադիկ “behold.” In 1 Samuel, examples for most of these can be found in direct speech. The only exceptions are the presentative particles ահա and աւադիկ (also the series ահաւադիկ, ահաւադիկ, ահաւանիկ), which the translator of this book never adds.

4. 25:11, արդ “now”

καὶ λήψομαι τοὺς ἄρτους μου καὶ τὸν οἶνον μου καὶ τὰ θύματά μου

**Արդ** առնուցում զհաց իմ եւ զգինի իմ եւ զզենիս իմ

**Now** shall I take my bread and my wine and my sacrifices ...

This particle is added in one other instance in 1 Samuel, namely, 28:9, and there too it starts a question.

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11. Hovhann Zohrapian ed., *Աստուածաշունչ Մատենան Հին եւ Նոր Գտախարանաց* [The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments] (Venice: Srboyn Lazaru, 1805).

12. Johnson, *Armenische Bibelübersetzung*. See also his “Fünf armenische Bibelhandschriften aus Erevan,” in *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch*, ed. Josef Schreiner, FB 1 (Würzburg: Echter, 1972), 67–73.

13. Claude E. Cox, *Armenian Job. Reconstructed Greek Text, Critical Edition of the Armenian with English Translation*, Hebrew University Armenian Studies 8 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006).

5. 22:5, ալլ “but”  
 Μὴ κάθου ἐν τῇ περιοχῇ, πορεύου καὶ ἤξεις εἰς γῆν Ἰούδα  
 Մի՛ նստիր յանձաւիդ, **ալլ** արի եւ երթիցես յերկիրն Յուդայ  
 Do not remain in the stronghold, **but** leave and you shall enter the land  
 of Yuda.
  
6. 16:6, իսկ “but, in fact, yet”  
 καὶ εἶδεν τὸν Ἐλιάβ, καὶ εἶπεν Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώπιον Κυρίου χριστὸς αὐτοῦ  
 ետես զԵղիար եւ աւե. Այլ եւ ւառջի **իսկ** Տեառն օծեսլ իւր:  
 He looked on Eliab and said, “To be sure, **in fact** before the Lord is his  
 anointed.”
  
7. 20:2, զի “for, because, that”  
 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἰωναθάν μηδαμῶς σοι, οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνης, ἰδοὺ οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ ὁ  
 πατήρ μου ῥῆμα μέγα ἢ μικρὸν  
 Եւ աւե ցնա Յովնաթան. Քաւ քեզ, ոչ մեռանիցիս. **զի** տես ոչ տանե  
 հայր իմ բան մի մեծ կամ փոքր  
 And Yonathan said to him, “Far be it from you! You shall not die. **For**  
 behold, my father will not do anything great or small...”

There is an interesting pattern in particle additions. There are some passages where the translator has added *անդրէն* / *անդր* / *անտի* “to there, again / there, beyond / thence, there” several times in a similar context. These are the beginnings of chapters three and five and 24:8–11. In chapter 3, where Eli sends Samuel back to sleep, this happens after every instance of *αναστρεφω*:

8. *անդրէն*, “to there; again”
  - a. 3:5 καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ κέκληκά σε, ἀνάστρεφε, κάθευδε. καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν καὶ ἐκάθευδεν.  
 Եւ աւե. Ոչ կոչեցի զքեզ, դարձիր **անդրէն** եւ ննջես: Եւ դարձաւ **անդրէն** եւ ննջեաց:  
 And he said, “I have not called you; return **there** and lie down.” And he returned **there** and lay down.
  - b. 3:6 καὶ εἶπεν οὐ κέκληκά σε, ἀνάστρεφε κάθευδε.  
 Ոչ կոչեցի զքեզ, որդեակ իմ, դարձիր **անդրէն** եւ ննջես:  
 “I have not called you, my son, return **there** and lie down.”
  - c. 3:9 καὶ εἶπεν Ἀνάστρεφε, κάθευδε, τέκνον  
 Եւ աւե Հելի գՍամուէլ. Դարձիր **անդրէն** եւ ննջես,  
 And Heli said to Samuel, “Return **there** and lie down,”

In chapter five, the allophytes have brought the ark to the house of Dagon. On two consecutive mornings, they wake up and find Dagon fallen on his face. The addition of *անդր* is made twice after *ορθριζω*. There is yet one added *անդր* in verse 9.



9. *անդր*, “there”
- 5:3 *καὶ ᾤρθρισαν οἱ Ἀζώτιοι καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς οἶκον Δαγών*  
*Եւ կանխեցին Ազովտացիքն ի վաղիւ անդր*, եւ մտին ի տուն  
*Դագոնայ*,  
 And the Azotians rose early the following day **there**, and entered into  
 the house of Dagon.
  - 5:4 *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ᾤρθρισαν τὸ πρωί, καὶ ἰδοὺ Δαγὼν πεπτωκώς*  
*Եւ եղև իբրև կանխեցին ընդ առաւօտն ի վաղիւ անդր*, եւ  
*ահա Դագոն կործանեալ կայր*  
 And it happened, when they rose early in the morning the following  
 day **there**, and behold, Dagon was fallen.
  - 5:9 *καὶ ἐγενήθη μετὰ τὸ μετελθεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ γίνεται χεὶρ Κυρίου*  
*Եւ եղև յետ փոխելոյ նորա անդր*, ինէր ձեռն Տեառն ի վերայ  
*քաղաքին*  
 And it happened, after it came over **there**, that the hand of the Lord  
 came on the city.

The last set of examples comes from 24:8–11.

10. *անսի*, “thence, there”
- 24:8 *καὶ ἀνέστη Σαοὺλ (+ ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαιοῦ A O Arm) καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὴν ὁδόν*  
*Եւ Սաւուղ յարեալ յայրէ անսի* եւ էջ ի ճանապարհն:  
 And Saul got up out of the cave, **from there**, and went down to the  
 road.
  - 24:9 *καὶ ἀνέστη Δαυὶδ ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ (+ καὶ ἐξηλθεν A O Arm) ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαιοῦ*  
*Եւ յարեալ Դաւիթ զկնի նորա էլ յայրէ անսի*  
 And David got up after him and came out of the cave, **from there**.
  - 24:11 *ὥς παρέδωκέν σε Κύριος σήμερον εἰς χεῖρά μου ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ*  
*ն րպէս մատնեաց զքեզ Տէր այսօր ի ձեռս իմ յայրի անսի*  
 ... how the Lord gave you today into my hands in the cave **there**.

In most of these cases (all except 9a–b), the Greek has a compound verb. As Armenian does not have a morphologically equivalent way of expressing this, the translator has resorted to adding a locative adverbial as an emphatic of a kind. Cowe has observed this but also several other strategies in dealing with Greek compound verbs.<sup>14</sup>

14. Cowe, *Daniel*, 369, 370.

## 5. TRANSPOSITIONS

As in other Armenian biblical books that have been studied from the viewpoint of translation technique, word order shows extensive liberalism in 1 Samuel.<sup>15</sup> From the first two chapters alone, we can cite the following examples:

11. 1:23 ἀλλὰ στήσαι Κύριος τὸ ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου
  - στήσαι Κύριος tr Arm
12. 1:24 καὶ ἀνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς Σηλὼμ ἐν μόσχῳ τριετίζοντι
  - μόσχῳ τριετίζοντι tr Arm
13. 2:8 καὶ ἀπὸ κοπρίας ἐγείρει πτωχόν
  - ἀπὸ κοπρίας post πτωχόν tr Arm
14. 2:13 καὶ κρεάγρα τριόδους ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ
  - κρεάγρα τριόδους tr Arm
15. 2:15 καὶ πρὶν θυμιαθῆναι τὸ στέαρ
  - θυμιαθῆναι / τὸ στέαρ tr Arm
16. 2:17 καὶ ἦν ἡ ἁμαρτία τῶν παιδαρίων ἐνώπιον Κυρίου μεγάλη σφόδρα
  - τῶν παιδαρίων ἐνώπιον Κυρίου post σφόδρα tr Arm
17. 2:22 καὶ ὡς ἐκοιμῶντο συν ταις γυναιξὶ ταις παρεστῶσαις
  - ταις γυναιξὶ / ταις παρεστῶσαις tr Arm
18. 2:34 καὶ τοῦτό σοι τὸ σημεῖον
  - σοι / τὸ σημεῖον tr Arm

These examples are not interesting for their own sake, but grouping and further analysis of the numerous transpositions in the translation might reveal interesting patterns which could then be compared with results received from other books.

## 6. PRONOMINAL SUBJECTS

Another frequent feature of translation also noted in other books<sup>16</sup> is the addition of subjects, mostly pronominal. For the sake of illustration, a few examples will suffice.

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15. See, e.g., Cowe, *Daniel*, 374–77; Cox, *Deuteronomy*, 232. The two strata in Armenian Chronicles follow their *Vorlage* more closely; see S. Peter Cowe, “The Two Armenian Versions of Chronicles, Their Origin and Translation Technique,” *Revue des études arméniennes* 22 (1990–1991): 53–96, esp. 57 and 76.

16. Cox, *Deuteronomy*, 227.

19. 26:21 *ἐν τῇ σήμερον μεματαίωμαι καὶ ἡγνόηκα πολλὰ σφόδρα.*  
 Էի ես յայսմ ւառիք ժամանակի գրախնդիր եւ յանցաւոր եմ յոյժ:  
 “And today **I** have been a no-good and have acted in very great ignorance.”
20. 29:10 *καὶ νῦν ὄρθρισον τὸ πρωὶ σὺ καὶ οἱ παῖδες τοῦ κυρίου σου*  
 Եւ արդ կանխեալ **դու** ընդ առաւօտն, դու եւ ծառայք տէառն քո  
 “And now be early (**you**) in the morning, you and the servants of your lord ...”
21. 2:16 *καὶ εἶπεν Οὐχί, ὅτι νῦν δώσεις*  
 Եւ **ես** ասէր. Ոչ, բայց եթէ արդ տայցես  
 And **he** said, “No, because you shall give it now ...”
22. 11:10 *Ἀῦριον ἐξελευσόμεθα πρὸς ὑμᾶς*  
 Վաղիւ ելցուք **մեք** ան ձեզ  
 “Tomorrow **we** will come forth to you ...”

## 7. INTERPRETATIVE READINGS

There are also interpretative readings introduced by the translator. Here I will only illustrate a few.

23. 2:27 *καὶ ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ πρὸς Ἡλὶ*  
 Եւ եկն **հրեշտակ** Աստուծոյ ան Հելի  
 And a **messenger** of God came to Heli

The word *հրեշտակ* means “messenger,” but it almost always occurs with either God or Lord as its possessor, thus meaning “angel.” This variant might be due to confusion from abbreviations in the Greek manuscripts. The *Vorlage* of Arm might have read an abbreviation *αος* for *ανθρωπος*, which the translator then took to stand for *αγγελος*.

24. 14:26 *καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ λαὸς εἰς τὸν μελισσῶνα, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπορεύετο λαλῶν*  
 Եւ եմուտ զօրն ի մեղրուանցն, եւ անցանէին **քրքմնջելով**  
 And the people came upon the beehive, and they went on **mumbling**.

When *λαλων* (or *και ειπεν*) introduces direct speech, the Armenian translator always uses the verb *ասել* “to say” (already discussed earlier at example 2). Here, however, the context is “they went on talking,” and direct speech does not follow. The translator has decided to use a more colorful verb *քրքմնջել* “mumble, mutter.”

25. 25:9 *καὶ λαλοῦσιν τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς Ναβάλ ... καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν* (10)  
*καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ναβάλ τοῖς παισὶν Δαυὶδ καὶ εἶπεν Τίς ὁ Δαυὶδ καὶ τίς ὁ υἱὸς*  
*Ἰεσσαί;*  
 Եւ խօսեցան զբանսն ընդ Նաբաղայ, ... (10) **Հիբռստաջալ**, եւ ետ

պատասխանի ծառայիցն Դաւթի եւ ասէ. Ո՞ Դաւիթ, կամ ո՞ որդին  
Յեսսէայ

And (the lads) spoke to Nabal ... (10) He **disobeyed** and answered David's  
servants and said, "Who is David? Or who is the son of Yessae?"

In the beginning of chapter 25, David sends "lads" to Nabal asking for provisions. In Greek, Nabal jumps to his feet (*ανεπηδησεν*) and dismisses the lads. In place of *αναπηδᾶω*, Arm has here *ըմբոստանամ* "to resist, disobey; to grow insolent" (*hapax* in the Armenian Bible).

## 8. DISCUSSION

Having given but a few examples, I am inclined to claim that compared to other books, which have received systematic attention from the perspective of translation technique, 1 Samuel—as we have it—exhibits considerably fewer interpretations and elaborations and in other ways, too, is rather close to its Greek original. To explain this, we have to go back to the translation history of the Armenian Bible.

In some books of the Armenian Bible, two clear layers have been preserved. In many of these cases, such as Chronicles and Ecclesiastes,<sup>17</sup> the initial layer shows a less literalistic approach to translation, with a great number of changes to the text. In the second phase, the text has been corrected to be closer to the Greek, resulting in a more literalistic text. This can be observed when both layers have been preserved, in different manuscripts, for instance. In 1 Samuel, however, these layers cannot be reliably separated. Instead, the text we have is rather uniformly the result of the second phase. Even if the initial translation was made in the same non-literalistic way as some other books, the evidence is buried under textual history.

Be that as it may, we still have cases, such as word order and pronouns, where the divergence from the Greek clearly shows. These cases may often be explained by the translator's efforts to clarify. This is not anything special to 1 Samuel, but a phenomenon widely attested in other books of the Bible as well.

As has been acknowledged, studying translation technique in the daughter translations of the Septuagint is important. It gives us an overview of the translator's style, and helps us determine whether further differences are textually based or created by the translator. This knowledge can then be used when doing textual criticism. The observations I have made here are put to use in the Göttingen edition for 1 Samuel, edited by Anneli Aejmelaeus.

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17. Cowe, "The Two Armenian Versions of Chronicles"; Claude E. Cox, "Armenian Ecclesiastes: Arm 1 and Arm 2." *Revue des études arméniennes* 34 (2012): 9–28. It should be mentioned that the two layers in both of these books are from Greek, so there is no Syriac basis.

## The Strata of the Armenian Version of Cantica Examined for Contrasting Translation Technique and Witness to Their Greek Parent Texts

*S. Peter Cowe*

**Abstract:** This paper seeks to analyze the witness of the Armenian version of Cantica to the Old Greek both in terms of the diversity of parent text and translation technique manifested by its two strata. It concludes that the relation between the latter is that of an initial translation and revision and argues that, in the absence of a strict control on the copying process in the early period, the two texts were subject to conflation and primitive error, so that on occasion only a ninth century palimpsest preserves the original reading. The early rendering was effected from a text type with affiliation to B and pre-Hexaplaric Latin witnesses. However, it evinces ancillary affinities with the Lucianic text and manifests the impact of Antiochene exegesis at various points, often paralleled by Theodoret, one aspect of which is secondary influence from the Peshitta. Its translation technique is very contextual, featuring a translation unit at the phrase length, with significant variation in word order and translation equivalents. Moreover, in expression it follows Armenian linguistic and stylistic norms, hence affording a nuanced and articulate representation of the Old Greek's semantic field. In contrast, the revision derives from a parent text aligned with the codices A and S and satellites with a layer of Hexaplaric readings and featuring a developed system of rubrication apportioning the text to various speakers. It also diverges greatly in terms of translation technique, pursuing a thoroughgoing literalist policy with a high degree of quantitative representation, translation unit at the word or root level, close maintenance of word order, and relatively consistent equivalency patterns. In particular, it preserves a set of Semiticisms mediated by the Old Greek on the one hand, while on the other attempting to parallel Greek morphemes to the degree of introducing neologisms to calque them more effectively. Inevitably this leads the revisor periodically to transgress the norms of Armenian idiom and to compromise the semantic appropriateness of his rendering.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Despite its limited compass, the Song of Songs (Arm.: *Cantica*) is both one of the most controversial and influential parts of Scripture, continually inspiring and intriguing subsequent generations with its paeon to the power of love.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, it has evoked a host of different interpretations and engendered one of the most diverse series of commentaries within the whole biblical corpus.<sup>2</sup> This situation, representative of the Jewish and Christian traditions as a whole,<sup>3</sup> applies equally well to the more localized Armenian sphere, which not only adopted several patristic commentaries like that of Hippolytus and Gregory of Nyssa<sup>4</sup> but contributed to the genre with an indigenous set of works from the commentary of Grigor Narekac'i in 977<sup>5</sup>, himself a mystic poet, right down to

1. Not only did certain Jewish scholars query the book's status, but Theodore of Mopsuestia dismissed it as a love song composed by Solomon to gain favor with his Egyptian bride (PG 66, 699–700).

2. For overviews of the topic, see Jonathan Kaplan, *A Divine Lovestory: The Emergence of the Theoretic Interpretation of the Song of Songs in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); Richard A. Norris, *The Song of Songs Interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003); Ann W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); and Ann E. Matter, *The Voice of my Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

3. The earliest preserved commentary is that of Hippolytus of Rome, extant in a Georgian translation via an Armenian intermediary from the Greek, on which see Yancy W. Smith, *Hippolytus' Commentary "On the Song of Songs" in Social and Critical Context* (Ph.D. diss., Brite Divinity School at Texas Christian University, 2008). Similarly, Origen's commentary is accessible in Latin translations of Rufinus and Jerome. Further Patristic treatments have also come down to us by Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44, 755–1119) and Theodoret (PG 81, 27–214).

4. For the Armenian fragments of Hippolytus's commentary, see Jean Baptiste F. Pitra, ed., *Analecta Sacra*, vol. 2 (Paris: Joubet, 1884), 232–35; for those of Origen, see E. Petrosyan and H. Najaryan, "Nšxarner Oroginesi hayeren t'argmanutyunneric'" [Remnants of the Armenian Translations of Origen], *Ējmiacin* 34 (1979), 21–24 and 35 (1980), 39–44; and, for Gregory of Nyssa's work, see Kim M. Muradyan, "Grigor Nyusac'u 'Erg Ergoc'i Meknut'yan' hayeren t'argmanut'yunə ev Vardan Arevelc'in," [The Armenian Version of Gregory of Nyssa's "Commentary on Song of Songs" and Vardan Arevelc'i], *Patma-banasirakan Handes* 130 (1990), 118–26.

5. Grigor Narekac'i, "Meknut'iwn ergoc' ergoyn Solomoni" [Commentary on Solomon's Song of Songs], in *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* [Medieval Armenian Literature], ed. Lilit' Yovsēp'ean, vol. 12 (Ant'ilyas, Lebanon: Cilicia Press, 2008), 760–883. For studies on the work, see Kiwreł K'iparean, "Grigor Narekac'i ew Erg ergoc'i meknut'iwnə" [Grigor Narekac'i and the Commentary on Song of Songs], *Bazmavēp* 119 (1961), 1–10, and Robert W. Thomson, "Gregory of Narek's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*," *JTS* 34 (1983): 453–96.

the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, as the Songs of Songs informed the development of lyric poetry, music, and art in Europe and around the Mediterranean basin into modern times, so it impacted the parallel development of these forms of cultural expression in the Caucasian realm.<sup>7</sup>

In general, Armenian biblical manuscripts do not become plentiful until the thirteenth century,<sup>8</sup> however some codices containing sapiential literature are found from the twelfth century, as the discipline was widely studied in the monastic academies of the era.<sup>9</sup> We are also fortunate that a fire in the 1970s at St. Catherine's monastery on Sinai uncovered a ninth century palimpsest originally of that complexion, which has preserved sections from the book providing valuable insight into the version's early transmission history about which we are least informed.<sup>10</sup> Near contemporary historical data indicate that the original rendering of Scripture (Arm1) was effected in early part of the fifth century, followed by a revision (Arm2) in the aftermath of the Council of Ephesus (431).<sup>11</sup> Although some of the books investigated seem to evince only one stratum, several, including the one under consideration, reveal the presence of two distinct phases in the process, divergent both in origin and translation technique.<sup>12</sup>

Oskean's study of MS 55 of the mid-fourteenth century housed in the Vienna Mkhitarist collection led him to two conclusions, (1) that in this book the two strata marked separate translations and (2) that the text type preserved in the above witness predated the type evinced by MS 1508 of the Venice Mkhitarist collection, the base manuscript of Zohrapean's publication of 1805, which remains the edition of the Armenian Bible most commonly employed in

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6. For a complete listing, see Eznik Petrosyan and Armen Ter-Step'anyan, *S. Grk'i hayeren meknut'yunneri matenagitut'yun* [Bibliography of Armenian Commentaries on Scripture] (Erevan: Bible Society of Armenia, 2002), 37–45.

7. Peter Cowe, "Medieval Armenian Literary and Cultural Trends," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, vol. 1 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 294–96, 310–20.

8. For a fairly comprehensive list of Armenian biblical manuscripts in public collections, see Chahé Adjémian, *Grand catalogue des manuscrits arméniens de la Bible* (Lisbon: Bibliothèque arménienne de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1992).

9. S. Peter Cowe, "A Typology of Armenian Biblical Manuscripts," *Revue des études arméniennes* 18 (1984): 60–61.

10. Jost Gippert, ed., *The Armenian Layer*, vol. 3 of *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mt. Sinai*; ed. Jost Gippert et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), iv, 41–52.

11. S. Peter Cowe, "The Bible in Armenian," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 147–50, 154–58.

12. Ibid., 149–51, 155–58.

scholarly research.<sup>13</sup> This paper emerges out of an in-progress project to establish a critical edition of the Armenian and draws upon a database currently embracing most manuscripts to the end of the fourteenth century, correlated with Jay Treat's study of the Old Greek.<sup>14</sup> It strives to demonstrate that while Oskean's observation of a bifurcation in the tradition is well founded, the relation between the strata is rather that of translation and revision and that priority lies rather with the text type largely reflected by the Zohrepean edition.

## 2. THE CHARACTER OF ARM2 AS A REVISION

The former conclusion is suggested by the widespread phenomenon of revisor fatigue. Thus Arm1 formulae rigorously altered by the Arm2 revisor in the early chapters of the book in accordance with his literalist tendencies to approximate more closely to the Greek phraseology are left untouched in the second part of the work. A good example of the tendency is provided by the recurring reference to the lover shepherding his flocks. At 2:16b, the original rendering with compound preposition "in the midst of/among" the lilies is "corrected" to parallel the simple preposition of the Greek (in turn reflecting the underlying Hebrew). However, when the phrase reprises in chapter six, the original form is left intact.

- 2:16b    OG ἐν τοῖς κρίνοις  
           Arm1 Ի սէջ շուշանաց [in the midst of the lilies]  
           Arm2 Ի շուշանս [in the lilies]  
 6:3b    OG ἐν τοῖς κρίνοις  
           Arm1/2 Ի սէջ շուշանաց [in the midst of the lilies]

Similarly, the revisor discards the Arm1 equivalent Խղազործ (lit. oil-producer) of *μυρεψός* (perfumer, lit. "unguent-boiler") at 3:6c in favor of a morphologically closer lexeme incorporating the root of cooking (ԷփԷլ). However, in chapter eight he leaves the earlier form untouched.

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13. Hamazasp Oskean, *Erg ergoc'i arājin ew erkrord t'argmanut'iwnə* [The First and Second Translation of Song of Songs] (Vienna: Mkhitarist Press, 1924). See also Hovhann Zohrapian, ed., *Astuatsashunch' matean hin ew nor ktakarants'* (sic) [Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments], A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1805 Venetian edition with an introduction by Claude Cox (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1984).

14. Jay C. Treat, "Lost Keys: Text and Interpretation in Old Greek 'Song of Songs' and Its Earliest Manuscript Witnesses" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996). For the Peshitta, see John A. Emerton, "Song of Songs," in *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version: Sample Edition Song of Songs, Tobit, 4 Ezra*, ed. P. A. H. de Boer and W. Baars (Leiden: Brill, 1966).



- 3:6c OG ἀπὸ πάντων κονιορτῶν μυρεψοῦ  
 Arm1 յաւենայն փոշէլոյ **իւղագործաց** [from every powder of the perfumers]  
 Arm2 յաւենայն փոշէաց իւղեփէցաց [from all the powders of the perfumers]
- 8:2 OG ἀπὸ οἴνου τοῦ μυρεψικοῦ  
 Arm1/2 ի գինւոյ **իւղագործաց** [from the wine of the perfumers]

While lacking compound verbs, early Armenian idiom favors the construction of compound verbal adjectives that function together with the facilitating verb առնել (to make) as in the process of “making audible” at 2:14d.<sup>15</sup> However the revisor is exercised to render the Greek more explicitly by means of a very rare form of causative imperative. Nevertheless, the original is retained in chapter eight with a minor inversion of the two phrases in the line to match the variation in Greek phraseology in situ.

- 2:14d OG ἀκούτισόν με τὴν φωνήν σου  
 Arm1 **լսելի արա** ինձ զբարբառ քն [make audible to me your speech]  
 Arm2 լուռ ինձ զձայն քն [make me hear your voice]
- 8:13b OG τὴν φωνήν σου ἀκούτισόν με  
 Arm1 **լսելի արա** ինձ զբարբառ քն [make audible to me your speech]  
 Arm2 զձայն քն **լսելի արա** ինձ [your voice make audible to me]

## 2.1. CONFLATION OF THE TWO STRATA IN EARLY TRANSMISSION

The Sinai palimpsest well illustrates a fact observed in other books that both strata of the translation circulated freely in the early period, leading to conflation between the readings manifest in a series of patterns in the extant sources.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, at certain points, the palimpsest alone preserves the original reading, as at 4:10a where the lexeme քանի exactly renders τι in the exclamation of admiration at the beloved’s beauty.

15. Antoine Meillet, *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1913), 38–41, Hans Jensen, *Altarmenische Grammatik* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1959), 27–33, and S. Peter Cowe, *The Armenian Version of Daniel*, UPATS 9 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 370.

16. Cowe, “Bible in Armenian,” 159.

- 4:10a OG *τί ἐκαλλιώθησαν μαστοί σου*  
 Arm1 MSS **քանզի** գեղեցկացան ստինք քն [for your breasts have become beautiful]  
 Sinai Palimpsest **քանի** գեղեցկացան ... [how beautiful ... ]  
 Arm2 **զի** գեղեցկացան ... [how beautiful ... ]

This has been substituted by the synonym զի in Arm2, which in turn has led to the secondary combined reading քանզի attested by most of the witnesses to Arm1. Similarly, at 2:17d the revisor's correction of Arm1 to reflect the Greek term *κοιλάματα* (defiles) is now maintained solely by two marginal readings, while the rest of the tradition maintains the Arm1 adjective referring to the fragrance of the mountains, which, as we shall see, was influenced by the Peshitta.

- 2:17d OG *ἐπὶ ὄρη κοιλαμάτων*  
 Arm1 ի վերայ լեռանց **խնկաբերաց** [on the aromatic mountains]  
 խնկաբերաց [aromatic]] **հովտաց** M182mg M206mg [valleys]  
 (=Arm2)

Meanwhile, at 1:6a Arm1 manuscripts relate to the beloved's dusky hues by a doublet reading of synonyms, of which the second component, a finite verbal form, is probably the original translation, while the component (blackened) most likely represents the Arm2 revision, which again is etymologically and morphologically closer to the Greek.<sup>17</sup>

- 1:6a OG *μεμελανωμένη*  
 Arm1 MSS սևացեալ թխացայ [blackened, I became dark]  
 Arm2 սևացեալ <եմ> [I have been blackened]

## 2.2. PRIMITIVE ERROR

The lack of careful monitoring of early textual copying suggests that at times the version may have been subject to primitive error that corrupted all the extant lines of transmission. However, at times conjectural emendation informed by rational criticism may assist in reconstituting those lost forms. A case in point is the portrayal of the lover's athleticism at 2:8c bounding gazelle-like over the hills.

- 2:8c OG *διαλλόμενος*  
 Arm1 MSS խաղաղացեալ [having become peaceful]  
 <խաղացեալ> [having sported]  
 Arm2 խալտալով [frolicing]

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17. Cowe, *Armenian Daniel*, 433–34.

The longer form of participle exhibited by Arm1 manuscripts is semantically unsuitable. However, it seems to derive from the graphically similar verb proposed in the line below that well conveys the sense and should probably be reinstated in the text. The error was probably caused by dittography, a common form of scribal mistake.

### 2.3. THE MAIN PARENT TEXT OF BOTH STRATA IS GREEK

That both strata derive primarily from a Greek standard is substantiated by various categories of linguistic evidence. A cogent example is provided by 1:6b where the beloved offers the following explanation for her dark complexion.

- 1:6b      OG *ὅτι παρέβλεψέν με ὁ ἥλιος*  
             Arm1 *q̄h ʃut̄əʃi hawet̄gaw ɹ̄n̄h ʃu w̄r̄et̄qawl̄n̄* [because the sun  
                     looked askance at me]  
             Arm2 *q̄h w̄n̄ut̄u w̄r̄aw̄ q̄h̄u w̄r̄et̄qawl̄n̄* [because the sun  
                     overlooked me]

There both Armenian texts depend on the broader semantic range of the Greek form *παρέβλεψεν*. The first stratum interprets the verb in terms of “looking askance” with the appropriate accompanying prepositional phrase “at me,” while the second construes it as “overlooking,” which appears less appropriate in the immediate context. It seems that the morphological and syntactic levels of the phrase were more imperative for the revisor, who matches the Greek construction with a direct object in the accusative case.

Meanwhile, at 6:4a the Arm1 rendering of the simile of the beloved’s beauty seems to rely on the variant reading *εὐωδία* unattested by the published Greek editions, a form graphically similar to *εὐδοκία*, which is obviously read by Arm2.

- 6:4a      OG *ὡς εὐδοκία*  
             Arm1 *h̄p̄rl̄ q̄w̄n̄uɹ̄z̄aw̄h̄n̄ut̄uɹ̄h̄n̄* [like fragrance] = *εὐωδία*  
             Arm2 *h̄p̄rl̄ q̄h̄aw̄d̄n̄uɹ̄h̄n̄* [like good pleasure]

### 3. ARM1 EXHIBITS PARALLEL PESHITTA INFLUENCE

Nevertheless, as in several other biblical books examined, Arm1 of Cantica reflects the subsidiary use of the Peshitta in the translation process, which probably reflects the methodology of the School of Antioch.<sup>18</sup> A revealing example of this procedure is the work’s superscription, again largely witnessed in conflated form by the manuscripts of the version.

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18. Cowe, “Bible in Armenian,” 149–51.

- 1:1a Arm MSS Երգ երգոց որ է արհնութիւն արհնութեանց  
ասացեալ Սողոմոնի արքայի Իսրայէլի [Song of songs, which is  
praise of praises said by Solomon, king of Israel]  
OG ᾠσμα ᾠσμάτων ὃ ἐστὶν τῷ Σαλωμών  
P ܐܪܗܢܘܬܐ ܐܪܗܢܘܬܐ [lit. praise of praises]  
Arm1 արհնութիւն արհնութեանց ասացեալ Սողոմոնի  
[Praise of praises said by Solomon]  
Arm2 Երգ երգոց որ է Սողոմոնի [Song of songs, which is to  
Solomon]

The reading's Antiochene genealogy is further anchored in the opening section of Theodoret's commentary on the book, in which he contextualizes the work within the development of the Hebrew genre of song, arguing:

πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ᾠσματα, καὶ ψαλμοὺς, καὶ ὕμνους, καὶ ᾠδὰς, παρὰ τε τῷ μακαρίῳ Δαβὶδ, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν προφήταις εὐρίσκομεν εἰρημένα καὶ συγγεγραμμένα. καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν ὁ μέγας ᾤσε πρῶτην μὲν ᾠδὴν τὴν ἐπινίκιον, ἡνίκα ἡ θάλασσα διαιρεθεῖσα, αὐτοῖς μὲν τοῖς Ἰσραηλῖταις ὁδὸς ἐγένετο, τοῖς δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις τάφος.<sup>19</sup>

we find many songs, psalms, hymns, and odes said and written by the Blessed David, and by [other] prophets before and after him. And Great Moses sang the first ode of victory, when the sea divided and became a path for the Israelites, but a tomb for the Egyptians.

There Theodoret's final reference is to the Song of Moses (Exod 15:1–18), the first of the biblical “canticles” employed liturgically by the church, the technical term for which in Armenian is արհնութիւն and in Syriac ܐܪܗܢܘܬܐ, precisely the forms employed in the Peshitta and Arm1.<sup>20</sup> The final portion of the inscription encountered in Armenian manuscripts (king of Israel) is then likely to be a secondary scribal accretion.

Returning to the simile of the lover as a gazelle upon the mountains at 2:17c, we note that while the term ἀρωμάτων occurs in the phrase's reprise at 8:14b, in situ only the Peshitta parallels the Arm1 reference to perfume.

- 2:17c OG ἐπὶ ὄρη κοιλαμάτων  
Arm1 Ի վերայ լեռանց խնկաբերաց [on the aromatic mountains]  
P ܐܪܗܢܘܬܐ ܐܪܗܢܘܬܐ [on the mountains of fragrances]

19. PG 81, col. 49.

20. For the semantic range of the Peshitta term, see Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 1673, and for the Armenian, Matthias Bedrossian, *New Dictionary Armenian-English* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, s.d.), 763.

Likewise, at 4:8b it appears that Arm1 has employed the Peshitta as a means of interpreting the precise meaning of the Old Greek. Both agree in construing the second phrase, which the Armenian translator will also have understood as referring to a mountain, whose “head” he idiomatically rendered by the term “summit.” Meanwhile, the Greek term at the opening of the line possesses a much broader semantic range spanning the spectrum from beginning (with the potential sense of elementary or introductory) all the way to chief, principal (connoting something much more advanced and of greater import). Hence, the application of the same lexeme (ܒܐܝ “head”) in the Syriac text, deriving from the original Hebrew, served as a prism through which to comprehend the Greek term, viewing it as a correlative rather than a contrast, that is, a highpoint of faith paralleling the height of the mountain. Thereafter, the revisor, true to his more literalist creed, follows his Greek parent text word for word without deeper consideration of the interrelation between the two hemistichs.

- 4:8b      OG ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς πίστεως ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς Σανὶρ  
             Arm2 ܐܢ ܣܠܩܦܐܢ ܗܘܐܝܬܐܢ ܝܢ ܩܝܬܢ ܣܐܢܝܪܐ [in the beginning of  
             faith from the head of Sanir]  
             Arm1 ܐܢ ܩܝܬܢ ܗܘܐܝܬܐܢ ܝܢ ܩܐܬܐܪܬ ܣܐܢܝܪܐ [from the head of  
             faith from the summit of Sanir]  
             P ܐܘܪ ܒܐܝ ܕܐܘܪ ܒܐܝ ܕܐܘܪ [from the head of affairs and from the head  
             of Sanir]

### 3.1. THE ARMENIAN VERSION’S WITNESS TO THE OLD GREEK

Since we have established that both Armenian strata depend on the Old Greek, in this section we review certain general aspects of their witness. The first set of examples reveals the Armenian’s close affinity with the Greek in the four main cases where the Hebrew vocalization it embodies differs from the MT tradition:<sup>21</sup>

- |       |                    |                                         |
|-------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1:10a | OG τρυγόνες        | Arm1/2 ԳՆԱՍԻՐԱԼԻ [of a dove]            |
| 1:11a | OG ὁμοιώματα       | Arm1/2 ԽՄԱՆՈՒԹԻՒՆ [likeness]            |
| 7:10c | OG καὶ ὀδοῦσιν     | Arm1/2 (և) ԿԱՏԱՄԱՄԲԲ [(and) with teeth] |
| 8:5a  | OG λελευκανθισμένη | Arm1/2 ԿԱԽԱԼԿԱԳԵԼ [whitened]            |

The second addresses instances of Old Greek interpretation of rare Hebrew terms.<sup>22</sup> Thus, at 7:2b the unusual Hebrew lexeme ܕܡܘܩܝ describing the beloved’s thighs is rendered by the Greek term ῥυθμοί associated with the semantic

21. Jay C. Treat, “To the Reader of Song of Songs,” in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Peitersma and Benjamin G. Wright (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 658.

22. Treat, “To the Reader of Song of Songs,” 658. The first of these relating to the OG use of κοιλωμάτων at 2:17d has already been discussed, while that of παραδρομαῖς at 7:6 will be treated in the section on royal ambience.

range of proportion-arrangement and form-shape, both of which has been adopted independently by the Armenian strata.

- 7:2b      OG ῥυθμοὶ μερῶν σου  
             MT דְּרֻכֵּי יָרֵכֶיךָ  
             Arm1 յարմարումն բարձից քնց [the congruity of your thighs]  
             Arm2 ձև բարձից քնց [the shape of your thighs]

The Armenian strata also literally represent other instances of Old Greek interpretation as, for example, in the case of the recurring formula of adjuration (2:7, 3:5, 5:8, 8:4).

- e.g., 2:7b OG ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἰσχύσεσιν τοῦ ἀγροῦ  
             Arm1/2 ի զաւրութիւնս և յուժգնութիւնս անդաստանի [in the  
             powers and intensities of the field]

Likewise they follow the Old Greek rendering of צִמָּה (veil) as taciturnity in a formula repeated at 4:1, 3; and 6:7:

- e.g., 4:1c OG ἐκτὸς τῆς σιωπῆσεώς σου  
             Arm1/2 բացի լռութենէդ քուսմէ [apart from your silence]

Similarly, the Armenian exhibits most of the instances where the Old Greek transliterates the Hebrew instead of interpreting it. Significantly, at 5:14, while maintaining the Greek form with allusion to the toponym Tarshish, the Armenian translator was also familiar with the term's second semantic field to designate a precious stone perhaps mediated by the Peshitta.

- 5:14a      OG πεπληρωμένοι θαρσις  
             Arm1/2 լցեալ աղաւթք Թարսուայ [filled with stones of Tarshish]  
             P ܬܠܬܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܬܪܫܝܝܬ [full of stones of gold]

Concluding this section, we should note that the Armenian also follows the Greek in the examples where it translates names instead of transliterating them.<sup>23</sup>

- 2:1          OG τοῦ πεδίου  
             Arm1/2 դաշտաց [of the plains]
- 7:5          OG θυγατρὸς πολλῶν] θυγατρων 296  
             Arm1/2 դստերաց բազմաց [of many daughters]

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23. Ibid., 658. The Armenian rendering of 4:8 and 6:4 have already been discussed.

### 3.2. DIVERGENCE OF THE ARMENIAN STRATA IN TERMS OF GREEK PARENT TEXT

The bifurcation of the Armenian tradition's affiliation with Old Greek text types is apparent at many junctures, one of the clearest being the beloved's association with a mountain at 4:8c.

4:8c      Ἑρμῶν BV GregN (244) Sw HP Ra LaB Lah Ambr  
Arm1 Հերմոնի [Hermon]

4:8c      Ἀερμῶν SA 106 147 155 157 159 248 252 253 254 296 300 Athan  
PhiloC CatP  
Arm2 Ահերմոնի [Ahermon]

The location is styled alternatively Hermon and Ahermon, the first manifested by Codex Vaticanus with support from pre-Hexaplaric Latin witnesses and featured by Arm1, while the latter is read by Codex Alexandrinus together with later Lucianic witnesses and incorporated in Arm2. The broad outlines of this subdivision are sustained throughout the book, as illustrated by another variation in name at 7:2b.

7:2b      Ναδάβ BSV 147 (SyH) HP Sw Ra  
Arm1 Նադաբայ [Nadab]

7:2b      Ἀμιναδάβ A 254 PhiloC CatP LaB LaH Ambr  
Arm2 Ամինադաբայ [Aminadab]

The next example marks differentiation of the verbal tense at 3:4c.

3:4c      ἀφήχα BSV 68 106 147 155 157 159 254 296 297 300 487 502  
Hippol Orgn GregN CatP LaB LaH Ambr  
Arm1 թողի [I let]

3:4c      ἀφήσω A 161 248 252 253 Orgn PhiloC SyH Ambr  
Arm2 թողից [I will let]

Also emblematic of Arm1's affinities with prehexaplaric sources is its contextual rendering of the verb at 7:7 in praise of the beloved's charms, where Arm1 reveals affinity with the interpretative tradition of Latin witnesses:

7:7      ἡδύνθη] suavis LaH Ambr  
Arm1 հեշտալի եղեր [you became delightful]  
Arm2 քաղցրացար [you became sweet]

Avoiding the direct reference to “sweetness” typically adopted by Arm2, the original Armenian translator again employed a composite adjective-verb construction to convey the delight she evoked in the beholder.

### 3.3. ARM1 AGREEMENT WITH LUCIANIC WITNESSES

As already marked by parallels with Gregory of Nyssa’s commentary, Arm1 also reveals some allegiance with the Lucianic text, as in the unprecedented variant “sister” for ‘near one’ at 2:2b in alignment with Gregory and Theodoret.

- 2:2b     ἡ πλησίον] ἀδελφίδη Thdt: ἀδελφή 297 GregN  
 Arm1 քոյր իմ [my sister]  
 Arm2 մերձաւոր իմ [my close one]

The next example features variations in the verb depicting the movement of the flocks of goats, to which the beloved is likened at 6:5d.

- 6:5d     αἱ ἀνεφάνησαν SAV GregN (430) HP Sw Ra  
 Arm1 որք երևեցաւ [that appeared]  
 6:5d     ἀνέβησαν S 106 147 155 159 161 248 300 PhiloC CatP  
 Arm2 որ ելաւն [that go up]

Similarly, Arm2’s affinity with Codex A and its satellites reviewed above continues throughout the book and manifests itself even in minutiae such as singular/plural number as at 1:10b because of the revisor’s rigid focus on morphological encoding.

- 1:10b ὀρμίσκοι BSCV 147 502 Hippol GregN CatP LaB LaH Ambr SyH  
 Arm1 զմանեալս [necklaces]  
 1:10b ὀρμίσκος A 254 PhiloC Orgn GregE  
 Arm2 զմանեալ [necklace]

In its turn, Arm2 also witnesses certain Lucianic parallels including the case of variation in the position of the lover’s hand on his beloved’s head as he embraces her at 2:6a.

- 2:6a     ὑπὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν BSACV 147 502 GregN PhilC CatP  
 Arm1 ընդ գլխով իմով [under my head]  
 2:6a     ἐπὶ 155 157 GregNmss  
 Arm2 ի վերայ գլխոյ իմոյ [on my head]



### 3.4. HEXAPLARIC INFLUENCE

Of the six significant cases of Hexaplaric influence, which Treat accepts in the book, the Armenian tradition lacks two: the plus “You will teach me” at 8:2 and “to you” at 8:12.<sup>24</sup> Significantly at 7:2c, the transmission history splits along redactional lines over the representation of the “hands” of the artisan responsible for crafting the necklaces with which the beloved’s thighs are compared.

- 7:2c      ἔργω BV 106 155 248vid 253 CatP HP Sw]  
           Arm1 qnpḏnj [work]
- 7:2c      + χειρων AV 106 147 155 157 159 248vid 252 253 254 300 PhiloC  
           CatP  
           Arm2 + ձեռաց [of hands]  
           (> BS [68 296 487] Fa LaB HP Sw)

The pre-hexaplaric form is evinced by codices B and S together with the Old Latin, Coptic, and Arm1, while the addition appears in A together with the witnesses to the Hexaplaric text (V, 253, the Catena of Procopius, and Syro-hexapla), clearly suggesting that the addition intruded into the Armenian text at the time of the revision. In the remaining three pluses (3:11: “Daughters of Sion”; 4:13: “pomegranates”; 7:14: “which my mother gave me”), the preserved Armenian witness is unitary, but the list of parallel witnesses exhibiting those readings strongly implies that here too the point of entry should be identified with the revision.

- 3:11      ἴδετε BSA 147 GregN Athan PhiloC Nilus CatP]  
           + θυγατέρες A 106 155 161 248 252 254 296 297 GregN Athan  
           PhiloC CatP (SyH LaH Vg) LaB Ambr  
           + Σιών A 106 155 161 248 252 254 296 297 GregN Athan PhiloC  
           CatP (SyH LaH Vg) LaB Ambr
- 4:13      παράδεισος] + ρων Sc.a. A\* V 147 157 159 253 254 297 300 487  
           GregN PhiloC CatP Gramin HP Ra = MT  
           [> BS\* Ac 68 106 155 252 296 Orgn LaB Vg Favid SaM SaT Sw]
- 7:14      παλαιά] + ὅσα ἔδωκα μοι ἡ μητηρ μου 253 (SyH)

### 3.5. ARM1 TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

Let us now turn to a more detailed comparative analysis of the key elements of the translation technique embraced by the two strata of the Armenian Version. From comments already made one can deduce that Arm1’s translation unit was

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24. Treat, *Lost Keys*, 376–82.

fixed at the phrase length and hence attention was directed at rendering the semantic content of the base text with appropriate variation in translation equivalents, word order, and the representation of morphological and syntactic patterns.<sup>25</sup> As such, it emerges as the antithesis of the Old Greek, which, more in keeping with Arm2, encapsulates a very literal profile, eager to encode etymological and morphological aspects of the base text in a verbatim rendering, employing a close stereotyping of translation equivalents, all of which underline the Old Greek's affinities with the *kaige* tradition.<sup>26</sup>

Meanwhile, Arm1 grants priority to the target language in matters of expression, embodying early Armenian grammatical and stylistic norms in a series of specific features.<sup>27</sup> One of these is the periodic impact of Semiticisms as at 8:8a, where Arm1 employs a periphrasis to represent possession, although the Armenian lexicon features a perfectly functional verb of having, which appropriately appears in Arm2.<sup>28</sup>

- 8:8a      OG *μαστοὺς οὐκ ἔχει*  
             Arm1 *սսիիւք ոչ գոյ իւրա* [lit. there are no breasts of her]  
             Arm2 *սսիիւս ոչ ունի* [she has no breasts]

Another is the representation of the pronoun subject in various contexts, as at 6:1c.

- 6:1c      OG *ζητήσομεν αὐτόν*  
             Arm1 *իսնիքեցոյք **և** մէք* զւս [we **too** will look for him]  
             Arm2 *իսնիքեցոյք* զւս [we will look for him]

There the expression gains in power by contrasting the group referred to as the “Daughters of Jerusalem” with the beloved and in explicating their query as to the general whereabouts of the lover. This is not the product of idle curiosity as they are offering their services to assist in the search. In contrast, Arm2 reflects a verbatim rendering of the Old Greek.

The book witnesses several cases of lexical choice depending on the wider context, as at 5:2–6 where the lover begs entry to the beloved because his hair is getting wet.

- 5:2–6    OG *ψεκάδων νυκτός*  
             Arm1 *ի չալից գիշերոյ* [from the night rheume]  
             Arm2 *տաքալիով գիշերոյ* [with a night shower]

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25. S. Peter Cowe, “The Two Armenian Versions of Chronicles, Their Origin and Translation Technique,” *Revue des études arméniennes* 22 (1990–91): 62–93.

26. Treat, *Lost Keys*, 382–83.

27. Cowe, “Armenian Chronicles,” 84–9.

28. Nina G. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories (Buzandaran Patmut'iwkn')* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), n. 30, 8–9.

Fluidity in selection of translation equivalents is well illustrated by the comparison of the beloved's physical beauty and its powerful effect to that of wine. Her likeness to honey at 4:11 and remarks on her growing sweetness at 7:7 may have influenced the Armenian translator in his choice of adjective to reflect ἀγαθός in the first instance at 1:2b in terms of the taste of wine. This is then to be contrasted with the revisor's application of the stereotypical rendering "good."

However, in the second instance at 7:10a, the comparison to the beloved's throat has been interpreted rather as a reflexion of its fineness or quality of formation.

At this later point in the book it appears that the revisor was less motivated to alter the initial rendering to reflect his stereotypical norm and hence allowed the original reading to remain.

A central facet of Antiochene exegesis is the recreation of the complete scene depicted in the biblical record, a feature observable in the Arm1 emphasis on harmonizing all facets of a passage into one narrative whole.<sup>29</sup> The employment of the compound term **խումկեղեղն** to render *κάλανος* at 4:14 to contextualize it in a setting of perfumes and aromas is sustained in the next verse by the selection of **բուքաստան** (lit. place of fragrance) to parallel *κῆπος*. This nuance is lost in Arm2's stereotypical set of equivalents (reed/garden).

4:14b OG *κάλαμος και κιννάμωμον*  
 Arm1 **խաւնկ** եղեզն և կինամոնն [**aromatic** reed and cinnamon]  
 Arm2 եղեզն և կինամոնն [reed and cinnamon]

29. Maurice F. Wiles, "Theodore of Mopsuestia as a Representative of the Antiochene School," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. Peter R. Ackroyd and Christopher F. Evans, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 489–510.

- 4:15 a–b OG *πηγή κήπων, φρέαρ ὕδατος ζώντος καὶ ῥοιζοῦντος ἀπὸ τοῦ Λιβάνου*  
 Arm1 աղբիւր բուրաստանաց և ալն ջրոյ կենդանոյ բխելալ ի  
 Լիբանանէ [a source of flower gardens and a fountainhead of living  
 water issuing from Lebanon]  
 Arm2 աղբիւր պարտիզաց, ջրհոր ջրոյ կենդանոյ հոսեցելոյ ի  
 Լիբանանէ [a source of gardens, a well of living water flowing from  
 Lebanon]

Similarly, verse 15 integrates the image of a refreshing stream of water perpetually gushing forth from the earth in choosing ալն (fountainhead) to depict the source rather than the manmade artificial connotations of *φρέαρ* (well) and utilizing the idiomatically appropriate verb *բխել* to define the process of emanation, albeit without the onomatopoeic effect of *ῥοιζεῖν*. In contrast, Arm2 reproduces the Old Greek verbatim.

### 3.6. ARM1'S ATTENTION TO CONTEXT: ROYAL AMBIENCE

The periodic references to Solomon situate the poem in a royal environment that the Armenian translator is at pains to reflect throughout, as at 1:9a.

- 1:9a OG *τῇ ἰππῷ μου ἐν ἄρμασιν Φαραῶ*  
 Arm1 երիվարացն [steeds]  
 Arm2 ձիոյն [horse]

There the term *երիվար* (steed) is selected for the youth's likeness to a horse from Pharaoh's chariot, while Arm2 valorizes its ordinary cousin, the generic *ձիոյն* (horse) in deference to the Greek form. Similarly, at 7:1d Arm1 seeks to soften the disconnect inherent in the Greek phrase *ὡς χοροὶ τῶν παρεμβολῶν* by accommodating the collective to military parlance as a *գունդ* (brigade), while Arm2 offers an exact parallel of the Greek formulation.

- 7:1d OG *ὡς χοροὶ τῶν παρεμβολῶν*  
 Arm1 իբրև զգունդս բանակաց [like brigades of camps]  
 Arm2 իբրև զպարս բանակաց [like choruses of camps]

Similarly, at 4:4d Arm1 accentuates king David's battle-ready arsenal by focusing the term *δυνατός* on his men's equipment in the adjective "well-armed."

- 4:4d OG *πᾶσαι βολίδες τῶν δυνατῶν*  
 Arm1 ամենայն նետք սպառազինաց [all the darts of the well-armed]  
 Arm2 ամենայն աշտեայք զաւրաւորաց [all the javelins of the mighty]

In contrast, Arm2 reverts to a broader term to denote strength, while also narrowing the semantic range of Arm1's term նւնք that can refer to a wider range of projectiles by a more focused synonym.

Meanwhile, at 7:6b Arm1 conveys the royal implications of the color purple by rendering it as “apricot,” the traditional hue of Armenian regalia.<sup>30</sup>

7:6b      OG ὡς πορφύρα  
             Arm1/2 իբրև գծիրանի [like apricot]

Even more striking is its contextualizing the term παραδρομαῖς at 7:6c as the king's spectating horse races at the hippodrome, an important facet of royal pageantry.

7:6c      OG δεδομένος ἐν παραδρομαῖς  
             Arm1 թագ ի գլուխ յընթացս ասպարիզաց [crown on head during  
                                          the horse races]  
             Arm2 թագ ի գլուխ յասպարիզու [crown on head at the horse races]

There the translator integrates the participle δεδομένος into the scene through allusion to the crown (թագ) in a mode that parallels the contemporary Armenian Arsacid nomenclature թագակապ (lit. “crown binder”) as the official designation of the coronant.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, he highlights the sense of occasion by focusing on the event and its duration, while the revisor emphasizes more the location where the action was to occur.

### 3.7. THE IMPACT OF ANTIOCHENE EXEGESIS AND RHETORIC

Arm1's translation technique also embodies Antiochene interpretative traditions powerfully present at 8:6b with regard to the procedure governing official seals.

8:6b      OG ὡς σφραγίδα ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονά σου  
             Arm1 իբրև զմատանի յաջոյ ձեռին քոյ [as a ring (seal) on your  
                                          right hand]  
             Arm2 իբրև զմատանն ի վերայ բազկի քոյ [as a ring (seal) on  
                                          your arm]

While the Old Greek repeats the term σφραγίδα over two lines, Arm1 varies its representation by metonymy with regard to the seal ring մատանի, similarly specifying the general Greek reference to the arm as the locus for imposing the seal by denoting it according to tradition as the “right hand,” as illustrated by

30. See *inter alios* Step'an Malxaseanc', ed., *P'awstos Buzand, Patmut'wn Hayoc'* [P'awstos Buzand, History of the Armenians] (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1883), 36.

31. Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 563.

Rev 13:16, and 14:9 in the Armenian version.<sup>32</sup> The interpretative process may well have included usage in other parts of Scripture, such as the passage from Jeremiah below witnessed by both the Old Greek and Armenian texts.

Jer 22:24 OG ἀποσφράγισμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς μου  
Arm Լիւիք յաջոյ ձեռին իմում [a seal on my right hand]

Rev 13:16 OG χάραγμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς  
Arm արանջ յաջու ձեռին ... նցաւ [seal on ... their right hand]

Rev 14:9 OG χάραγμα ... ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ  
Arm գրանջ ... ի վերայ աջի ձեռին իւրոյ [seal ... upon his right hand]

The preceding stich 8:6a also reveals the impact of Antiochene exegesis, on this occasion explicating the image of the seal and exposing something of its role in illustrating the relationship between the two lovers in the ongoing dialogue. Whereas the Old Greek follows the Hebrew in employing the preposition “upon” that applies directly to the action of the seal being impressed on the surface of the forearm and is imitated in this by Arm2, Arm1 structures the clause from the perspective of the lover who bids the beloved keep him ever *in* her heart as a means of expressing the depth of the bond of love that unites them together at the core of her being.

8:6a OG θές με ὡς σφραγίδα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου  
Arm1 դիր զիւ իբրև զԼիւիք ի սրտի քում [place me as a seal in your heart]  
Arm2 դիր զիւ իբրև զԼիւիք ի վերայ սրտի քն [place me as a seal upon your heart]

The Armenian translator’s viewpoint is probably informed by Antiochene traditions, as is evidenced by Theodoret who, as is common in this school of interpretation, actually rephrases the scriptural passage under comment to incorporate the accepted meaning more plainly.

Λέγει τοίνυν ὁ νυμφίος ταῖς εὐσεβέσι ψυχαῖς, ἅς νύμφην ἢ θεία προσαγορεύει  
γραφή. θές με ἀντὶ σφραγίδος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου

So the Bridegroom says to the pious souls, which Holy Scripture addresses as a Bride, “Place me for a seal in your heart.”

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32. For the Armenian translation of the Apocalypse, see S. Peter Cowe, “The Armenian Version of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, NTTSD 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 267–68.

The Old Greek employs the rare term *περίπτερον* to render the Hebrew *הֶשֶׁבֶת* (flame, fire-bolt) as a potent image for the power of love at 8:6e. Its primary semantic field denotes the action of flying or moving around, as manifest in the Arm1 equivalent “flight”;<sup>33</sup> yet it is *πτερόν* (feather, wing), the second component in the compound, which has guided the Arm2 revisor in his lexical choice.

8:6e      OG *περίπτερα πυρός, φλόγες αὐτῆς*  
             Arm1 *գրծիշս բոցոյ հրոյ* [the flights of a flame of fire]  
             Arm2 *գրծու բոցոյ հրոյ* [the wings of a flame of fire]

In the continuation, we observe that the Arm1 version retained in the second stratum presupposes a variant reading of “flame of fire” unrepresented in editions of the Old Greek. Here it appears that the translator relied on Antiochene exegetical tradition, as expressed in Theodoret’s commentary on the verse below:

Οὕτω δὲ ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὰ ἡ ἀγάπη, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἐστὶν ὑπόπτερος, περὶ δὲ τὰ πτερά αὐτῆς φλόγα ἔχει πυρός, καὶ σπινθῆρας ἐκπεμπομένους.

So strong is love that not only is it winged but round its wings it has a flame of fire and sparks emitted.

This interpretation, in turn, may derive from other scriptural parallels, such as Exod 3:2:

Exod 3:2 OG *ὡφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐν φλογὶ πυρός*  
             Arm *Էրևեցաւ նմա հրէշտակ Տէառն բոցով հրոյ* [The angel of the Lord appeared to him through the flame of fire]

### 3.8. ARM2 TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

In contrast to the earlier stratum, Arm2’s insistence on morphological exactitude leads to high consistency in representing grammatical number, as at 5:12c.

5:12c      OG *ἐπὶ πληρώματα ὑδάτων*  
             Arm1 *ի վերայ լիութեան ջրոց* [on fullness of water]  
             Arm2 *ի վերայ լիութեանց ջուրց* [on fullnesses of waters]

Similarly, its atomistic rendering of Greek compound terms leads to the creation of neologisms, as at 2:14b:

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33. LSJ 1012.

- 2:14b OG *ἐχόμενα τοῦ προτειχίσματος*  
 Arm1 առ պատուարաւ պարսպի [next to the rampart of the wall]  
 Arm2 մերձ առ նախապարիսպն [near to the advanced fortification]

There the lexeme նախապարիսպ has been coined to calque the Greek compound form *προτειχίσμα*. Significantly, it did not enter into wider circulation but was to remain an Armenian hapax legomenon.<sup>34</sup>

On occasion, Arm2 transliterates unfamiliar terms, such as *κύπρος* at 4:13b, the representation of which reveals the impact of itacism on the phonetic value of the first vowel. The relatively rare Greek term referring to henna, in turn, seems to derive from a Semitic matrix (Hebrew כפר; Syriac ܟܦܪ).

- 4:13b OG *κύπροι μετὰ νάρδων*  
 Arm1 ծաղիկ հանդերձ նարդոսի [flower with nard]  
 Arm2 **կիպրոս** հանդերձ նարդոսի [kipros with nard]

It clearly proved problematic for the translator of Arm1 also who construed it in relation to the verb *κυπρίζειν* denoting “blooming” and rendered it as “flower,” the root of the parallel Armenian verb ծաղկել, considering it appropriate both in the immediate context and in the wider ambience of the book where it features at 2:13b.

- 2:13b OG *αἱ ἄμπελοι κυπρίζουσιν, ἔδωκαν ὀσμὴν*  
 Arm1 որթք մեր ծաղկեալք էտուն զհոտ իւրեանց [our vines, having blossomed, gave their fragrance]  
 Arm2 այգիք մեր ծաղկեցին և էտուն զհոտս իւրեանց [our vineyards blossomed and gave their fragrance]

Like the Old Greek before it, Arm2 retains several grammatical features from Hebrew, which are not idiomatic in the target languages. One of these aspects is the pronominal object, which in Hebrew would be affixed agglutinatively to the finite verbal forms, as at 5:7b:

- 5:7b MT **הכוני פצעוני**  
 OG *ἐπάταξάν με, ἐτραυματίσαν με*  
 Arm1 հարին և վիրաւորեցին զիս [they beat and wounded me]  
 Arm2 հարին **զիս** և վիրաւորեցին զիս [they beat **me**, they wounded me]

34. Gabriël Awetik‘ean et al., eds., *Nor baṙgirk‘ haykazean lezui* [New Dictionary of the Armenian Language], vol. 2 (Venice: St. Lazar’s Press, 1837), 395.



While Arm1 follows the grammatical norm of applying one direct object to both verbs, Arm2 adapts this structure to render more exactly the Semitic morphology encoded in the Greek.

As in other Semitic languages, the Hebrew verb “to be” lacks a distinct morpheme in the present tense, and hence the simple juxtaposition of subject and complement is sufficient to convey the relation between them. This was rendered literally by the Old Greek and closely followed by Arm2, whereas Arm1 had respected the target language’s convention and added the copula.

- 5:16c      OG οὗτος πλησίον μου  
               Arm1 այն է մերձաւոր իմ [he **is** my close one]  
               Arm2 այն մերձաւոր իմ [he **[is]** my close one]

Another characteristic of Hebrew grammar and style is the employment of the infinitive construct as a means of heightening the intensity of the action expressed by the accompanying finite form of the verb. At 8:7d, for example, this phenomenon has been preserved in the Greek.

- 8:7d      OG ἐξουθενώσει ἐξουθενώσουσιν αὐτόν  
               Arm1 **արհամարհանալ** անգոսնեցեն զնա [they will despise  
                                           him with dishonor]  
               Arm2 անգոսնելով անգոսնեցեն զնա [despising they will  
                                           despise him]

Whereas Arm1 has maintained the quantative representation of the Greek, the translator has determined to achieve a similar effect while introducing some diversity in lexicon. However, the revisor has decided to alter the formulation to approximate more closely to the Greek morphological structure.

### 3.9. GREEK CONSTRUCTIONS

In parallel with his concerns for rendering Semitic constructions embedded in the Old Greek, the Armenian revisor is exercised to reflect various facets of Greek usage in his parent text foreign to the norms of Armenian idiom. One of the most prominent of these is the flexibility of participial phrases to convey a variety of semantic content with great economy of expression. As the corresponding Armenian participle lacks this capacity, idiom dictates that one recast the material as a clause with a main verb.<sup>35</sup> In compliance with this norm, the original translator has restructured the data, as frequently, into a relative

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35. Erroll F. Rhodes, “Limitations of Armenian in Representing Greek,” in Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament Their Origin, Transmission and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 175–76.

clause, while the revisor has preferred fidelity to the morphology of his parent text over the stylistic sensibilities of his readers.

- 8:10b      OG *ὡς εὕρισκουσα εἰρήνην*  
               Arm1 *որ գտանիցէ խաղաղութիւն* [one who will find peace]  
               Arm2 *իբրև գտեալ զխաղաղութիւն* [as [one] having found peace]

Another key element of Greek morphology of widespread application is the compound verb featuring various prepositions as preverbs to modify the core meaning of the root. In Armenian of this period, such morphemes were extremely rare, and so translators either render them by simple verbs or, where apposite, combine verbs with prepositional phrases.

- 7:9            OG *ἀναβήσομαι*  
               Arm1 *ելից* [I will go up]  
               Arm2 *ելից ի վեր* [I will go up]

In this particular case, the verb present in both strata of the Armenian version has the sense of “go up” or “go out,” the context normally clarifying which aspect is primary. Consequently, the revisor’s addition of the highlighted adverbial phrase (*ի վեր*) serves more to tabulate the Greek preverb (*ἀνα-*) more objectively in the rendering rather than out of semantic necessity.

It is significant that Armenian has no precise equivalent to Greek definite and indefinite articles and that while the demonstrative suffix does convey an element of definition, it does so spatially in terms of the speaker (-u), interlocutor (-η), or unrelated subject under discussion (-ն).<sup>36</sup> Consequently, as the context at 6:11a is one of a dialogue between the lover and beloved, it is natural for the garden associated with the latter’s actions to be tagged as relating to the speaker.

- 6:11a        OG *εἰς κήπον ... κατήβην*  
               Arm1 *ի պարտէզս ... իջի* [I went down into this garden]  
               Arm2 *ի պարտէզ ... իջի* [I went down into a garden]

However, the absence of this idiomatic element from Arm2 suggests that the revisor has removed it to act as a closer morphological parallel to its Greek formal equivalent, which is undefined.

Contrastively, at 8:11b, for example, the revisor has added the demonstrative suffix as a calque on the Greek definite article although the guards protecting Solomon’s vineyard have not been mentioned before and hence are not a known quantity.

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36. Meillet, *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch*, 59–62, and, for a discussion on Greek-Armenian interrelation on this point, Rhodes, “Limitations of Armenian,” 174.

- 8:11b      OG ἔδωκεν ... τοῖς τηροῦσιν  
               Arm1 ետ ցալահալալն [he gave ... to guards]  
               Arm2 ետ ցալահալալսն [he gave ... to **the** guards]

### 3.10. ARM2 LITERALNESS UNDERMINING SEMANTIC APPROPRIATENESS

As frequently occurs, a high degree of fidelity to the parent text and base language in matters of morphology, word order, and syntax combined with regular stereotyping of lexical equivalents leads the translator to err significantly from the criterion of linguistic adequacy, that is, in appropriately conveying the work's semantic level.<sup>37</sup> One facet of this approach is its overreliance on one aspect of a given lexeme's semantic field to the exclusion of others which may be more apposite in a specific context, as, for example, at 6:5a.

- 6:5a      OG ἀπόστροφον ὀφθαλμούς σου ἀπεναντίον μου  
               Arm1 դարձն զաչս քն յիսկն [turn your eyes from me]  
               Arm2 դարձն զաչս քն առաջի իմ [turn your eyes before me]

The Greek compound preposition ἀπεναντίον employed there generally has the sense of “opposite” and, as such, is parallel with forms like κατεναντίον and its variant κατέναντι witnessed in situ by V 253 and 252<sup>mg</sup> respectively. However, in this verse its initial component ἀπ- is reinforced in the compound verb with which it is associated to suggest a movement away from rather than towards, as the lover asks the beloved to avert her eyes from him because of the powerful emotional effect her gaze exerts upon him, as he expresses in the next stich. The resulting meaning is therefore well articulated by the original Armenian translator but has been lost by the revisor in his adherence to his pattern of equivalences.

At 7:8a, the lover is in the midst of an extended series of similes likening the beloved's beauty to a variety of flora, fauna, jewels, and other natural phenomena typical of Near Eastern poetry. At this point, he is comparing her body to a palm tree and her breasts to its clusters of dates.

- 7:8a      OG τοῦτο μέγεθός σου  
               Arm1 հասալ քն [your stature]  
               Arm2 սեճուրթիս քն [your greatness]

It is therefore patent that the precise reference here must be to the woman's height or stature, the core early meaning of the Greek term<sup>38</sup> and a point well

37. Emmanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, Jerusalem Biblical Studies 3 (Jerusalem: Simor Ltd., 1981), 59–60. We have already reviewed Arm2's semantic inadequacy at 1:6b.

38. LSJ 1089.

represented by Arm1. In contrast, Arm2's stereotyping focus on representing the lexeme's root sense of greatness or magnitude fails to reflect the tall slender form the image of the palm connotes.

Among the problems created by the general absence of breathings from early Greek manuscripts is the difficulty this presents in distinguishing whether third person pronouns are reflexive or not (*αὐτός* /*αὐτός*).<sup>39</sup> This issue appears to underlie the variation in rendering between the two strata of the Armenian version at 8:11c. The background to the stich is Solomon's possession of a vineyard at Beelamon that he has rented out to others to tend. The current line now raises the issue of the financial arrangements between them regarding the transaction. The above complication is further compounded by the Old Greek's literal application of stereotyping in employing the preposition *ἐν* to represent its Hebrew counterpart כִּ, whose semantic range, however, is much more extensive.<sup>40</sup> In context, the most appropriate interpretation is that of cost or price,<sup>41</sup> the renters being obligated to pay Solomon a fixed sum presumably up front in anticipation of the amount they are to receive at harvest time when they sell the produce. This is the situation envisaged in the original Armenian translation. In this case, the genitive of the third person pronoun refers to Solomon as owner or perhaps more plausibly to the vineyard itself.

- 8:11c    OG *ἀνὴρ ὅσκει ἐν καρπῷ αὐτοῦ χιλίους ἀργυρίου*  
 Arm1 բերցէ այր իւրաքանչիւր ընդ պտղոյ նորա հազարս  
 արծաթոյ [each man should bring a thousand (pieces) of silver for  
 his (i.e., Solomon)/its (i.e., the orchard) fruit]  
 Arm2 բերցէ այր իւրաքանչիւր ի պտղոյն իւրմէ հազարս  
 արծաթոյ [each man should bring a thousand (pieces) of silver from  
 his (own) fruit]

In interpreting the above pronoun reflexively the Armenian revisor was constrained to reconfigure the whole line and the nature of the financial interchange it discusses. The event related now takes place after harvest at which time each of the renters sells the produce of his vines and then pays Solomon the agreed upon sum.<sup>42</sup> The result is thus a significant deviation from the original sense.

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39. Charles F.D. Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 119–21.

40. William Gesenius, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 88–91.

41. Gesenius, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 90.

42. It may be that the compound subject “each man” adduced by both strata may actually manifest a doublet reading of the type we have encountered earlier. The second element would then represent Arm1's idiomatic rendering, while the first would typify the revisor's literal approach to his Greek parent text.

### 3.11. ARM2 TRANSGRESSING ARMENIAN IDIOM

As the Old Greek reading in preceding example illustrates, a crucial issue posed by rigid patterns of stereotyping with a singleminded focus on the morphology of the base text is to obscure the meaning of the passage for readers in the target language by applying translation equivalents in ways outside the accepted norms. This phenomenon is exemplified by the choice of directional conjunction at 6:1a–b.

- 6:1a–b    OG ποῦ ἀπῆλθεν... ποῦ ἀπέβλεψεν  
           Arm1 յ՞ն գնաց ... յն՞ր կողմ դիտեաց [whither did he go? ... to  
           what side did he look?]  
           Arm2 ու՞ր գնաց ... ու՞ր դիտեաց [where did he go? ... where did  
           he look?]  
           P'awstos Buzand որ հայի ի կողմն ծովակին ի գետոյ կուսւ՜<sup>43</sup>  
           [which looks to the side of the lake from the direction of the river]

Whereas the Greek lexeme ποῦ can function both to designate a stationary location as well as direction of movement, those features are generally distinguished in Armenian, ու՞ր being applied in the first case, while յ՞ն applies to the realm of motion. In this case, the revisor has violated Armenian idiom in his desire to maintain parity with his parent text, which the original translator well illustrates that idiom, not only in maintaining the accepted form of conjunction in the first clause, but in nuancing it in the second where the motion refers only to the eyes rather than the whole person. The idiom is well illustrated by reference to the work of the fifth century Armenian historian P'awstos.

### 3.12. ARM2 SEMANTIC ISSUES

Similar questions regarding semantic adequacy arise from a literalist perspective concerned with representing equivalents stereotypically regardless of their appropriateness in particular contexts, as in the lover's depiction at 1:14a.

- 1:14a    OG βότρυς τῆς κύπρου  
           Arm1 ողկոյզ ծաղկեալ [flowering cluster]  
           Arm2 ողկոյզ նոցն [cluster of cypress]

As we have observed above, both strata of the Armenian version struggle with the rare Greek term κύπρος. True to his insight at other points, the original translator associates it with the verb κυπρίζειν, rendering it as a past participle to suggest the grape cluster is already in blossom and thereby achieving an image commensurate with the youth's beauty. In contrast, the revisor's strategy is less successful in deriving the term from a root related to the cypress (κυπάρισσος).

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43. Malxaseanc', *P'awstos Buzand*, 151.

Armenian usage defines the term *նկլոյզ* (cluster) primarily with regard to a cluster of grapes. On occasion, as at 7:8a it can be applied metaphorically to the palm's visually similar clusters of dates. However, its application to the cypress is problematic.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, I would argue that as the translation technique of each stratum is fairly predictable, it is relatively easy to reconstruct their parent texts. Consequently, each in its own way provides a valuable contribution to the evolution of the Greek text of the book and its early interpretation.

This brief survey of the profile of the Armenian version in this book has sought to uncover the diversity of the translation's witness to the Old Greek both in terms of parent text and translation technique. Indeed it is quite remarkable that the version's two strata are so contrastive in the approach they manifest to the text and their task as translators, while being separated from one another by scarcely one generation. This information is also of significance in tracking the circulation of various texttypes in this timeframe. Although not elaborated here, the differences in Armenian lexicon they witness raise a number of important questions regarding Armenian usage in this crucial period of transition from a mainly oral culture (in terms of Armenian) to one characterized by writing. Moreover, at least in the case of the initial translation, the paper invites increased attention to the project's spiritual and intellectual genealogy and to situating it within the evolution of scriptural interpretation in Late Antiquity.

# Die altlateinischen Übersetzungen des Buches Esdras A' in ihrer Beziehung zur griechischen Vorlage

*Bonifatia Gesche*

**Abstract:** The Old Latin translation of a biblical book is by definition based on the LXX with its different versions and generally renders the *Vorlage* exactly. Nevertheless, in some places the differences between the transmitted *Vorlage* and the Latin translation are striking. This raises the question of the origin of this translation. Research carried out on books such as Reigns and Ben Sira has shown that the Latin translation occasionally derives not from the standard version of the LXX but from an untransmitted *Vorlage*. Therefore, the Latin text can—after careful consideration of the data—serve as a witness for an older Greek or even Hebrew text that is not otherwise transmitted. Against this background, one can assume a similar phenomenon in the Latin translation of Esdras A'. If the differences between the known *Vorlage* and the translation are not due to a development within the Latin transmission of the text, one can consider an otherwise unknown *Vorlage*. Research on this question not only improves our knowledge of the history of the Latin versions, but also gives greater insight into the classification of the Greek versions of the text and their dependence on a presumed Hebrew *Vorlage*. Thus, we gain new insights into the characteristics of the Greek versions, first of all of the Antiochean text, by assessing the Old Latin translation, which is highly influenced by it.

## 1. ÜBEREINSTIMMUNGEN UND UNTERSCHIEDE ZWISCHEN DER VETUS LATINA UND IHRER VORLAGE

Jeder, der sich mit der Vetus Latina beschäftigt, weiß, dass sich diese lateinische Übersetzung sehr eng an ihre griechische Vorlage hält. Selbst auf Kosten des Stils der eigenen Sprache löst sich der lateinische Übersetzer nur selten von der Vorlage. Interpretierende Übersetzungen und eigenständige Übertragungen des Textes ins Lateinische sind die Ausnahme, so dass es nur naheliegend ist, dass

die Vetus Latina in der Göttinger Septuaginta-Ausgabe regelmäßig zur Bestätigung von griechischen Varianten zitiert und fast wie ein Zeuge für den griechischen Text verwendet wird. Wer mit der Vetus Latina arbeitet, steht aber auch vor dem Phänomen, dass der lateinische Text sich gar nicht selten so stark von der überlieferten griechischen Vorlage löst, dass der Ursprung der Übersetzung schwer zu erkennen ist. Dieser Widerspruch verlangt nach Erklärungen. Mehrere Möglichkeiten bieten sich an: Liegt eine falsche, eine ungenaue oder vielleicht doch eine interpretierende Übersetzung vor? Resultiert der abweichende Text aus einer innerlateinischen Entwicklung? Oder kann man annehmen, dass der lateinische Text auf eine andere, uns nicht mehr zugängliche griechische Vorlage zurückgeht?

Diese Fragen stellen sich grundsätzlich für die Vetus Latina und für jedes Buch noch einmal in einer spezifischen Weise, weil jedes Buch seine ganz eigene Textgeschichte hat. Es ist verlockend, solchen Fragen nachzugehen, und hierbei insbesondere die Möglichkeit ins Auge zu fassen, ob eine Textvariante des lateinischen Textes auf eine nicht überlieferte Vorlage zurückgeht. Sie stellen sich einem Bearbeiter der lateinischen Übersetzung von Esdras A' mit ihrer besonders gelagerten Geschichte ebenso wie demjenigen, der an anderen biblischen Büchern forscht.

## 2. DIE LATEINISCHEN KÖNIGEBÜCHER UND WAS SIE ÜBER IHRE VORLAGEN PREISGEBEN

Wegweisend für derartige Forschung ist die vielfach zitierte Untersuchung von Julio Treballe Barrera, „From the *Old Latin*, through the *Old Greek* to the *Old Hebrew* (2 Kings 10:23-25)“,<sup>1</sup> in der der Autor unter Berücksichtigung der unterschiedlichsten Hinweise aus den Bereichen der Text- und Literarkritik und Hinzuziehung historischer Fragestellungen zeigt, dass der altlateinische Text in einem Abschnitt des zweiten Königsbuches auf einen nicht überlieferten Text des *Old Greek* und darüber hinaus sogar auf den ursprünglichen hebräischen Text hinweisen könnte. Diese Hypothese greift N. Fernandez Marcos<sup>2</sup> auf und fragt ebenfalls danach, wie weit der Text der Vetus Latina—vor allem, aber nicht ausschließlich der der Königsbücher—auf nicht überlieferte griechische Textformen zurückgeht. Die Überlieferungssituation der Bücher der Königtümer, in denen die Rezensionen den *Old Greek* verdrängt haben, fordert eine derartige Fragestellung geradezu heraus. Seit der Identifikation der *kaige*-Rezension und der Feststellung, dass der Kodex Vaticanus nicht notwendigerweise die ursprüngliche griechische Textform überliefert, wurden mit viel Energie die Beziehungen zwischen den Textformen erforscht und nach dem

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1. *Textus* 11 (1984): 17-36.

2. Natalio Fernández Marcos, *Scribes and Translators. Septuagint and Old Latin in the Books of Kings*, VTSup 54 (Leiden: Brill, 1994).



ursprünglichen Text gesucht. Die Frage, die die Textkritiker umtreibt, ist die, ob es eine Möglichkeit gibt, hinter den überlieferten griechischen Textformen den ursprünglichen Text aufzuspüren. Hier zeichnen sich Möglichkeiten ab, wobei die Übersetzungen der Vetus Latina von Anfang an zu den Schlüsseltexten bei der Suche nach dem ältesten Text gehörten.

### 3. DIE ZWEI LATEINISCHEN UND DIE ZWEI GRIECHISCHEN VERSIONEN DES BUCHES JESUS SIRACH UND WIE SIE ZUSAMMENHÄNGEN

Nicht nur die Königebücher, auch das Buch Jesus Sirach fordert zu Untersuchungen über die Beziehung der lateinischen Textformen zu ihren griechischen Vorlagen heraus, wenn auch auf ganz andere Weise. Die Überlieferungslage ist recht kompliziert: Da die hebräischen Versionen des Buches nicht Teil der hebräischen Bibel sind, kommt der in der Septuaginta kanonisch gewordenen griechischen Übersetzung eine besondere Bedeutung zu. In der griechischen Überlieferung liegt das Buch in zwei sich deutlich voneinander unterscheidenden Hauptfassungen vor, von denen die ältere (Griechisch 1/Gr 1) diejenige ist, die in die Septuaginta aufgenommen wurde, während die jüngere Fassung (Griechisch 2/Gr 2) einerseits in handschriftlichen Überlieferung der hexaplarischen und lukianischen Rezension, andererseits in Zitaten überliefert ist, vor allem in den späteren Florilegien, von denen der Text der Sacra Parallela,<sup>3</sup> die Johannes von Damaskus († vor 754) zugeschrieben werden, an Bedeutung herausragt. Die Beziehung beider Fassungen zu der hebräischen Vorlage ist nicht eindeutig geklärt.

Die gesamte lateinische Überlieferung geht auf die Übersetzung zurück, die wir zuerst für Cyprian von Karthago († 258) nachweisen können. Von ihr abhängig und eng mit ihr verwandt ist die Textfassung, die in die Vulgata aufgenommen wurde. Diese Version, die den kanonischen Zweig der lateinischen Überlieferung widerspiegelt, hängt nun nicht von der kanonisch gewordenen griechischen Textfassung ab, sondern von der jüngeren Version Gr 2. Umgekehrt bildet die Hauptfassung der Septuaginta die Vorlage für den jüngeren lateinischen Text. Also gehört jeweils die kanonische Version der einen Sprache mit der vor allem aus sekundären Quellen bekannten Version der anderen Sprache zusammen. Aus dieser Situation ergibt sich, dass man auf der einen oder anderen Seite mit Lücken in der Überlieferung rechnen muss, da die nicht als kanonisch geltenden Fassungen nur unvollständig bezeugt sind. Insofern liegt die Annahme nahe, dass nicht alle Unterschiede zwischen dem lateinischen Text und den überlieferten griechischen Vorlagen auf eine innerlateinische Entwicklung zurückgehen, die bei dem großen Umfang und der Art der Abweichungen kaum erklärlich wären,<sup>4</sup> sondern dass für viele dieser Abweichungen

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3. Otto Wahl, *Der Sirach-Text der Sacra Parallela*, fzb 16 Würzburg: Echter, 1974).

4. Siehe dazu Walter Thiele, „Die lateinischen Sirachtexte als Zeugnis der griechischen Sirachüberlieferung“, in *Evangelium, Schriftauslegung, Kirche—Festschrift für*

eine griechische Vorlage vorhanden gewesen sein muss. Gerade die lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Jesus Sirach zeichnet sich durch zahlreiche, zum Teil lange Zusätze und Dubletten aus, deren Ursprung man in der Regel nicht innerhalb der lateinischen Tradition vermuten kann, für die sich aber oft auch keine Hinweise im griechischen Text und seinen Varianten finden. Folglich bietet der lateinische Text zahlreiche Hinweise auf eine nicht überlieferte griechische Vorlage. Eine solche Annahme ist nicht neu, zumal sich auch für andere biblische Bücher zeigen lässt, dass der lateinische Text als Zeuge oder wenigstens als Hinweis für nicht überlieferte griechische oder auch hebräische Vorlagen herangezogen werden kann.<sup>5</sup>

#### 4. DIE LATEINISCHEN ÜBERSETZUNGEN VON ESDRAS A' UND IHRE VORLAGEN

Auf dem Hintergrund der Ergebnisse, die für die Königsbücher und für Jesus Sirach erzielt wurden, kann man dieselben Fragen auf die lateinischen Übersetzungen des griechischen Buches Esdras A' übertragen. Auch hier steht man immer wieder vor der Frage, wie es zu einer bestimmten Textfassung gekommen ist, also ob sie auf innerlateinische Entwicklungen oder auf eine nicht überlieferte Vorlage zurückgeht. Sollte letzteres der Fall sein, kann man dann Rückschlüsse auf diese Vorlage ziehen? Kann also auch bei Esdras A' die Vetus Latina Mosaiksteinchen liefern, die zur Wiedergewinnung gar der ältesten Fassung sowohl des griechischen als auch des hebräisch-aramäischen Textes des Buches beitragen?

Es lässt sich kaum verbergen, dass es ein schwieriges Unterfangen ist, zu einigermaßen sicheren Entscheidungen zu kommen. Wie sich zeigen wird, ist die Überlieferung so vielschichtig und kompliziert, dass man mit vielen Unbekannten rechnen muss, zumal auch davon auszugehen ist, dass viele Glieder in der Kette der Überlieferung fehlen, die man nur unter Vorbehalt rekonstruieren kann. Das Ziel der vorliegenden Untersuchung ist somit nicht nur die Darstellung von Übersetzungstechniken und schließlich die Präsentation gut nachvollziehbarer Erklärungen für Textvarianten, es soll auch gezeigt werden, wie sehr die Gefahr besteht, vorschnell Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen, die einer genaueren Prüfung nicht standhalten.

##### 4.1. DIE TEXTGESCHICHTE DER ESRA-BÜCHER

Die Überlieferung der Esra-Bücher ist nicht leicht zu durchschauen, so dass es hilfreich ist, hier einen skizzenhaften Überblick zu geben. Den Ausgangspunkt bildet das hebräisch-aramäische Esra-Buch des Tanach, dem zwei Esra-Bücher

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*Peter Stuhlmacher zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Jostein Ådna (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 394.

5. Siehe Fernández Marcos, *Scribes and Translators*, 18–20.

in der Septuaginta gegenüber stehen. Das ist zum einen Esdras B', dasjenige Buch, das dann als kanonisch in die Vulgata und schließlich in die modernen Bibeln aufgenommen wurde. Es wurde in zwei Teile unterteilt und meist unter der Bezeichnung Esra-Nehemia verwendet. Da bereits R. Hanhart die Textgeschichte der griechischen Übersetzung für seine Göttinger Edition untersucht und dabei auch die lateinischen Texte in den Blick genommen hat,<sup>6</sup> muss dies hier nicht wiederholt werden.

Zum anderen finden wir in der Septuaginta das Buch Esdras A',<sup>7</sup> das zum größten Teil ebenfalls auf das hebräisch-aramäische Esra-Buch zurückgeht, das darüber hinaus aber den Schluss des zweiten Chronikbuches und außerdem Sondergut enthält. Die lateinische Übersetzung von Esdras A' fand ebenfalls ihren Weg in die Vulgata, obwohl Esdras A' nicht als Übersetzung eines hebräischen Textes galt und somit nicht dem Kanon zugerechnet wurde. Dazu wurde das Buch nicht erneut übersetzt, sondern bei dem Text der Vulgata handelt es sich um die altlateinische Fassung. Spätestens seit dem 13. Jahrhundert findet man die Übersetzung von Esdras A' regelmäßig, zuvor vereinzelt in lateinischen Bibelhandschriften, jedoch an unterschiedlichen Stellen. In die späteren Vulgata-Ausgaben wurde der Text schließlich im Anhang unter dem Titel *liber Esdrae tertius* aufgenommen. An derselben Stelle ist er mit der Bezeichnung 3 Esra in der kritischen Edition der Stuttgarter Bibelgesellschaft eingeordnet.<sup>8</sup>

Die lateinische Textfassung von Esdras A', die sich also in den meisten Vulgata-Ausgaben seit dem Mittelalter findet, wird in der kritischen Ausgabe der Vetus Latina<sup>9</sup> unter dem Sigel V zitiert. Sie galt bisher als die älteste Fassung des lateinischen Esdras A'. Bei der Editionsarbeit für die Beuroner Vetus-Latina-Ausgabe stellte sich jedoch heraus, dass sie von einer älteren Version abhängt, die wir bisher lediglich in einer Handschrift und in einigen weiteren Spuren fassen können.<sup>10</sup> Diesen Texttyp bezeichnen wir als U. Jünger und von diesem Text abhängig ist die Version, die als *versio altera* in der Literatur erscheint und in der kritischen Vetus-Latina-Edition das Sigel I erhält. Darüber hinaus sind Spuren einer weiteren Version in einem donatistischen Werk zu finden. Alle Versionen sind lukianisch beeinflusst, die jüngste (I) am stärksten.

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6. Robert Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des 2. Esrabuches*, MSU 25 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).

7. Auch zu Esdras A' hat Robert Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des 1. Esrabuches*, MSU 12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974) die Ergebnisse seiner Forschung, die er im Zusammenhang mit seiner Edition des Textes für die Göttinger Septuaginta-Ausgabe durchgeführt hat, den Fachkollegen zugänglich gemacht.

8. Robert Weber und Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 1910–30.

9. Bonifatia Gesche, ed., *Esra I*, Vetus Latina 6.2 (Freiburg: Herder, 2008ff).

10. Bonifatia Gesche, „Die älteste lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Esdras A—Eine neue Entdeckung“, *VT* 64 (2014): 401–15.

## 4.2. DIE BESONDERE PROBLEMATIK DER LATEINISCHEN VERSION VON ESDRAS A'

Aus dem Streiflicht über die Textgeschichte wird ersichtlich, dass sich die Überlieferung von Esdras A' erheblich von der anderer Bücher unterscheidet, die im Hinblick auf unsere Frage besser erforscht sind. So wird im Gegensatz zu den Königebüchern der griechische Text von Esdras A', der als lukianisch eingeordnet ist, nicht durch die patristische Überlieferung gestützt, wobei vor allem Johannes Chrysostomus und Theodoret in Frage kämen. Auch fehlt hier die hexaplarische Überlieferung. Wenn B. Fischer in seiner Studie über die lukianischen Lesarten in den Königebüchern zu dem Ergebnis kommt, dass „(e)in VL-Text ... um so älter und primitiver (ist), je mehr *L*-Lesarten er enthält“,<sup>11</sup> dann ist diese Erkenntnis nicht unmittelbar auf andere biblische Bücher übertragbar. Dies hat auch R. Hanhart nachgewiesen, und seine Fragen an die Vetus-Latina-Forschung<sup>12</sup> zeigen, dass die Beziehung der verschiedenen griechischen Textformen zu den lateinischen Übersetzungen noch längst nicht hinreichend geklärt ist. Wie schon oben angedeutet, bleibt es fraglich, ob für die Überlieferungsgeschichte der biblischen Bücher generelle Aussagen zu erwarten sind oder ob sich nicht vielmehr die einzelnen Bücher voneinander unterscheiden. Hier spielen die Untersuchungen hinein, die S. Kreuzer für die Königebücher durchgeführt hat, in denen er die traditionelle Unterscheidung eines proto-lukianischen Textes von einer späteren lukianischen Bearbeitung hinterfragt.<sup>13</sup> Seine Beobachtungen werden zweifellos dazu ermuntern, auch von der Seite der Vetus Latina mit geschärftem Blick auf diese griechische, für die Vetus Latina wichtige Textform zu achten. Für die Fragen, die unmittelbar die Beziehung der lateinischen Übersetzungen zur griechischen Vorlage betreffen, gehen wir aber zunächst von der Textgruppe oder den Textgruppen aus, die sich hinter dem nach dem Namen Lukian benannten Sigel *L* in den Editionen verbergen, unabhängig davon, ob diese Bezeichnung treffend ist. Die Textgruppe

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11. Bonifatius Fischer, „Lukian-Lesarten in der Vetus Latina der Vier Königsbücher“, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltex-te*, ed. Bonifatius Fischer, Vetus Latina 12; (Freiburg: Herder, 1986), 15.

12. Robert Hanhart, „Zur griechischen und altlateinischen Textgeschichte des 1. und 2. Esrabuches in ihrem Verhältnis zueinander“, in *Lectures et relectures de la Bible: Festschrift P.-M. Bogaert*, ed. Jean-Marie Auwers (Leuven: Univ. Press, 1999), 161 mit Fn 29.

13. Häufiger, z.B. Siegfried Kreuzer, „Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta. Forschungsgeschichte und eine neue Perspektive“, in *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und Bedeutung*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer und Marcus Sigismund (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 23–56. Siehe auch seine Einführung zu diesem Sammelband, 9–14. Ausdrücklich schließt er die Unterscheidung eines genuin lukianischen Textes und eines proto-lukianischen Textes nicht aus, doch er sieht Unstimmigkeiten in der Beschreibung der Charakterika der Textformen.

neutraler als antiochenischen Text zu bezeichnen, wie es ebenfalls üblich ist, ergibt sich aus der dargestellten Problematik.

Wir können trotz aller Fragen, die für die griechischen Rezensionen noch offen sind, auf der traditionellen Feststellung aufbauen, dass lukianische Elemente, die sich weder durch den hebräischen Text, insbesondere durch die hexaplarische Überlieferung, noch durch Parallelstellen, noch durch attisierende Formen erklären lassen, auf den *Old Greek* hindeuten können. Doch bleibt für die Bestimmung von lukianischen Rezensionselementen, die im Griechischen zum Tragen kommen, in lateinischen Texten nur das folgende: Wenn in einem Satz ein Personalpronomen verwendet wird, dessen Beziehung nicht eindeutig ist, wird dieses durch einen Zusatz erklärt. Jedoch macht S. Kreuzer darauf aufmerksam, dass der umgekehrte Fall ebenfalls vorkommt.<sup>14</sup> Wichtig ist, dass beides Spuren in der lateinischen Übersetzung hinterlassen kann. Alle anderen Rezensionselemente sind nur im Griechischen erkennbar.<sup>15</sup> Wenn wir dann noch berücksichtigen, dass als besonders wichtiger Faktor die hexaplarische Überlieferung für Esdras A' fehlt,<sup>16</sup> wird schnell klar, wie schwierig der Nachweis des *Old Greek* auf dem Umweg über die Vetus Latina gerade für dieses biblische Buch ist.

Kommen wir zu den Ausgangsfragen zurück: Wie sind die Fälle zu erklären, in denen die lateinischen Übersetzungen von Esdras A' keine Entsprechungen in dem griechischen Text oder seinen Rezensionen haben? Ist es denkbar, dass diese Varianten auf eine uns unbekannte griechische Vorlage zurückgehen?

Aus der eben skizzierten Textgeschichte wird leicht ersichtlich, dass man mit der Annahme einer ausschließlichen Abhängigkeit der lateinischen Übersetzung von einer einzigen griechischen Vorlage nicht auskommt, sondern die äußerst vielschichtige Textgeschichte berücksichtigen muss. Einflüsse auf den lateinischen Text sind aus sehr unterschiedlichen Richtungen möglich, von denen wir die wichtigsten näher betrachten wollen.

Für die Vetus Latina im allgemeinen wird diskutiert, ob die Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen von einem christlichen Übersetzer in Nordafrika oder einem späteren Bearbeiter der Vetus Latina am hebräischen Text gegengeprüft wurde.<sup>17</sup> Dies mag nicht ausgeschlossen sein, aber naheliegend ist es auch

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14. Kreuzer, „Antiochenische Text“, 28.

15. Die Kriterien sind z.B. zusammengestellt bei Fischer, „Lukian-Lesarten“, 15 und bei Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, „Septante, 19. Esdras B (Esdras et Néhémie)“ in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. Jacques Briand et al. (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1993), 574.

16. Hanhart, „Zur griechischen und altlateinischen Textgeschichte des 1. und 2. Esrabuches“, 163.

17. Siehe z.B. Fernández Marcos, *Scribes and Translators*, 45 mit Fn. 17 und Jason Gile, „The Additions to Ben Sira and the Book's Multiform Textual Witness“, in *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira: Transmission and Interpretation*, ed. Jean-Sébastien Rey und Jan Joosten, JSJSup 150 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 254–55.

nicht, auch nicht für die Esdras-Bücher. Wohl aber sind Abhängigkeiten vom kanonischen Text Esdras B' sowohl in der griechischen Übersetzung mit ihren Rezensionen als auch von der lateinischen Übersetzung denkbar. Dass die jüngeren Textfassungen der lateinischen Übersetzungen beider Bücher zusammengehören und in einem ähnlichen Verhältnis zu dem jeweiligen älteren lateinischen Text stehen, hat R. Hanhart gezeigt, wobei er selbst hervorhebt, dass die schwache Bezeugung des älteren altlateinischen Textes von Esdras B' keine sichere Einordnung zulässt.<sup>18</sup> Aus Ähnlichkeiten auf Abhängigkeit zu schließen, bleibt demnach nach wie vor problematisch.

Zweifellos ist mit Bearbeitungen nach unterschiedlichen Rezensionen des griechischen Buches Esdras A' zu rechnen, und auch innerlateinische Bearbeitungen sind selbstverständlich.

Was nun aber die Ursache dafür ist, dass eine lateinische Übersetzung nicht unmittelbar aus dem griechischen Haupttext, dem *Old Greek*, abzuleiten ist, muss von Fall zu Fall untersucht werden. Dadurch eröffnet sich ein erweiterter Blick auf die Textgeschichte insgesamt; möglicherweise erfährt man etwas über den griechischen Text, vielleicht sogar über die Vorlage des griechischen Textes.

#### 4.3. TEXTBEISPIELE<sup>19</sup>

Eine hervorstechende Eigenart der lateinischen Übersetzungen der Königebücher und noch mehr von Jesus Sirach sind lange Passagen, in denen der lateinische Text ein Plus gegenüber der griechischen Vorlage aufweist. Dieses Phänomen lässt sich für Esdras A' an einigen Stellen vor allem für den späten Text I nachweisen, der Ergänzungen des lukianischen Textes übernimmt und bisweilen im Textumfang über die lukianische Vorlage hinausgeht.

Hierfür können die Verse 1:17. 18 (16 LXX) als eines von zahlreichen Beispielen herangezogen werden:

1:16: (+ και κατωρθωθη (κατορθ. 19) L) και συνετελέσθη τὰ τῆς θυσίας τοῦ κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀχθῆναι τὸ πάσχα (του ποιησαι φασεχ L) (+ και ενεγκειν τα ολοκαυτωματα L)

1:17–18: V/U × × × et consummata sunt quae pertinebant ad sacrificium domini (18) × illa die agi (var. egerunt) pascha × × ×

I et directum est consummatus est ordo sacrificii domini in illa die ut faceret pascha et offerrent holocausta

18. Hanhart, „Zur griechischen und altlateinischen Textgeschichte des 1. und 2. Esrabuches“, 145–64.

19. In den Textbeispielen werden Varianten nur aufgeführt, sofern sie zur Argumentation beitragen.

Problemlos kann man nachvollziehen, wie die ältere Übersetzung U/V dem Haupttext der Septuaginta folgt und diesen wörtlich wiedergibt. Die Rezension hingegen richtet sich durchgehend nach der lukianischen Version. Sie gibt am Beginn des Verses καὶ κατωρθώθη, das gegenüber der Hauptversion hinzugefügt wurde, mit *et directum est* wieder, folgt dann der Variante τοῦ ποιῆσαι für ἀχθῆναι, das im Lateinischen *ut faceret* lautet, und dann dem lukianischen Zusatz καὶ ἐνέγκειν τὰ ὀλοκαντώματα mit der Übersetzung *et offerent holocausta*.

Ähnlich ist die Situation in Vers 2:6:

ἄσσοι οὖν κατὰ τόπους οἰκοῦσιν, βοηθείωσαν αὐτῶ (+ καὶ προθυμεισθωσαν τω κυριῳ L) οἱ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ αὐτοῦ ἐν χρυσίῳ καὶ ἐν (om. L et al.) ἀργυρίῳ

U/V: quotquot ergo circa loca habitant adiuvent eum × × × × qui sunt in loco ipsius in auro et argento

I: quotquot ergo per regiones habitant adiuvent eum et dent animum domino × × in loco eius offerentes aurum et argentum

Auch hier folgt der ältere Text der Septuagintafassung, während der jüngere Text die lukianische Version übersetzt.

Doch es kommt auch vor, dass der I-Text die Vorlage der Septuaginta bewahrt, während die U-Version der lukianischen Variante folgt. Dies kann man z.B. an Vers 6:7 veranschaulichen. I übersetzt ἀπέστειλεν aus der Septuaginta mit *misit*, wohingegen U die lukianische Variante ἀπέστειλαν übersetzt und mit *miserunt* wiedergibt. In V fehlt diese Stelle.

Die aufgeführten Beispiele stehen für viele weitere vergleichbare Fälle, in denen eine der lateinischen Versionen zwar nicht mit dem Standard-Text der Septuaginta übereinstimmt, wohl aber mit einer der Rezensionen.

Bei vielen Abweichungen von der griechischen Vorlage handelt es sich jedoch um kleinere Varianten z.B. bei der Übersetzung einzelner Wörter oder in der Syntax. Oft dürfte es sich um das Ergebnis einer bestimmten Übersetzungstechnik handeln. Wenn diese sich jedoch nicht ohne weiteres erschließt, kann man erwägen, ob dem lateinischen Text möglicherweise eine andere griechische Vorlage zugrunde liegt.

Der Vers 8:27 (24 LXX) bietet für mehrere Phänomene gutes Anschauungsmaterial. Auch hier stellt sich die Frage, ob sich der vom Griechischen abweichende lateinische Text durch die Übersetzungstechnik und innerlateinische Entwicklungen erklären lässt oder ob andere Einflüsse zu der vorliegenden Textversion geführt haben. Dies ist für jedes einzelne Element zu untersuchen. Der Vers lautet:

καὶ πάντες, ὅσοι ἐὰν παραβαίνωσιν καὶ τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ σου καὶ (+ τον νομον) τὸν βασιλικόν (του βασιλεως; του βασιλικου), ἐπιμελῶς κολασθήσονται (κολασθησεται), ἐάν τε καὶ θανάτῳ ἐάν τε καὶ τιμωρίᾳ (ατιμία) ἢ ἀργυρικῇ ζημίᾳ ἢ ἀπαγωγῇ.

U: et omnes qui praevaricati fuerint legem domini dei tui et quae a rege praecepta sunt diligenter puniantur sive morte sive infamia vel pecunia et iactura aut exilio × ×

V: ut × quotquot transgressi fuerint legem × × × × × × × × diligenter plectantur sive morte sive cruciatu sive etiam pecuniae × multatione vel abductione × ×

I: et omnes (var. ×) quicumque transgressi fuerint legem × dei tui et regis diligenter punientur (var. punietur) sive morte sive tormentis sive × condemnatione × pecuniae aut exilio × ×

X: et × quodquod praeterint legem × dei tui et regis diligenter punientur sive morte sive poena vel × damno × pecunario aut exilio bene valeas

Die auffälligste Variante ist das lange Minus in V gegenüber dem griechischen Text, von der jedoch als sicher gelten kann, dass es sich um eine der vielen Stellen handelt, an denen der Text verderbt ist. Über eine andere Vorlage sagt sie nichts aus. Zwar ist der V-Text der am besten bezeugte, weil er die gesamte Vulgata-Tradition seit dem Mittelalter widerspiegelt, aber er ist fehlerhaft und weist zahlreiche Auslassungen dieser Art auf.<sup>20</sup>

Im X-Text fällt die Ergänzung *bene valeas* am Ende des Verses ins Auge, bei der es sich um eine gängige Briefschlussformel handelt. Sie wurde eingefügt, um das Ende des Briefes von Artaxerxes an Esra zu kennzeichnen. Es spricht alles dafür, dass es sich um einen innerlateinischen Zusatz handelt. Der Kontext des patristischen Zeugen, der den X-Text überliefert,<sup>21</sup> legt nahe, dass dieser Zusatz nicht als Erklärung, sondern als Teil des Bibeltextes verstanden wurde, da er ohne jeden Zusatz in den fortlaufenden Text eingefügt wurde.

Ebenfalls um eine innerlateinische Ergänzung handelt es sich bei *domini*, das vor *dei* im U-Text eingefügt wurde. Solche kurzen appositionellen Verdeutlichungen finden sich häufig in allen lateinischen Fassungen.<sup>22</sup>

Ein weiterer Abschnitt dieses Verses ist in seiner Deutung nicht völlig klar, so dass man an ihm einige Überlegungen zur Textüberlieferung zu den möglichen

20. Gesche, „Älteste lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Esdras A“, 405.

21. Theodor Mommsen, *Chronicorum Minorum Saec. IV. V. VI. VII.*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi 9 (Berlin: Weidmannos, 1892), 185.

22. Hanhart, „Text und Textgeschichte des 1. Esrabuches“, 27 äußert sich zu solchen Fällen.



zugrunde liegenden Texten anstellen kann. Es geht um die Passage, die in der LXX-Fassung von Esdras A' καὶ τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ σου καὶ τὸν βασιλικόν (wörtlich: sowohl das Gesetz deines Gottes als auch das königliche) lautet.

In den lateinischen Versionen I und X lautet der Text *legem dei tui et regis*, „das Gesetz deines Gottes und des Königs“, und stellt somit eine Übersetzung dar, die nicht exakt auf eine der Vorlagen zurückgeht. Die Suche nach einer anderen Vorlage führt als erstes zum lukianischen Text, in dem es τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ σου καὶ τὸν νόμον τοῦ βασιλέως heißt. Die lukianische Fassung entspricht fast genau dem Text Esdras B' in Vers 7:26, νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ νόμον τοῦ βασιλέως, was die exakte Übersetzung des aramäischen דִּי תַּתָּהּ תְּהִלָּתֵּי דִּי תַּתָּהּ נִכְלָה, „das Gesetz deines Gottes und das Gesetz des Königs“, ist.<sup>23</sup> Die Wiederholung von νόμον, die dem aramäischen Text folgt, hat der lateinische Übersetzer nicht übernommen. Dennoch ist der lukianische Text als Vorlage für den lateinischen denkbar, zumal gerade die Version I in dem gesamten Buch stark lukianisch geprägt ist, also die Beziehung zu dieser Rezension nahe liegt.

Die Variante der wenig rezenensionell beeinflussten Textgruppe B bietet statt τὸν βασιλικόν das Adjektiv τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, also einen Genitiv, entspricht aber damit auch nicht genau dem Genitiv-Attribut *regis* des lateinischen Textes. Somit findet sich in keinem bekannten Text eine exakte Vorlage. Doch ist immerhin die Übersetzung des Adjektives βασιλικόν durch das substantivische Genitiv-Attribut im Lateinischen stilistisch angemessen. Andererseits ist es nicht die übliche Übersetzung; vielmehr wird βασιλικός in Esdras A' sonst wiederholt mit *regalis* wiedergegeben. Ob diese eher geringfügige Variante nun innerlateinisch entstanden ist oder auf eine nicht überlieferte Vorlage zurückgeht, muss unentschieden bleiben.

Kommen wir nun zum U-Text. Die Übersetzung in dieser Version schließt sich ebenfalls nicht unmittelbar an eine überlieferte Vorlage an. Der Text lautet *legem domini dei tui et quae a rege praecepta sunt*, „das Gesetz des Herrn, deines Gottes, und die Dinge, die vom König angeordnet wurden.“ Hinter *quae a rege praecepta sunt* dürfte wohl am ehesten die Fassung der lukianischen Rezension τὸν νόμον τοῦ βασιλέως stehen,<sup>24</sup> obwohl sich die Formulierung weit von der Vorlage entfernt und der Bearbeiter in großem Maß eigenständig mit dem Text umgeht, statt eine sonst übliche Wort-für-Wort-Übersetzung zu bieten. Solch freie

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23. In der gesamten Septuaginta-Überlieferung von Esdras B' zu dieser Stelle wie auch in einigen wenigen Handschriften der griechischen Überlieferung von Esdras A' fehlt das Possessivpronomen. Die lateinische Übersetzung von Esdras B', sowohl die der Vulgata-Fassung als auch die altlateinische Version, überliefert jedoch das Pronomen, das aufgrund der aramäischen Grundlage zu erwarten ist. Während dies für die Vulgata-Fassung, die von dem aramäischen Text abhängt, nicht überrascht, gibt es für die altlateinische Übersetzung, die auf den griechischen Text zurückgeht, dafür keinerlei Anhaltspunkt in der Vorlage mit all ihren Varianten.

24. Sie entspricht, abgesehen von dem Artikel τόν, der Septuaginta-Fassung (OG) von Esdras B'.

Übersetzungen sind nicht ausgeschlossen, aber auch nicht häufig, vor allem in der älteren Überlieferung. Wie schon zuvor könnte man statt einer freien Übersetzung auch eine Vorlage mit etwas abweichender Formulierung vermuten.

An weiteren Varianten in diesem Vers lassen sich die Übersetzungstechnik und die Textgeschichte illustrieren.

Um eine rein stilistische Variation handelt es sich in der Fortsetzung des zuvor beschriebenen Textes: *κολασθήσονται* wird in U mit dem Präsens *puniantur* übersetzt, in I/X mit dem exakt entsprechenden Futur *punientur*, während der V-Text mit der Übersetzung *plectantur* in der Wortwahl variiert. Die Verwendung des Singulars *punietur* in zwei Handschriften des Typs I ist nur schwach gestützt durch die Variante *κολασθήσεται* in nur einer griechischen Handschrift und ist inhaltlich nicht schlüssig.

Eine große Bandbreite in der Wortwahl ist in der darauf folgenden Aufzählung der Strafen zu beobachten. Nachdem *θανάτῳ* einhellig von allen lateinischen Übersetzungen mit *morte* wiedergegeben wird, gehen die Formulierungen schon bei *τιμωρίᾳ* auseinander. Der U-Text folgt der lukianischen Variante *ἀτιμία*, das er mit *infamia* wiedergibt. Die anderen lateinischen Zeugen halten sich an die griechische Hauptüberlieferung, V mit der Übersetzung *cruciatu*, I mit *tormentis*, wobei freilich der Plural keine Vorlage hat, und X mit *poena*. Bei allen handelt es sich um angemessene Übersetzungen der griechischen Vorlage.

*ἀργυρικῇ ζημίᾳ* lautet im U-Text *pecunia et iactura*, wobei sich die Aufteilung des Substantivs mit seinem Attribut in zwei gleichgeordnete Substantive nicht aus dem Text erklärt. Hingegen sind die Übersetzungen in den Versionen V, *pecuniae multatione*, und I, *condemnatione pecuniae*, nah am griechischen Text, X übernimmt sogar die Formulierung mit einem adjektivischen Attribut statt des Genitiv-Attributs und schreibt *damno pecuario*. Mit der Übersetzung *abductione* ahmt V das griechische *ἀγαγωγῇ* nach, während die übrigen Fassungen dies mit *exilio* wiedergeben.

All diese Varianten sind innerhalb der lateinischen Tradition entstanden und auf bestimmte Schwerpunkte bei der Übersetzung zurückzuführen, nicht jedoch auf andere Vorlagen.

Sehr aufschlussreich für textkritische Untersuchungen sind Dubletten. In echten Dubletten sind zwei verschiedene Vorlagen erhalten, d.h. ein Rezensent übersetzt den Haupttext seiner Vorlage und fügt eine Variante dieses Textes zusätzlich in seinen Text ein, so dass beide Textformen nebeneinander in der Übersetzung erscheinen. Dies ist von den Fällen zu unterscheiden, in denen ein Übersetzer selbständig zur Verdeutlichung den ihm vorliegenden Text erweitert hat. Eine echte Dublette in 3:23 (22 LXX) trägt dazu bei, die Textversionen chronologisch zu reihen.<sup>25</sup> Der Text lautet: *καὶ ὅταν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου γενηθῶσιν*

25. Siehe dazu Gesche, „Älteste lateinische Übersetzung des Buches Esdras A“, 408–9 und vgl. auch Gesche, *Esra I*, 18.

(Var. ἐγερωσιν B' 46c), οὐ μέμνηται (Var. μεμνηγται).... Im V-Text ist sowohl γενηθῶσιν als auch die Variante ἐγέρωσιν übersetzt, was in der Übersetzung *et cum a vino (e)meriserint et surrexerint non meminerunt* ... ergibt; ähnlich lautet der Text in der jüngeren Version I. Umso mehr fällt auf, dass in der U-Version ausschließlich die Variante übersetzt wurde, so dass der Text dort *× cum a vino exsurrexerint non meminerunt* lautet. Für die lateinische Textgeschichte legt sich aus diesem Befund nahe, dass der U-Text den anderen Versionen vorausgeht. Jedenfalls ist die Möglichkeit, dass ein bestehender lateinischer Text auf der Grundlage des LXX-Haupttextes später nach gerade dieser Variante korrigiert wurde, weniger wahrscheinlich. Folglich handelt es sich eher um den ursprünglichen Text als um eine Rezension.

Ein weiteres Beispiel führt ein Stück weiter. Bisher ließen sich alle Varianten durch innerlateinische Entwicklungen erklären, wenn auch in einigen Fälle mit einer gewissen Unsicherheit. In Vers 8:3 nun deutet eine Dublette auf eine nicht überlieferte Vorlage hin.

In der Septuaginta lautet der Text οὗτος Ἔσδρας ἀνέβη ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος, woraus sich die lateinische Übersetzung *hic Esdras ascendit de Babylonia*, die die Versionen U und V überliefern, problemlos herleiten lässt. Doch der Text I hat an dieser Stelle eine Dublette, die nicht auf Anhieb erklärbar ist. Der Text lautet: *hic Esdras migravit et ascendit de Babilone*, weist also mit *migravit* et einen Zusatz auf, der durch keine griechische Variante zu Esdras A' gestützt ist. Auch innerlateinisch ist das Plus nicht erklärbar, da es sich bei diesem Ausdruck keineswegs um eine gängige Formulierung handelt und eine Erklärung des *ascendit* durch ein weiteres Verbum überflüssig ist. Obwohl man für eine solche Dublette eine Vorlage voraussetzen kann, finden sich dafür keine Spuren. Ein Vergleich mit der parallelen Stelle Esdras B' 7:6 führt ebenfalls nicht weiter. Dort heißt es im Griechischen αὐτὸς Ἔσδρας ἀνέβη ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος, was ähnlich dem Text aus Esdras A' als *ipse Ezras ascendit de Babilone* im Lateinischen erscheint. Diese Übersetzungen lassen sich direkt auf den hebräischen Urtext: *עזרא עלה מבל* zurückführen. Doch auch zu Esdras B' gibt es keine Variante, die den Zusatz *migravit et* erklären würde.

Der hebräische Text *עזרא עלה* wird in Esdras A' und Esdras B' erwartungsgemäß mit Ἔσδρας ἀνέβη übersetzt und ebenso in beiden Texten mit *Esdras ascendit* ins Lateinische. Wenn wir überlegen, welches hebräische Wort hinter dem hinzugefügten lateinischen *migravit* stehen könnte, kommen wir auf גלה, also auf eine Wurzel, die sowohl in der Aussprache als auch in der Schrift עלה nahe kommt. Ist es da weit hergeholt anzunehmen, dass ein griechischer Übersetzer oder Bearbeiter des Textes seine Vorlage falsch gelesen oder verstanden hat? Könnte er eventuell sogar eine Vorlage gehabt haben, in der גלה statt עלה geschrieben war? Diese Erklärung für die Dublette liegt nahe, so dass man tatsächlich hier den Ursprung des Zusatzes sehen kann. Mit anderen Worten heißt das, dass eine nicht überlieferte Variante des hebräischen Textes von Esdras B' über Zwischenschritte eine Vorlage für den lateinischen Text von Esdras A' dar-

stellt. Doch die Zwischenschritte sind entscheidend, denn eine direkte Verbindung der altlateinischen Übersetzung von Esdras A' mit der hebräischen Fassung ist nicht vorauszusetzen. Vielmehr folgt die Hauptüberlieferung von Esdras A entsprechend der Parallele in Esdras B' dem hebräischen Text, wurde aber offensichtlich an einem Punkt der Überlieferungsgeschichte nach einer hebräischen Vorlage, in der הלל zu lesen war, korrigiert. Mit welchem griechischen Wort הלל übersetzt wurde, lässt sich jedoch nicht sicher rekonstruieren. Die geläufige griechische Übersetzung ist μετακίζειν. Doch sind auch andere Entsprechungen wie αἰχμαλωτεύειν oder ἀπάγειν in Erwägung zu ziehen. Nachzuweisen wäre eine derartige Variante nur durch entsprechende handschriftliche Belege. Eine solche Übersetzung bildete folglich die nicht belegte Vorlage für *migravit* im lateinischen Text. In einer lateinischen Rezension wurden dann sowohl die ursprüngliche Textform mit *ascendit* als auch die Variante *migravit* verwendet, so dass eine Dublette entstand.

Auf der Suche nach Erklärungen für eine bestimmte lateinische Überlieferung führte hier der Weg zu neuen Erkenntnissen des griechischen und auch des hebräischen Text. Tatsächlich bietet also auch das Buch Esdras A' Hinweise auf griechische Varianten, die dort nicht bezeugt sind. Zwar handelt es sich in diesem Fall nur um eine Variante zum *Old Greek* und *Old Hebrew*, aber es konnte gezeigt werden, dass dieser Weg, vom Lateinischen aus auf nicht überlieferte Textformen der Vorlagen zu schließen, auch für die Esdras-Bücher offensteht.

## 5. FAZIT

Bei unserem Durchgang durch eine Auswahl von Varianten des lateinischen Textes gegenüber seiner Vorlage dürfte deutlich geworden sein, wie schwierig Abweichungen zu erklären sind, weil die Textgeschichte überaus vielschichtig ist und man wegen der zweifellos lückenhaften Überlieferung in allen Textversionen mit Unbekannten zu rechnen hat. Daher sind einfache Ableitungen und Erklärungen ausgeschlossen oder wenigstens zu hinterfragen, selbst wenn sie sich auf den ersten Blick anbieten. Hier liegt ein weites Forschungsfeld, in dem es nicht nur um die Erklärung von Abweichungen der *Vetus Latina* von ihren Vorlagen geht. Vielmehr geht es um nähere Einblicke in mögliche Beiträge der lateinischen Übersetzungen und Rezensionen zur Einordnung der griechischen Versionen. Dabei ergibt sich ein höchst interessanter Aspekt, wie z.B. der traditionell als proto-lukianisch bezeichnete Text mit dem genuin lukianischen zusammenhängt. Ist der lukianische Text tatsächlich eine Rezension des *Old Greek* oder vielleicht wenigstens zum Teil mit diesem identisch?<sup>26</sup> Schließlich: Können die lateinischen Versionen grundsätzlich etwas zur Bestimmung des *Old Greek* beitragen? Dass man zu weiterführenden Ergeb-

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26. Was v.a. S. Kreuzer hinterfragt. Siehe dazu oben.

nissen kommen kann, zeigen die Arbeiten zu den lateinischen Übersetzungen der Königebücher. Aufschlussreich sind in anderer Weise auch die Studien von Walter Thiele für die lateinischen Fassungen des Buches Jesus Sirach. Nun kommen auch von den Esdras-Büchern Puzzleteile hinzu. Forschungen an weiteren biblischen Büchern lohnen sich, wie die vorgestellten Beispiele wohl zeigen können.



# The Textual Value of the Old Georgian Version of Ecclesiastes

*Natia Dundua*

**Abstract:** The earliest source for the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes is the Oshki Bible (978). O (Oshki), J (Jerusalem), and S (Mtzkheta) represent one recension. O and J stand together almost everywhere. The scribe of S mostly follows O and J but sometimes corrects his text according to the Armenian Bible, which in turn was revised on the basis of the Latin Vulgate. Where S is not corrected in this way, it can be used as a control, because it seems that its Georgian *Vorlage* was a good source(s), which, unfortunately, has not survived. The editor of the Mtzkheta Bible, Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani, who was a very good philologist, carefully followed his sources and did not correct anything (e.g., grammatically) himself. Thus O, J, and S may represent the first, original, translation. The comparison between the Old Georgian text, on the one hand, and the textual tradition of the Greek Ecclesiastes as well as the Armenian translation, on the other, has revealed the following: (1) the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes was translated from Greek independently of the Armenian translation; (2) the *Vorlage* of AGeo is a derivative of the early Egyptian Text Group, (3) the translation is literal and faithfully represents all the peculiarities of the Greek syntax and word-building.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Recent studies show two sources of different provenance from which the Holy Scriptures were translated into Old Georgian: (1) Palestinian, on the one hand, and (2) Antiochian / Constantinopolitan, on the other. The precise date of these translations are unknown, but the earliest translations of the Georgian Bible are presented in the lower script of palimpsests, the so-called *Xanmeti* fragments. *Xanmeti* is a term already used by George the Athonite (1065) and denotes the text where the *x*- prefix is employed to mark the second subject and the third object persons in the Old Georgian verb. This prefix has not occurred in the

inscriptions since the seventh century. This provides a *terminus ante quem* for dating the texts. Based on paleographical data, these fragments are dated from the fifth to the seventh centuries (J. Gippert, L. Kajaia, A. Kharanauli). Codicological study of the folio size revealed that they are fragments of quite large codices, and it can be assumed that these codices included several books of the Bible (A. Kharanauli, T. Otkhmezuri).

On the issues and problems of representing Greek in Old Georgian one might consult the following studies:

- Esbroeck, Michel Van. "Les Versions orientales de la Bible: Une Orientation Bibliographique." Pages 465–80 in *International Symposium on the Interpretation of the Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Gippert, Jost, Zurab Sarjeladze, and Lamara Kajaia, ed. *The Old Georgian Palimpsest Codex Vindobonensis georgicus* 2. Vol. 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.
- Kharanauli, Anna. "Das Chanmeti-Fragment aus Jeremia—Fragen seiner Entstehung und seiner Übersetzungstechnik." *OrChr* 85 (2001): 204–36.
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- . "Einführung in die georgische Psalterübersetzung." Pages 248–308 in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997*. Edited by Anneli Aejmelaeus and Udo Quast. MSU 24. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.
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## 2. THE OLD GEORGIAN SOURCES FOR ECCLESIASTES

I was asked by P. Gentry, editor of Ecclesiastes for the forthcoming critical edition in the Göttingen Septuaginta Series, to collate the Old Georgian text of Ecclesiastes against the textual tradition of the Greek Ecclesiastes. The present study is based on my collations and analysis done in collaboration with P. Gentry.

The oldest recension of the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes, is preserved by three manuscript, which we have designated by the sigla O, J, and S as follows:

- O: Athos, Ἰβήρων, Ath 1; 978. "Oshki Bible."  
 J: Jerusalem, Jer. 113; XIII–XIV.  
 S: Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, A 51; XVII–XVIII  
 "Mtzkheta Bible."



In addition to these manuscripts, the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes has been preserved through other manuscripts as well (Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, A 1418 and S 1349, also the Printed Bible of Prince Bakar, Moscow (published in 1743). We have not collated these sources, because the text of the translation was later revised. Therefore, we have used only the above mentioned manuscripts, that is, the so-called Old Georgian translation, and designate the agreement of the three manuscripts in the edition by the siglum AGeo.

The earliest source for the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes is the Oshki Bible (978). O (Oshki), J (Jerusalem), and S (Mtzkheta) represent one recension. O and J stand together almost everywhere. The scribe of S mostly follows O and J but sometimes corrects his text according to the Armenian Bible, which in turn was revised on the basis of the Latin Vulgate. Where S is not corrected in this way, it can be used as a control, because it seems that its Georgian *Vorlage* was a good source, which, unfortunately, has not survived. The editor of the Mtzkheta Bible, Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani, who was a very good philologist, carefully followed his sources and did not correct anything (e.g., grammatically) himself. Thus O, J, and S may represent the first, original, translation.

### 3. THE PURITY OF THE OLD GEORGIAN SOURCES

As a matter of first principle, a comparison was made with Arm Eccl, because the Armenian version is often regarded to be the *Vorlage* of the Georgian translation. Nonetheless, the Old Georgian supports significant variants against Arm in many places and in general does not transmit *Sonderlesarten* of Arm. We will present examples to show that AGeo is different from Arm (we selected the most significant differences, namely, examples of change of phrase or lexica, addition and omission).

#### 3.1. GEO = LXX<sup>VAR</sup> CONTRA ARM, Which Means That the Old Georgian and Armenian Have Different Sources

##### 3.1.1. CHANGE OF PHRASE OR LEXEME

10:1 ძლივთ ჟაჟაჟაჟიქ ინჲ Arm] λογος B\* 998 252mg SaII სიტყუა AGeo

##### 3.1.2. ADDITION

1:11 γενομένοις ῥομφαίᾳ ყოვილ არიან ერ ქსელიგ են Arm] + απο εμπροσθεν ημων 998 Co: ex 10c +უწინარსჲს ჩუენსა AGeo



2:26 περι-σπασμὸν მიმო-ტაცებდა AGeo] qṛaḥlun Arm

1:13 περι-σπᾶσθαι მიმო-იტაცებოდოან AGeo] qṛaḥlun Arm

8:15 συμ-προσέσται თანა-ოყოს AGeo] ἑρῃα Arm

Thus, on the basis of these data, we can assume that the Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes was not translated from Armenian, and we have also no reason to suppose that it was first translated from Armenian and then later revised on the basis of the Greek.

Now we will bring the examples showing that the Old Georgian recension is translated from Greek. The collation of AGeo Eccl against the Greek produces a list of approximately 183 variant readings. From this group of variants, 42 were selected as demonstrating genetically significant textual variation. Some of the variants shared with Greek witnesses are intrusions from parallel passages, a feature that is characteristic of AGeo. What is most remarkable are the number of variants shared almost uniquely with early members of the Egyptian Group such as 998, B (“codex Vaticanus”), and S (“codex Sinaiticus”). We have 10 instances of AGeo agreeing with 998 B; 8 with 998 B-S; 1 with B-S; 3 with 998 alone; 3 with S alone; and 1 with B alone. Thirteen of these are virtually singular agreements. Some 18 of these variants are supported by various Coptic witnesses. Another 8 variants not supported by 998, B or S or any combination thereof, are supported by one or more Coptic witnesses, some uniquely.

2:6b ξύλα] > B-534 998 GregAg 804 Amb Isa 4,25 AGeo Fa<sup>1</sup> 2 Sa<sup>I</sup> (sed hab Did 37,15 Ol Syh = Gra M)

2:15e τότε] > B-S\*-534' 998 C'-571<sup>c</sup> 443 547<sup>txt</sup> 645 705 Dion<sup>lem</sup> 220 GregNy 361,17 Ol<sup>lem</sup> AΓEZIKMN Ol<sup>com</sup> (sed hab Met II.6,5) Hi<sup>lem</sup> 269,271 AGeo Arm Sa<sup>I</sup> (sed hab Hi<sup>LXX</sup> 269,285-289 Syh), contra 𐌆𐌗

2:15f ὅτι—ματαιότης] διوتي αφρων εκ περισσευματος λαλει 534: homoiar (16a); + διوتي (> Aeth; + o B-613 998 d Sa<sup>I</sup>) αφρων εκ (+ του 613) περισσευματος (+ καρδια AGeo) λαλει (+ (sub ∞ Syh) οτι (και ιδου pro οτι Syh) και γε τουτο ματαιοτης O Syh) B-613 998 O d 336' 542 766<sup>II</sup> Aeth AGeo Arab Sa<sup>I</sup> Syh (sed hab Hi<sup>lem</sup> 269,271s) = Pesch, contra 𐌆𐌗; pr (sub ÷ 788 (οὐ κείται παρ' ἑβραίοις 788<sup>mg</sup>); + και 299) διوتي (οτι Dion<sup>com</sup> 221 GregNy 364,19; > Dam; + o 390-574-601-cII GregNy 361,18<sup>ap</sup> 364,19<sup>ap</sup>) αφρων (ανως 547<sup>txt</sup>) εκ περισσευματος λαλει (+ οτι αφρων εκ περισσευματος λεγει post fin 443) rel (Hi<sup>LXX</sup> 269,285-289 GregNy 361,18 364,19 Met<sup>lem</sup> et com II.6,6s,102s II.7,7s Ol Proc CatP 22,154 Arm<sup>te</sup> et ap) = Ra: ex Matth 1234 (par Luc 645)

5:7d om ὅτι B-68' 998 PsChr AGeo (sed hab Hi Syh = Ald Sixt M)

5:15c τίς] > B-68 998 357 Amb *Nab* 6,28 AGeo Fa<sup>1 2</sup> Sa<sup>6</sup> (sed hab Dam Did 160,4 Met<sup>lem</sup> et com V.3,10,90 Ol Arm Sa<sup>I II</sup> Syh = Ald Sixt Ra)

7:1a ἔλαιον] ελεον B-S-68 A O 797-cII<sup>-260</sup> k 296' 311 336' 339 698 706 795 Dam-VEOVMi Did<sup>lem</sup> et com 196,11 196,15 196,20 196,25 PsChr<sup>com</sup> AGeo Arm<sup>te</sup> Sa<sup>3</sup> (sed hab Anton 1129 Ol Fa<sup>1 2</sup> Hi Syh = Sixt)

8:5b κρίσεως] γνωσεως 998 357 AGeo

10:1b ὀλίγον] ὀλιγω 68 (sed hab Ald); ο (> 998 252<sup>mg</sup>) λογος B\* 998 252<sup>mg</sup> AGeo Sa<sup>II</sup> (absc Fa<sup>1</sup>)

11:9c καρδίας σου 357 542 Dam<sup>Lc</sup> Hi<sup>lem</sup> et com 348,156 351,68 = Ra Vulg] καρδια σου 788; ἀρώμων ἡ καρδιά σου 539; (+ σου AGeo Sa<sup>I II</sup>) ἄμωμος B-68' 998 336' Antioch 1485 (ἀρώμως) Did 333,4s 335,26s PsChr AGeo Fa<sup>1 2</sup> Sa<sup>I II</sup>; ἄμωμοις 766; > σου 338\*; + ἄμεμπτος Dam<sup>MP</sup>; + ἄμωμα 613; + ἀρώμως 254'; + (ω Syh) ἄμωμος rel (788 Anton 960 1057 1208 Dam<sup>-LCMP</sup> Max II 968 Met 334,2 Ol Amb *Exh virg* 10,69 Spec 473,15 Hi *Pach* 144,13 Aeth Arab Arm CPA Syh Ald Sixt)

The *Vorlage* of AGeo is clearly a derivative of the early Egyptian text group. In addition, note that there are 15 agreements with 357, one of perhaps two manuscripts that are at the head of the stemma; all other witnesses at the head of the stemma are hypothetical ancestors. This is another witness to the early date of the *Vorlage* behind AGeo. Similarly, AGeo Eccl has 28 agreements with 336' (*prime*), a manuscript pair that is probably a derivative of the early Egyptian group.

The following chart shows agreements of AGeo plus one, two, three, and four text groups. The vertical column on the left side indicates an agreement between AGeo plus the group listed. Then one can consider whether this agreement is unique (+ 0 group) or attested by other groups (+ 1, 2, 3, or 4 groups).

| AGeo + ?<br>+ | 0 Group                                                             | 1 Group                                           | 2 Groups                          | 3 Groups                 | 4 Groups                  |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| B-S 998<br>Co | 111b, 114ab,<br>26b, 53c, 57d,<br>515c, 85b,<br>812c, 101b,<br>119c | 28d, 215c,<br>224b(2), 43c,<br>517a, 71b,<br>815a | 215f, 1013b                       | 117c, 310a,<br>317a, 71a | 116b, 417d,<br>56b, 1019b |
| O             | 212b, 63b                                                           | 214a, 517a,<br>815a, 1212a                        | 113c, 215c,<br>215f, 224b,<br>53d | 117a, 317a,<br>71a       | 116b, 417d,<br>56b, 1019b |
| L             | 53d                                                                 | 317b                                              | 113c, 215c,<br>1013b              | 117a, 310a,<br>97c       | 116b, 417d,<br>56b, 1019b |

|            |                  |                                                      |                                                          |                                                                                                   |                                                                              |
|------------|------------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>C'</i>  |                  | 2 <sub>15e</sub> , 7 <sub>1b</sub>                   | 1 <sub>13c</sub> , 2 <sub>24b</sub> ,<br>5 <sub>3d</sub> |                                                                                                   | 1 <sub>16b</sub> , 10 <sub>19b</sub>                                         |
| <i>C''</i> |                  |                                                      | 2 <sub>15c</sub>                                         | 1 <sub>17c</sub>                                                                                  | 4 <sub>17d</sub>                                                             |
| <i>C'</i>  |                  | 2 <sub>14a</sub>                                     |                                                          |                                                                                                   |                                                                              |
| <i>cII</i> | 5 <sub>8b</sub>  | 12 <sub>12a</sub>                                    | 10 <sub>13b</sub>                                        | 3 <sub>10a</sub> , 3 <sub>17a</sub> ,<br>7 <sub>1a</sub> , 9 <sub>7c</sub>                        |                                                                              |
| <i>d</i>   | 12 <sub>4d</sub> | 2 <sub>8d</sub> , 3 <sub>17b</sub> , 4 <sub>3c</sub> | 2 <sub>15f</sub>                                         | 1 <sub>17a</sub> , 1 <sub>17c</sub> ,<br>3 <sub>10a</sub> , 3 <sub>17a</sub> ,<br>9 <sub>7c</sub> | 1 <sub>16b</sub> , 4 <sub>17d</sub> ,<br>5 <sub>6b</sub> , 10 <sub>19b</sub> |
| <i>k</i>   |                  | 4 <sub>3c</sub>                                      | 2 <sub>24b</sub>                                         | 1 <sub>17a</sub> , 1 <sub>17c</sub> ,<br>7 <sub>1a</sub> , 9 <sub>7c</sub>                        | 5 <sub>6b</sub>                                                              |

Agreements of AGeo with one, two, three, and four text groups produces the following totals: *O* 18; *L* 12; *C'* 7; *C''* 3 (entire Catena); *C'* 1; *cII* 7 (small second catena); *d* 14; *k* 7. Since *cII* is cited with other *C* groups in *C''* or *C'*, the number of agreements with *cII* is 11. The *cII* group is probably earlier than *C'* and developed from the early Egyptian Group in part. AGeo Eccl is not a hexaplaric text, nor is it a strong Lucianic representative: agreements with *O*, *L*, and *C''* derive from the influence of the early Egyptian text on these groups. The only contrary examples are 1<sub>17a</sub> and 6<sub>3b</sub>.

5:8b εἰργασμένου] εἰργασαμένου 548; εἰργασμενος 336' Dam<sup>MM</sup>; > AGeo; + και ισθι πιστος εν (επι 339) παντι· εστι(ν) βραχυ (βαρυ 336') απο του ηρπασμενου (ηρπαγμενου 336') *cII* 336' 339 AGeo Arm Sa<sup>I</sup> II

10:13b om στόματος 2° B-68' 998 *L cII* 357 336' 443 Did Ol AGeo Arm<sup>te</sup> Fa<sup>1</sup> 2 Sa<sup>I</sup> II (sed hab Anton 800 Dam Met IX.13,3 Max II 981 = Sixt)

11:3c οὐρανόν] ηλιον S<sup>c</sup> *O L C'*—571<sup>c</sup> 798<sup>c</sup> 161<sup>mg</sup>-248<sup>mg</sup>-252 339 443 543 547 549 Antioch 1469 GregNy 301,4 Ol Proc 11,104 (sed hab GregAg 785 GregNy 299,24 300,3 300,13 La<sup>94</sup> 95 Aeth<sup>ap</sup> AGeo (no parallel in 31b) Arm Fa<sup>1</sup> Sa<sup>I</sup> 5 Syh; absc Fa<sup>2</sup>) Hi = Pesch Tar Vulg, contra  $\mathfrak{A}$ : cf 31b

11:7a καί 1° — γνώσιν] sub ※ V 788 Syh; > 253 *L* (–106 125) 130 *d*—254' *k* 68 248' <sup>txt</sup> (= Compl; καί ἔδωκα—τοῦ γνῶναι 248' <sup>mg</sup>) 296' 311 338 443 547 705 Clem II 37 Dion 212 Ol AGeo ↓ : homoiot

4:17d κακόν (κακων 534)] καλον S 253-475-411 *L* (–125) *C'' d*—357 155 248' 252<sup>txt</sup> 296' 311 339 443 539 543 547 548 549 645 698 706 795 AGeo (no parallel 912b) Arab Arm Sa<sup>I</sup> II Met IV.4,5 (sed hab Aug *Spe* 8 SedScot *Misc* 13,17,1 Hi Fa<sup>1</sup> (absc Fa<sup>2</sup>) Syh = Compl Gra.  $\mathfrak{A}$  Vulg): cf 912b

5:6b ὅτι σὺν] ὁτι συ B-S-534 998 637-411 L 139<sup>c</sup>-425-563-571-797<sup>c</sup>-798 d k 252  
 311 336' 338 339 443 542 543 547 549 698 766<sup>II</sup> 795 GregAg 944 AGeo Arm Syh  
 (sed hab OIATN<sup>lem</sup> et OI-B<sup>com</sup> = Gra Ra ~~ffl~~)

1:17c ὅτι] pr εγω B-S-534' 998 411 C'' d k 336' 645 705 OI<sup>BAEHΘIKMN</sup> AGeo  
 Sa<sup>I</sup> = Ald;

6:3b ἐτῶν] pr τῶν C L 563<sup>c</sup>(vid)-571 534' OIA; ζωης O<sup>V</sup>-411 AGeo: cf 519a

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Thus, to conclude: the comparison between the Old Georgian text, on the one hand, and the textual tradition of the Greek Ecclesiastes as well as the Armenian translation, on the other, has revealed the following:

- the Old Georgian translation of Ecclesiastes was translated from Greek independently of the Armenian translation.
- The *Vorlage* of AGeo is a derivative of the early Egyptian text group.
- Nonetheless, it is a literal translation and faithfully represents all the peculiarities of the Greek syntax and word-building.

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[http://212.34.228.170/bible\\_27E/tEccles\\_1.htm](http://212.34.228.170/bible_27E/tEccles_1.htm)(Zohrab).

#### Sources, Recensions and Manuscript Groups:

- |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| B   | Rom, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 1209; IV. Jh. “codex Vaticanus.”                                                                                                                                                                    |
| S   | London, British Library, Add. 43725 (früher Leningrad, Öff. Staatsbibliothek, Gr. 259); IV. Jh. “codex Sinaiticus”. Sigel bei Swete: <b>Σ</b> .                                                                               |
| 998 | Hamburg, Staats- und Univ.-Bibl., P. bil. 1; Um 300. Inhalt: Bl. 15–21 Eccl (griech.) Bl. 22–28 Eccl (kopt.).                                                                                                                 |
| 357 | Bologna, Bibl. Univ., 3640; XII. Jh. Die erst Spalte 11–8 ἐμπλησθήσεται ὀφθαλ[μός ist kaum lesbar. Die letzte Spalte endet mit 1211c οἱ παρά. Die folgenden Worte bis zum Schluß sind im XIV.–XV. Jahrhundert ergänzt worden. |

Athos, Ἰβήρων, Ath 1; 978. “Oshki Bible.”

Jerusalem, Jer. 113; thirteenth century–fourteenth century.

Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, A 51; seventeenth century–eighteenth century “Mtzkheta Bible.”

Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, S 1349; eighteenth century.

Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, A 1418; eighteenth century–nineteenth century.

*O* = V-253-475-637 + 411

*L* = 106-125-130-261-545 125' = 125-261

*C* = 139-147-159-299-390-415-503-504-522-540-560-563-571-574-732-798

*cI* = 157-425-601-609-797

157' = 157-797

*cII* = 260-295(ab 312)-371-561-752(ab 312)

(CCSG 11: 295=O; 371=E; 561=P; 752=T, Abschrift von O; CCSG 24=260)

$C' = C + cI$

$C'' = C + cI + cII$

*d* = 254-342-357-754      254' = 254-754

*k* = 46-337-631      46' = 46-631

336' = 336-728





# Battling the Myths: What Language Was the Georgian Amos Translated From?<sup>1</sup>

*Anna Kharanauli*

**Abstract:** The idea that the Georgian Bible was translated from Armenian was first proposed about one hundred years ago as one of the arguments supporting the *Japhetic theory* developed by Nikolay Marr. It suggested that the Georgian translations could serve as a tool for restoring the particular layer of the Armenian Bible, which had been written in Proto-Armenian—a form of the language that had not yet undergone the process of Indo-Europeanization. The theory turned out to be commonly accepted among western scholars of the Christian Orient: on the one hand, it gave a “clear” hierarchical picture of the eastern church—Antioch > Armenia > Georgia; and on the other, it provided an opportunity to restore the lost Armenian version through Georgian, while using the former as a tool for restoring the lost Syriac *Vorlage*. Yet this speculative theory became a Procrustean bed into which the textological data were forced. If a more careful method were pursued, taking into account all extant sources as well as translation technique and language specificities and subjecting the data to unbiased analysis, what picture would emerge? This study conducts such an analysis in the book of Amos, challenging long-accepted conclusions about the origins of the Georgian version and its significance.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

“The Use of Versions for Text Criticism” was the theme of the IOSCS Congress in 1985. Georgian translation of the Old Testament was not among its topics. *Communis opinio* was based on the ideas of such famous Orientalists as R.

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Prof. Jeff Childers for correcting the English of the article. I am also thankful to Bernard Outtier who read through drafts and kindly provided me with comments.

Blake, J. Molitor and, particularly, J. Assfalg who believed that the Georgian Bible was translated from the lost Armenian version, itself based on a Syriac version that has not come down to us either. It is quite difficult to question the statements of great scholars, especially if testing their theories requires the knowledge of such a complicated language as Georgian.

In the proceedings of the congress, John W. Wevers wrote about such matters: “legends are created which can only be undone with great difficulty.”<sup>2</sup> In this article, I intend to undo such a legend. I will skip the earlier stage of scholarship<sup>3</sup> and discuss the habilitation work Julius Assfalg did more than fifty years ago—“Altgeorgischen Übersetzung der Propheten Amos, Michaeas, Jonas, Sophonias und Zacharias.”<sup>4</sup> I will particularly focus on that part of Assfalg’s thesis that deals with the issue of the origin of Georgian Amos.

The aforementioned work by Julius Assfalg represents a thorough study that is very impressive and seems to be reliable precisely due to its detailed character. The edition of the Minor Prophets is based on the following four manuscripts: the Oshki Bible (= O; Athos, Ibiron, Ath.-1, 978), the Jerusalem Prophets (= J; Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, n.7,11; eleventh century), the Sinai Lectionary (= L<sup>s</sup>; Sin. 37, tenth century), and the Moscow Bible (Mo=B; 1743).<sup>5</sup> The edition is equipped with notes clarifying the relationship of

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<sup>2</sup> John W. Wevers, “The Use of Versions for Text Criticism,” in *La Septuaginta en la investigation contemporanea*, ed. N. Fernández Marcos (Madrid: CSIC, 1985), 20.

<sup>3</sup> For the history of the issue see Anna Kharanauli, “Das Chanmeti-Fragment aus Jeremia—Fragen seiner Entstehung und seiner Übersetzungstechnik,” *OrChr* 85 (2001): 204–36; idem, “Khanmeti Fragments of the Old Testament and the Problems of the Origins of the Georgian Bible,” *Kartvelologist* 11 (2004): 54–77; idem, “Questions regarding the Origin of the Georgian Bible Translation,” *Kartvelologist* 18 (2013): 129–41.

<sup>4</sup> Julius Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen der Propheten Amos, Michaeas, Jonas, Sophonias und Zacharias, Texte aus Hss Jerusalem 7/11, Athos 1, Sinai 37, herausgegeben und untersucht* (München: n.p., 1959). Those who knew Julius Assfalg personally, as I did, will understand how difficult it is for me to criticize some aspects of his magnificent and generally solid work. My criticisms are not intended in any way to cast a shadow on Assfalg, whom I knew to be an outstanding person and scholar.

<sup>5</sup> These are the sources available to the scholar at the end of the 1950s. Apart from these sources the books of the Minor Prophets are known to be preserved in: (1) the twelfth century *Gelathi Catena Bible* (Tbilisi National Centre of Manuscript [NCM], A-1108), which is a recension of the Old Georgian translation (i.e., text of *Oshki* and *Jerusalem* MSS) against the Greek Catena manuscript. Last part (from 7:9) of the text of the Amos manuscript is missing; (2) the *Mtskheta Bible* (NCM, S-51), which includes the prophetic books printed in Tbilisi in 1743, that is, the recension of the *Gelathi* MS-text by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani accomplished against several sources, one of which was the Armenian Bible. The so-called *Moscow Bible*—the first printed Georgian Bible published in Moscow under the guidance of Prince Bakar—is a reproduction of this recension; (3) the *Paris* (Georgian 3, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, tenth century), *Latali* (Svaneti

the readings of the Georgian MSS with Greek<sup>6</sup>, Armenian and Syriac (Peshitta and Syro-hexapla) versions.<sup>7</sup> These readings are discussed and statistically summarized at the end of the chapters dealing with the individual manuscripts of Georgian Minor Prophets. At the end of his analysis, Assfalg concludes: “Weitaus die engste Verwandtschaft besteht also zu der LXX ... [deren] möglicher Einfluss ... auf 61,62 % steigt. Es ist also offensichtlich, dass J sehr nahe mit LXX verwandt ist.... Demgegenüber treten die Beziehungen von J zu Arm allein mit 23, 24%, zumal es sich bei diesen Stellen mehr um formale Übereinstimmungen als materielle Entsprechungen, gemeinsame Überschüsse, Auslassungen oder Fehlübersetzungen handelt, *die viel beweiskräftiger wären*” (emphasis mine).<sup>8</sup> Assfalg comes to the same conclusion concerning the Oshki MS<sup>9</sup> and Sinai Lectionary<sup>10</sup> as well. In the Moscow Bible, a closer relationship with the Greek is even more obvious.<sup>11</sup> Thus, concerning all the manuscripts,

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Museum, tenth century), *Kala* (NCM, Q 1653, ninth century) *Lectinaries*. In various readings from the Old and New Testament, these Lectionaries provide the texts of different traditions, that is, the Oshki-Jerusalem as well as other translations.

<sup>6</sup> When comparing the Georgian translation to the Greek, Assfalg used Ziegler’s edition: *Duodecim Prophetae*, Septuaginta 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1943). It is noteworthy that this was the first occasion when the ancient Georgian translation of the Old Testament was compared not only with *Textus Receptus* or Rahlfs’s critical edition but also with all of the extant sources.

<sup>7</sup> Despite their accuracy the notes still lack the significant part of the data, some of which (particularly dealing with vocabulary) will be discussed below.

<sup>8</sup> Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 364–65.

<sup>9</sup> “Arm ist in O etwas schwächer vertreten als in J” (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 387).

<sup>10</sup> 18.7 percent (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 425).

<sup>11</sup> “Der Einfluss von Arm ist stark zurückgedrängt. Doch beweist sein Vorhandensein immerhin, dass Mo keine Neuübersetzung nach LXX ist, sondern eine Revision einer älteren georgischen Textgestalt, die starken armenischen Einfluss aufweist.... Der Einfluss von Arm muss also der alten Schicht von Mo, die vor der Revision nach LXX liegt, angehören” (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen* 405). I will note only two of the variants corresponding to the Armenian provided by Assfalg: 6:2 πάντες] + εις χαλαν(ν)ην L’-407-613 87<sup>mg</sup>-68 Aeth<sup>p</sup>(in k’anan) Ի Բաւաւն Arm Եւսեֆ Ge<sup>SB</sup> Cyr<sup>p</sup> Th. Tht. Hi.<sup>p</sup>; 6:2 εις Εμαθ] pr Ի Լեծն ԾոծոԾ Ge<sup>SB</sup>. Indeed, in the text corrected against the Greek such correspondences with the Armenian might be attributed to the translation (not to mention the fact that apart from the Armenian the addition εις χαλαν(ν)ην / k’anan is also attested in other sources, including the Lucianic MSS). But these readings on folio 287r of the *Gelathi Catena Bible* in fact does not belong to the initial text but were inserted by the editor of the *Mtskheta Bible*, and consequently, from here they were transferred to the *Mtskheta Bible* and the *Moscow edition* (see the n. 4 above). Thus, it is absolutely clear that the textual layer of the *Moscow Bible* containing the Armenisms is not the oldest one that remained unchanged by the editors who corrected the text against the Greek; rather it dates to no earlier than the end of the seventeenth century. On Orbeliani’s corrections in the *Gelathi Bible*, see Elene Metreveli, “On the Study of the Sources of *Proverbs*,” in *Mravaltavi* 7

Assfalg specifically emphasizes that “die Übereinstimmungen mit Arm beschränken sich fast ganz auf wenig wichtige Lesarten.”<sup>12</sup> However, the final conclusion contradicts his own statistics and his evaluation of the character of the Georgian-Greek and Georgian-Armenian correspondences: “Nun zeigt die Geschichte der georgischen Literatur im allgemeinen und der georgischen Bibelübersetzung im besonderen, dass sich die georgische Literatur zunächst in engen Zusammenhang mit der armenischen entwickelte. Nach dem Bruch mit der armenischen Kirche ... wandte sich Georgien von Armenien ab und der griechische Literatur zu.”<sup>13</sup> ... Aus dieser deutlich erkennbaren Entwicklung heraus<sup>14</sup> ist es schwer vorstellbar und wenig wahrscheinlich, dass eine ursprünglich aus der Griechischen geflossene Übersetzung nachträglich nach Arm überarbeitet wurde.”<sup>15</sup> Thus, Assfalg absolutely eliminates doubts about the textual value of the Georgian-Armenian parallels at the end of the work: “Nun weisen aber JOSiMo so *starke armenische Elemente auf*, dass ein tiefgreifende Einfluss von Arm auf diese georgische Textzeugen außer Zweifel steht” (emphasis mine).<sup>16</sup>

But how does Assfalg explain much stronger influence of the Septuagint on the Georgian translation?<sup>17</sup> His explanation is as follows: “Diese georgische Übersetzung wurde aber schon frühzeitig, mehrmals und zum Teil in den einzelnen Textzeugen unabhängig voneinander nach LXX überarbeitet.”<sup>18</sup> However, such an explanation is quite surprising even for Assfalg: “Das ist überraschend bei einem georgischen Bibeltext, dessen Entstehungszeit, schon nach dem Alter der Hss zu urteilen, vor allgemeinen Revision der georgischen Bibel nach dem Griechischen liegt.”<sup>19</sup> Assfalg leaves the issue unresolved and formulates the final result of his research on the origins of the Georgian translation of Minor Prophets as follows: “Die alte georgische Prophäten-übersetzung ... lätztlich auf eine armenische Vorlage, wohl die *armenische Prävilgata mit starken syrischen Einfluss* zurückgeht” (emphasis mine).<sup>20</sup> Thus,

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(1980): 98–115 (in Georgian); Korneli Danelia, “One Source of the Lexicon by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani,” in *Mazne* (1964, 2): 206–7 (in Georgian); Elene Dotshanashvili, ed., *The Mtskheta Bible* (Tbilisi: n.p., 1985), 4–5 (in Georgian).

<sup>12</sup> Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 405.

<sup>13</sup> In fact, it was only after the Schism that the Armenian texts gained authoritative-ness for Anti-Chalcedonian Georgians.

<sup>14</sup> I.e., based on a speculative theory rather than on the textological data.

<sup>15</sup> Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 439.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 439; see above, section 1 and n. 8.

<sup>17</sup> “Der weitaus grössere Einfluss der LXX als von Arm und Sp” (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 320).

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 440.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 320.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 440.

Assfalg repeated the consideration of his predecessors whom he himself had criticized due to their incorrect research methodology.<sup>21</sup>

Like everyone else, I have seen neither the Armenian pre-Vulgate nor its Syriac *Vorlage*. Therefore, my discussion will focus on interrelations between the available texts,<sup>22</sup> that is, the texts of the Georgian MSS and the Armenian text of the *Zohrab Bible*, which is considered to be more or less an authentic source for the Armenian translation.<sup>23</sup>

For the purpose of establishing the hypothetical *Vorlage* of the Georgian Amos, I will only focus on its vocabulary in the present paper. However, I have reached the same conclusions when dealing with other components of translation (such as quantitative data, word order and grammar, especially syntax).

Bible translation in general represents an extensive field of research which includes three major spheres: translation technique, the history of the text, and the history of the language(s). All three spheres of research are closely related, and all of them have the same goal—to imitate the original and its language not only semantically but also in the sense of its formal-structural character. Often translations in different languages apply similar tools resulting in typological parallels. However, every language has its own distinctive patterns and character; that is why the goal of translation—to render the text with a high degree of literalism—is not always achievable. Therefore, free translation can also lead to the typological parallels that occur in various versions. My first purpose in dealing with the analysis of Georgian-Greek-Armenian parallels is to determine whether the similarity between two variants is a sign of their immediate interdependence or a typological parallel. I will also take into account the way in which a certain variant is characteristic of the language, giving preference to those that follow one of the texts (Greek or Armenian) against the nature of the Georgian language, while disagreeing with the other version that would have been much easier to render. In contrast, I will consider divergences of Georgian and Armenian from the Greek to be less significant (or even insignificant) where they are caused by the difficulty or impossibility of being adequately rendered from Greek into these languages.

I will pay special attention to the Armenian unique readings (*Sonderlesart*) and observe the cases where the Georgian (1) follows or (2) disagrees with them. I will further consider the character of these Armenian readings and find out whether they belong to the Armenian translator or to the Armenian copist (the latter being irrelevant for defining the origin of the Georgian translation).

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<sup>21</sup> Assfalg himself claims that, in the case of the Twelve Prophets, there are no visible traces of the Armenian pre-Vulgate, see Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 290.

<sup>22</sup> I will take into account that the available texts contain different textual layers.

<sup>23</sup> See Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 290: “Im Armenischen zeigt bereits der Kommentar des Nerses von Lampron zu den 12 Propheten eine Textgestalt, die mit der armenischen *Vulgata* völlig übereinstimmt.”

I will also specifically consider variant readings of the Georgian MSS that are caused by misreading of (or errors in) the Greek or Armenian *Vorlage* or that represent a result of such interpretation, which could be explained by the semantics of the Greek or Armenian words.

In order to substantiate a statement, a few typical examples are usually sufficient. However, as we are dealing with a disputable issue, in order to settle the matter I will examine *all cases* of Georgian-Armenian parallels despite their unequal value for defining the origin of the translation. At the same time, I will examine a large portion of the Georgian-Armenian differences, to give an idea not only of the interrelationship between the two translations but also of their distinctive characters.

I will start with the Georgian-Armenian parallel readings which, according to Assfalg, are undoubtedly closer to the Armenian rather than to the LXX.<sup>24</sup>

## 2. GEORGIAN AND ARMENIAN PARALLEL READINGS

Three cases of Georgian-Armenian parallels provided by Assfalg deal with the rendering of Greek words that do not have exact lexical equivalents in Georgian.

There are three ways to render a word that has no exact equivalent in a target language: (1) coin a neologism through etymological translation, (2) express the semantics of a source word through description, or (3) use an existing word that widens or narrows the semantics of the source word. A translator's choice generally depends on such things as his preference for literal versus free translation, his considerations concerning the importance of rendering a lexical unit formally, and whether the translator is content to use available equivalents that simply express the main meaning of the context. The ancient Georgian translator of Amos alternates between two choices—sometimes the translator attempts to follow the *Vorlage* literally by violating the target language, while sometimes choosing a certain lexical equivalent due to the context. When discussing the following examples, I regard it to be essential to consider the nuances of the translation technique.

### 2.1. αἰπόλος

The first case of Georgian-Armenian lexical parallels applies to the rendering of αἰπόλος (a *goatherd*):

7:14 αἰπόλος] მწყემსი Geo<sup>OIL</sup> հովիւ; տօտ մզկուլժը Geo<sup>SB</sup>

In the Septuagint, αἰπόλος occurs only in this verse.<sup>25</sup> Both in the Old Georgian version (of Oshki, Jerusalem, and the Paris Lectionary MSS) and in the

<sup>24</sup> “Zweifellos näher mit Arm als mit LXX zusammengehen” (ibid., 38).

Armenian, it is rendered by generic terms that mean *pastor*. As an equivalent of *αἰπόλος*, *pastor* is also used in some quotations of *Vetus Latina*.<sup>26</sup> This is due to the fact that there is no single word for expressing the concept under question (*a goatherd*) in these languages. Therefore, the translators are forced to widen the meaning of the original without leading to any changes of the semantic nuances in the context.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the given example is an illustration of typological similarity between the Armenian and Georgian translation techniques rather than of their immediate relationship.

Furthermore, if one takes into account the addition of the Lucianic MSS (*αἰπόλος ἡμην* + *αἰγων* III), it is also feasible that for the Georgian as well as the Armenian translators *αἰπόλος* did not have the specific meaning of *goatherd*.

As I have already mentioned, another way of rendering a lexical unit that is non-existent in a target language is descriptive. This method is used by Ge<sup>SB</sup> for *αἰπόλος*: თხათ მეკოლტე (*herd of goat*). In some cases the same method is also applied by *Vetus Latina* (*pastor caprarum*, *pastor caprarius*, *pastor armentarium*) and Coptic versions: ΟΥΜΑΝΕΒΔΑΜΠΕ Sa<sup>28</sup>; ΟΥΜΑΝΕΒΔΑΜΠΕ Ach<sup>29</sup>; ΟΥΜΑΝ Μ ΒΔΕΜΠ Bo.<sup>30</sup> I cite all these examples in order to show that parallels between these readings are rather typological, and such parallels by no means indicate the interdependence of versions.

## 2.2. σκύμος

The same could be said of the similarity in the rendering of *σκύμος* (*whelp*, esp. of a lion) by the daughter versions:

<sup>25</sup> However, see Prov 30:31. *αἰπολίου* derived from the same root, the equivalents of which in Georgian and Armenian are again generic terms: *τράγος ἡγούμενος αἰπολίου* ვაგი წინამძღუარი სამწყვლეთად; *տիխազ՝ ստաջնորդ հօւնի*.

<sup>26</sup> An opposite method of translation is applied in the Septuagint: a generic term of the Hebrew (רֹבֹעַ, *herdsman*) is specified and rendered by *αἰπόλος*. See the equivalents of the Three, Vulgate, and the Syriac: *βουκολος α' σ' θ' ε'* Syh Hi; *Armentarius* Vulg., ܐܡܪܬܐ Peshitta.

<sup>27</sup> The context is as follows: *οὐκ ἡμην προφήτης ἐγὼ οὐδὲ υἱὸς προφήτου ἀλλ' ἢ αἰπόλος ἡμην* (არა ვიყავ მე წინა(მ)სწარმეტყუელ, არცა ძე წინა(მ)სწარმეტყუელისაჲ, არამედ მწყემსი ვიყავ Ge<sup>OL</sup>).

<sup>28</sup> Augustin Ciasca, ed., *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica*, vol. 2 (Rome: Congregatio de Propagande Fide, 1889).

<sup>29</sup> Walter Till, ed., *Die achmimische Version der zwölf kleinen Propheten* (Hauniae: Gyldendalske; Nordisk, 1927).

<sup>30</sup> Henry Tattam, ed., *Duodecim prophetarum minorum libros in lingua aegyptiaca vulgo coptica seu memphitica* (Oxford: E typographeo academico, 1836). I am very grateful to Bonifatia Gesche and Ivan Miroshnikov for providing me with *Vetus Latina* and Coptic sources.

- 3:4 *σκύμνος*] ლეკუმან ლომისამან Ge<sup>OJ,31</sup> ლიონის აიჰიდ (lion's whelp); ОУМАС НМОУ Sa Ach<sup>32</sup>; ОУМАС М МОУ Bo<sup>33</sup>; *catulus leonis* (Vetus Latina, Vulgata); ლეკუმან მისმან (*σκύμνος* აბთო) Ge<sup>G</sup>

In the ancient Georgian MSS (i.e., in O and J) and the Armenian, as well as in Latin and Coptic translations, *σκύμνος* is rendered descriptively. Similar to the ancient Georgian translation in the previous case of *αἰπὸλος*, the Gelathi version renders a general meaning for the term, specifying it by means of a pronoun denoting *λέων* in the context.<sup>34</sup> There are also other examples of such descriptive renderings of *σκύμνος* in daughter versions, including Georgian translations that undoubtedly originated from Greek.<sup>35</sup> It is noteworthy that in the later Hellenophile recensions of Athos and Gelathi, this extended equivalent of the ancient translations is not changed. It should also be noted that the lexical pair *σκύμνος λέοντος* often occurs in the Septuagint,<sup>36</sup> so that such a descriptive rendering corresponds to the style of the source text itself.

Indeed, there are instances in the Georgian MSS where *σκύμνος* is rendered only by ლეკვ, primarily when the context makes absolutely clear whose offspring is meant. In some of these cases the Armenian uses description, unlike the Georgian version.<sup>37</sup>

### 2.3. *τριημερία*

In his commentaries Assfalg indicates one more textual parallel between the Armenian and Georgian Amos. This involves the LXX neologism—*τριημερία*, the meaning of which was determined by the ancient Georgian translators according to the context. This is contrary to the methods of the reviser of Gelathi school, who (as usual) renders the meaning of an unknown or rare word by semantic and structural calques:

<sup>31</sup> Assfalg considers a descriptive form of the Georgian equivalent as an addition originating from the Armenian, see Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 165, 345.

<sup>32</sup> Gaston Maspero, *Fragments de la version thebaine de l'ancien testament* (Paris: Leroux, 1892); Till, *Die achimische Version*.

<sup>33</sup> Tattam, *Duodecim prophetarum*.

<sup>34</sup> 3:4 εἰ ἐρεῖξεται λέων ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ αὐτοῦ ... εἰ δώσει σκύμνος φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας αὐτοῦ.

<sup>35</sup> For instance, Num 23:24; 24:9; Isa 31:4; Ps 16:12 *σκύμνος*] ლეკვ ლომისა; Ps 103:21 ლეკუნი ლომთანი.

<sup>36</sup> Gen 49:9; Deut 33:22; Judg 14:5; Nah 2:12; Isa 5:29; 30:6; Prov 30:30 *σκύμνος λέοντος*] ლეკვ ლომისაჲ ლიონის აიჰიდ.

<sup>37</sup> ლიონის აიჰიდ for instance, Joel 1:6; Hos 13:8; Nah 2:12,13; Ezek 19:2,3.



- 4:4 *εἰς τὴν τριημέριαν* შორის სამჟამს  $Ge^L$  სამდღეობის  $Ge^G$  *τ. τριτην* *ημεραν* W Co მესამისა დღისად  $Ge^O$ ; მესამესა დღესა  $Ge^L$ ; *α' εἰς* *τρεις* <ჰმერას> Syh; *α' εἰς τὴν τριτην ἡμεραν* (ჟმ. ტრ. Syh) 86 Syh Hi.<sup>lat</sup>; *θ' ἐν τρισιν* <ჰმერაის> Syh *յերիւր* *աւուր*<sup>38</sup>

As it appears, due to the fact that the Armenian and Georgian forms are not identical (the Georgian version has an ordinal numeral, while the Armenian version employs the cardinal), when providing a final discussion on the origin of the Georgian translation Assfalg does not mention this example.

In summary, I will repeat the above mentioned statement: the rendering of lexical units that do not exist in target languages, that is, Georgian and Armenian (as well as in Coptic and Latin), is done in a similar way. This similarity is determined by the translation techniques rather than an immediate relation between the translations.<sup>39</sup>

#### 2.4. *ἐπίκλητος*

The following Georgian-Armenian correspondence is of different kind: according to Assfalg it is a result of confusion of *ἐπίκλητος* and *ἐκλεκτός* on the part of the translator:

- 1:5 *ἐπίκλητος* წოდებული  $Ge^G$  რჩეული  $Ge^{OL}$  *ընտիր* Arm, cf. a doublet: *ურჩეულისა წოდებული*  $Ge^{BS}$

In another place, both the Armenian and Georgian versions of Amos understand the word *ἐπίκλητος* in terms of its lexical meaning:

- 9:12 *ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά* წოდებულ არს სახელი; *κτιζεν* *εἰς* *ἀνὸν*

In its turn, რჩეული and *ընտրան* correspond to *ἐκλεκτός*:

- 5:11 *ἐκλεκτὰ* რჩეულსა  $Ge$ ; *ընտրանա* Arm

Thus, the Georgian and the Armenian translators are well aware of the meaning of both Greek words.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the Greek compound formed the same way is rendered in Georgian either by a compound (e.g., Isa 15:5 სამწლისა) or by being divided into its segments (e.g., 2 Par 31:16 *ἀπὸ τριετοῦς* სამისა წლითაგანისა), while the Armenian employs a compound: *յերեսնիցն*.

<sup>39</sup> This would be even more evident when considering the rendering of those Greek words that have correspondences in one of these languages, while lacking them in the other. In such cases, the translation equivalents are also different (e.g., see section 3.4.4. below, the rendering of *ἰξυτής* in Amos 3:5; 8:1).

Indeed, the Georgian-Armenian lexical correspondence in 1:5 could be considered the result of confusion that exhibits a connection between these two daughter versions. However, as is well known, certain errors (including misreadings) may occur in different sources independently, especially if the reading in question fits the context. In 1:5, *ἐκλεκτός* is an attribute of *λαός*,<sup>40</sup> and consequently it is quite possible to explain the readings of the Georgian and Armenian.<sup>41</sup> The same “confusion” of *ἐπίκλητος* and *ἐκλεκτός* / *ἐπίλεκτος*, but without a parallel in the Armenian, is also attested in other places in the Georgian Old Testament (including the Catena Bible revised against the Greek). For instance:

Num 1:16 *ἐπίκλητοι* τῆς συναγωγῆς *ἀντιῶνιμ* (renowned, famous, illustrious) ძიუიქიქიანსი *რჩეულნი* კრებულთანი Ge<sup>AKSB</sup>; *გამორჩეულნი* შესაკრებელისანი Ge<sup>G</sup>

Num 26:9 *ἐπίκλητοι* τῆς συναγωγῆς *ἀντιῶνιμ* ძიუიქიქიანსი *წოდებულნი* კრებულისანი Ge<sup>AK</sup> *რჩეულნი* შესაკრებელისანი Ge<sup>G</sup>; *რჩეულნი* იყუნეს კრებულისანი Ge<sup>SB</sup>

In both of these cases, the Armenian employs an adjective derived from *անուանել* (to name, to call, to denominate, to term), a common equivalent of *καλέω*. Thus, in Num 1:16 and Num 26:9, the Georgian variant originates independently from the Armenian readings.

But let us consider the issue from another angle: should we define the Georgian *რჩეული* Ge<sup>OJL</sup> and Armenian *ընտիր* of verse 1:5 as a confusion of two different Greek words? Might it be the case that in certain contexts, dealing with a nation's / people's appointment, designation, the meanings of *ἐπίκλητος* and *ἐκλεκτός* partly coincide? The Georgian equivalent of *ἐπίκλητος* allows such an assumption to be proposed; in some of the Georgian MSS *ἐπίκλητος* is rendered by *გამოჩინება*, *განჩინება* having the meaning of *to call*, *to denominate*, *to term*<sup>43</sup>:

Josh 20:9 αἱ πόλεις αἱ *ἐπίκλητοι* ქალაქნი *წოდებულნი* Ge<sup>G</sup> ქალაქნი *განჩინებულნი* Ge<sup>BDS</sup>; cf. *քաղաք* *հռչակապք* (renowned, celebrated)

<sup>40</sup> *αἰχμαλωτισθησονται λαὸς Συρίας ἐπίκλητος*.

<sup>41</sup> A similar occurrence in 3:2, where in the Armenian translation again *ընտիր* is employed. See section 3.2.1 and n. 58 below.

<sup>42</sup> *οὗτοι ἐπίκλητοι τῆς συναγωγῆς ἄρχοντες τῶν φυλῶν κατὰ πατρίδας χιλίαςχοι* *Ισραηλ εἰσίν*.

<sup>43</sup> *Auszeichnen, auswählen, abrufen, sichtbar machen*. See Joseph Molitor, *Altgeorgisches Glossar zu ausgewählten Bibeltexten*, MBE 6 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1952).

In other parts of the Old Testament where the context provides the meaning of *calling*, წოდებული is found in all the Georgian sources. Thus, in this case we might possibly be dealing with a translator's selection of the contextual equivalent, rather than a misreading.

### 3. GE CONTRA ARM

Contrary to the above-mentioned four correspondences of Georgian and Armenian, which, as noted above, are unlikely to indicate an Armenian origin of the Georgian readings, quite a large number of Georgian-Armenian differences could be cited, according to the following categories:

1. misreadings or mistranslation/confusions of the Greek words by one of the versions;
2. lexical equivalents that could be explained by different interpretations of the Greek text;
3. differences originating from the *Vorlagen* of the different text types;
4. formal/structural differences.

#### 3.1.1. MISREADINGS / CONFUSIONS IN ARMENIAN

A clear example of the difference between the Georgian and Armenian translations is in 9:7, *ἐκ βόθρου* ძღვმოთ Ge] *ի Բոթորայ* (*bothora*).<sup>44</sup> In the Armenian translation, *βόθρου* is understood as a toponym and is transcribed in the same manner as the toponym *Βαιθωρων* in 1 Sam 13:18.<sup>45</sup> It is absolutely clear that the Georgian *ძღვმოთ* corresponds to the Greek common noun *ἐκ βόθρου* (ditch); it is also evident that this equivalent belongs to the translation, rather than the result of revision against the Greek, since if the Georgian translation had employed a proper noun *ბოთორ* according to the Armenian, the transcription of the very Greek reading would not have been changed through the revision against the Greek.

Assfalg explains the following Armenian variant as a result of Greek homography:

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<sup>44</sup> The context is as follows: τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους ἐκ Καππαδοκίας καὶ τοὺς Σύρους ἐκ βόθρου. It is noteworthy that Assfalg does not point out in his notes that the Armenian variant differs from the Georgian. He only indicates the difference between the Armenian toponym relevant to Καππαδοκίας, *ի Գամիրայ* (< *Gamira*) and the Georgian კაპადოკიის (*Kapadokia*). See Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 186.

<sup>45</sup> 1 Sam 13:18 *Βαιθωρων*] *ბეთორ* (*bethor*). It needs to be emphasized that *βόθροις*, as a common noun is properly translated both in Georgian and Armenian: 1 Sam 13:6 *ἐν τοῖς βόθροις*] *ოზბოზბას* (pits); *ი ჭորխორათუ* (abyss).

3:10 ἔσται ἐναντίον αὐτῆς ὅσος (ოცნენ Ge<sup>G</sup>) წინაშე მისსა Ge] კჳინელი  
ბელის ἱπ

In the Georgian *ἐναντίον* is understood as a preposition, while in the Armenian it is rendered as a noun,<sup>46</sup> which Assfalg translates into Latin as *adversitatem* (*malignitatem*),<sup>47</sup> apparently equating the Armenian word to τὸ ἐναντίον (the opposite).

6:10 *παραβῶνται* ეძულეზოდის (ეძულეზოდის (err) Ge<sup>O</sup>) Ge<sup>I</sup>;  
ოდულეზოდინ Ge<sup>G</sup>] *ἵξανεν* (*descend, fall, decline*)

In Georgian *παραβῶνται* is understood as *παραβιάζομαι*, while in the Armenian as *παραβαίνω*.<sup>48</sup> The misidentification of the Greek verb by the Armenian is determined by the context.<sup>49</sup>

### 3.1.2. MISREADINGS IN GE

აძულეზოდ (< ოძულეზ), which was correctly employed in 6:10 as an equivalent of *παραβιάζομαι*, is mistakenly used for rendering the Septuagint's *hapax legomenon*—*καταβίω* in the following context:

7:12 καὶ ἐκεῖ καταβίου καὶ ἐκεῖ προφητεύσεις

In the Armenian, *καταβίω* is properly understood (as *καταβίω*): կեաց (to live, to be, to exist).

7:1 εἰς Γαγ μῆ Φοικῖ ζῶστος (uisgog) Ge<sup>O</sup>; ζῶსτος (uiisgoug) Ge<sup>I</sup>;  
გოგისსა მიმართ Ge<sup>G</sup>

Due to the obscure context,<sup>50</sup> *εἰς* is interpreted differently in all these sources. In the Armenian, it is rendered as a numeral (μῆ, *one*), while the Georgian MSS differ: in Ge<sup>OJ</sup> *εἰς* is regarded as part of a proper noun, ΕΙΣΓΩΓ, while in Ge<sup>G</sup> it is understood as a preposition of Γαγ, the equivalent of which—*მიმართ*—is inserted as a correcture into the text by scribe of the *Gelathi Catena Bible*.

<sup>46</sup> *ბელის*, rascality, offence, misdeed, malice, wickedness, fatality; catastrophe.

<sup>47</sup> Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 167.

<sup>48</sup> See this correspondence in Isa 31:1: οἱ καταβαίνοντες] *ἵξανεν*.

<sup>49</sup> *λήψονται οἱ οἰκεῖοι αὐτῶν καὶ παραβῶνται τοῦ ἐξενέγκαι τὰ ὅσα αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου*: მოიხუენენ სახლელულთა მათთა და ეძულეზოდის (ეძულეზოდის err O) განღება(ა) ძულათა მათთა და სახლისაგან: ათნიცონი კრისთანიჲ ირესანგ, ს ἵξανენ ხანელ კისელ' რა სიგა ἡ ὕψις ἡ ὕψις.

<sup>50</sup> ἰδοὺ βροῦχος εἰς Γαγ ὁ βασιλεὺς.

8:7 ἐπιλησθήσεται (<ἐπιλανθάνω) մոռաւցին (to forget); დავიწყებენ  
Ge<sup>SB</sup>] აღივსნენ Ge<sup>OJ</sup> = ἐμπλησθήσεται (<ἐμπλημι)

Assfalg considers the Georgian variant as the result of a misreading of the Greek majuscule (a confusion of ΕΜΠΛ and ΕΠΙΛ).<sup>51</sup>

It should also be mentioned that, along with these misreadings or misunderstandings of the Greek *Vorlage*, there is not a single case of a similar kind in the Georgian translation that could be explained by the Armenian *Vorlage*.

How important are the cited examples for establishing the origin of the Georgian translation? Assfalg emphasizes that generally translation's mistakes due to the translator or due to the damage or paleographical peculiarities of its *Vorlage* are considered to be the most important argument for identifying the language of the original.<sup>52</sup> Paradoxically, when dealing with the Georgian translation, such a common rule becomes invalid for establishing the textual value of the variant reading so that the Assfalg can claim that a misreading might belong to the reviser rather than the translator.<sup>53</sup>

Such logic in Assfalg's reasoning and the reconsideration of a well-attested approach in textual criticism serves the purpose of fitting the textual data to an a priori conclusion regarding the Armenian origin of the Georgian translation. In my opinion, an objective evaluation of the previously discussed material would lead us to admit that the mistakes of both the Armenian and Georgian MSS belong to the stratum of translations, indicating that both the Georgian and Armenian translations originate from a Greek *Vorlage*.

### 3.2.1. SEMANTIC CHANGES IN ARMENIAN

The following Armenian readings that disagree with the Greek may have different text-critical values: some of them might be ascribed to a copyist, while some of them should be attributed to the translator. In all these cases the Georgian follows the Greek.

3:6    ჲნ რომელი Ge] եւ (and)

By changing a relative pronoun with a coordinate conjunction hypotaxis is replaced with parataxis in the Armenian: ἡν χύριος οὐκ ἐποίησεν რომელი უფალმან არა ყო] եւ Տեսան չիցէ արարեալ.<sup>54</sup>

1:3    ἐπρισον გან(3)ხერხვიდეს Ge] կտրէին (cut, devide, separate, lop)<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 357.

<sup>52</sup> "Durchschlagende Beweise für die Sprache der Vorlage einer Übersetzung" (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 356, 438).

<sup>53</sup> See Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 438.

<sup>54</sup> In his notes, Assfalg does not point out this difference.

Lexical change is especially obvious in this case: *figura etymologica* of LXX, which is adequately rendered by the Georgian, is not reflected in the Armenian.<sup>56</sup>

3:2 ღვან გიგნე Ge] რწარეგჲ (elect, choose)<sup>57</sup>

The Georgian equivalent reflects the basic meaning of *γινώσκω*. As for the Armenian *რწարել*, it usually corresponds to *ἐκλέγω*,<sup>58</sup> and its use in the verse under consideration must be determined by the context: ღვან as in verse 1:5 refers to a *nation, people*.<sup>59</sup>

4:10 ანგაგონ (ἐν πυρὶ τὰς παρεμβολὰς ὑμῶν) აღმოვიყვანე Ge<sup>OL</sup>; -ნეგ  
Ge<sup>G</sup>] ვსაჯე (=ἐκρινε) Ge<sup>L</sup>; ღაქსეგჲ (ღაქსელ, consume, absorb,  
devour, corrode)

The equivalents of the source word in Georgian and Armenian are selected due to different considerations:<sup>60</sup> in the Georgian translation *ანგაგონ* is rendered through segmentation of the word (ან- = აღ-; -გაგონ = მოვიყვანე), reflecting the basic

<sup>55</sup> ღწარეგჲ corresponds to δια/(κατα)κόπτειν in Amos 1:5 and 9:1. See also Mic 1:16: *καίραι: აღიპარნე Ge: ღწრესა*.

<sup>56</sup> It should also be noted that apart from lexical change, this rhetorical figure is not rendered also because of the changes in word order in the Armenian. *ἐπιζὼν πρὸς τὴν σιδηροῖς τὰς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσας τῶν ἐν Γαλαად* : *გან(3)ხერხვიდეს ხერხითა რკინისადათა მიდგომილთა (მუცელქმნულთა Ge<sup>L</sup>; მოციქულთა [err Ge<sup>L</sup>]) მათ გალაადს შინა (გალადისთა Ge<sup>L</sup>) Ge<sup>OL</sup>; გან3ხერხვიდეს ხერხითა რკინისადათა მუცელქმნულთა გალაადთასა Ge<sup>SB</sup> : ღწრესჲს ვიჲსა ღაღააღაღაღი *ნგაღიგორ* ` ` ერქაქტორ (*ἐπιζὼν ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσας ἐν Γαλαად πρὸς τὴν σιδηροῖς*). Assfalg sees the difference between the Georgian and Armenian only in terms of transposition (Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 160).*

<sup>57</sup> On the difference between the Georgian and Armenian, see Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 165.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. 5:11 *ἐκλεχτά = რჩეული = რწარანაი(რწარან)* and, as noticed above, in 1:5 it (*რწარე*) corresponded to *ἐπίκλητος* (see section 2.4. above).

<sup>59</sup> ღვან *ἐκ πασῶν φυλῶν τῆς γῆς*, რწარეგჲ *ἵαμենայն ազգաց երկրի*. The equivalents of *γινώσκω* / *γινώσκω* are changed in other parts of the Armenian Amos as well: 3:3, 10. *ᾄδω* (to know, to remark, to recognize, to discern, to comprehend, to conceive, to understand) and 5:12 *ᾄδω* (to know, to perceive; to learn, to understand, to feel, to recognize; to consider, to observe, to note). The Georgian equivalent (*გნობა*) is consistent in all these cases (3:2, 3, 10 and 5:2).

<sup>60</sup> Neither this difference is commented by Assfalg.

meanings of these segments.<sup>61</sup> However, the Armenian again uses the contextual equivalent—the word that occurs with *hnnp* (fire) elsewhere in the Old Testament.<sup>62</sup>

4:13 σπερεῶν βροντῆς καὶ κτιζῶν πνεῦμα განვამტკიცო ქუხილი და დავჰმადო სული Ge<sup>61</sup>] np hաստատեն գերկինս եւ hաստատեն զհոլմս

The Greek *Vorlage* is again literally followed by the Georgian translation, unlike the Armenian one, which deviates from the Greek. This deviation can be explained by the parallel from Hos 13:4: σπερεῶν οὐρανὸν καὶ κτιζῶν γῆν რომელმან დავამყარე ცად და დავჰმადე ქუეყანა: np hաստատեն գերկինս եւ hաստատեն գերկիր. In both of the Armenian translations of Amos and Hosea, the two Greek participles (*σπερεῶν* and *κτιζῶν*) that have different meanings are rendered with the same word (*hաստատեն*), while the Georgian renders both Greek words with relevant equivalents that reflect the basic meanings of the corresponding Greek words. The same is true for the equivalent of *βροντῆς*: the Georgian renders its basic meaning *ქუხილ(ნ)ი*, while the Armenian *գերկինս* (*caelum*, heaven) corresponds to Hosea's *οὐρανὸν*. Unlike the Armenian, there are no parallels between the Georgian Amos and Hosea; moreover, the same word *σπερεῶν* is rendered differently by means of the synonyms: Amos 4:13 *განვამტკიცო*; Hos 13:4 *დავამყარე*.

9:8 ἐξαρῶ αὐτὴν] აღვიღო იგი Ge բարձի՛ց գլա (բառնալ, to take away, to remove, to carry off, to displace)

9:8 ἐξαρῶ τὸν οἶκον] აღვიღო სახლი Ge; ջնջեցից (ջնջել, to clean, to dust; to erase, to cancel, to expunge; to destroy, to undo, to suppress) գտունს

The Georgian uses the same equivalent in both cases, chosen according to the basic meaning of the Greek counterpart, whereas the Armenian changes the equivalents according to the context.

7:15 ἐκ τῶν προβάτων ცხოვართაგან Ge] ի hounից (flock of sheep, of goats)

The Georgian translation again selects an equivalent relevant to the basic meaning in the Greek, while the Armenian renders it with an equivalent that corresponds to *ποιμνίαν* in other contexts of Amos:

<sup>61</sup> On the formal equivalents, see section 3.4.1 below.

<sup>62</sup> For instance: Zech 9:4 *ἐν* *πυρὶ* *καταναλωθήσεται*: *ცეცხლითა* *განდილოს* Ge<sup>61</sup>: *საა* *ჰყოლ* *ბაქსეუც*; Joel 2:3 *πῦρ* *ἀναλίσκον*: *ცეცხლ(ი)* *განმღეველ(ი)* Ge: *hnnp* *ბაქსიჲ*. In these cases as well, the Georgian employs equivalents that correspond to the lexical meaning of the Greek words.

- 1:2 ποιμνίων Q\* III (86<sup>txt</sup>) Aet Cyr<sup>comm</sup> = Նաճիցկոտաճո Ge<sup>OL</sup> = հօսից  
 6:4 ἐκ ποιμνίων = Նաճիցկոտաճո = ի հօսից  
 8:14 πεσοῦνται ճաջցցե՛ց Ge<sup>OLG</sup>] կործանեցին (Assfal: deicietur; overturn, subvert, overthrow, demolish, destroy, ruin)

In this context (πεσοῦνται καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀναστῶσιν), the Armenian changes a usual equivalent of πίπτω—անկանել (cf. Amos 3:5, 14; 5:2; 7:17; 8:3; 9:9, 11) with կործանել—a polysemous word that in different contexts corresponds to different Greek words.<sup>63</sup>

- 1:11 μήτραν Նաժու Ge<sup>G</sup>] μητέρα B-V II'(86<sup>mss</sup>) C<sup>o</sup>-68-239 La<sup>s</sup> ճըճաճ Ge<sup>OL</sup>; զեղբայր (brother) Arm.

Lexical change in the Armenian could be explained by a parallel from the same verse (τοῦ διῶξαι αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ) and may be secondary.

- 8:4 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς] ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν 36<sup>e</sup> Sa Aeth Gild քլցցաննա Գըճա Ge<sup>OL</sup>; ծոմֆլոն Ge<sup>SB</sup>= լերկորեայ (vespere; of the evening)

The lexical change in the Armenian could be explained by the context.<sup>64</sup> One might also consider the possibility of confusion of երկիր (earth, land) and երկորեայ. It is noteworthy that the editor of *Mtskheta Bible* Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani applies an equivalent similar to the Armenian one—ծոմֆլոն.<sup>65</sup>

- 3:4 ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας Ծղճոտ ճամ Ge<sup>OL</sup>; Ճոճոնճոն Ge<sup>GSB</sup>] ի մայրույ (մայր, cedar)<sup>66</sup>; cf. Amos 2:9 *κέδρου* նճճ] մայրի

The Georgian translation of τῆς μάνδρας corresponds to the basic meaning of the Greek (an enclosed space). As for the Armenian equivalent, it could be explained

<sup>63</sup> For instance, in 5:2 կործանեցաւ corresponds to ἔσφαλεν, and ἀνկան, corresponds to ἔπεσεν, see section 3.2.2. below.

<sup>64</sup> ἀκούσατε δὴ ταῦτα οἱ ἐκτρίβοντες εἰς τὸ πρῶν πένητα καὶ καταδυναστεύοντες πτωχοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.

<sup>65</sup> See Assfal, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 183. On the corrections against the Armenian by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani see above, n. 11.

<sup>66</sup> Assfal does not note this difference.



by the parallel from the same verse<sup>67</sup> or by graphic confusion: in similar contexts *մորի* (*den, lair*) is an equivalent of *μάνδρα*.<sup>68</sup>

The examples discussed show that the Georgian and Armenian translations in forms that have come down to us have no immediate connection with each other. Furthermore, these examples display different translation tendencies: the Georgian version provides a more literal translation, focusing more on lexical meanings by choosing of equivalents for the Greek words, while the Armenian is rather a free translation based mostly on contextual meaning. Some of the variants attested in the extant Armenian text are due to the parallels. In his notes, Assfalg does not mention most of these differences at all or considers them (without analysis of any of the readings) to be the result of revision against the Greek.

### 3.2.2. DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE GREEK ORIGINAL IN THE GEORGIAN AND ARMENIAN

The following examples of Georgian-Armenian differences provide cases reflecting different understanding of Greek lexical units.

- 5:2 *ἔσφαλεν* შესცოდა<sup>69</sup> (*peccavit; to sin; sündigen*) Ge<sup>01</sup>; ცთომა-ყო (to do wrong, false; to sin) Ge<sup>G</sup>; կործանեցաւ (overturn, subvert, overthrow, demolish, destroy, ruin. Assfalg: *eversa est; deicientur*);<sup>70</sup> > Ge<sup>L</sup>

The context is as follows:

- 5:2 *ἔπεσεν οὐκέτι μὴ προσθῆναι παρθένος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. ἔσφαλεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἀναστήσας αὐτήν* დაეცა, არღარა შესძინოს (-ო J) *აღდგომად* ქალწულმან, ასულმან ისრაელისმან. *შესცოდა* ქუეყანას თჳსსა (მისსა J). არავინ არს, რომელმან *აღადგოდნოს* იგი Ge<sup>01</sup>; *Անկալ* (տունը Բարայելի, եւ)<sup>71</sup> ոչ եւս յաւելուցու *լարնել* կոյսն Բարայելի. *կործանեցաւ* յերկրի իւրում, եւ չիք որ որ *կանգնիցէ* գնա

The problem for the translator is apparently the task of rendering the Greek synonyms—*πίπτω* and *σφάλλω*. For *πίπτω* the Georgian and Armenian versions apply standard equivalents, while the equivalent for *σφάλλω* is selected according to its contextual meaning. However, due to the fact that the Georgian and

<sup>67</sup> εἰ ἐρείζεται λέων ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ αὐτοῦ ... εἰ δώσει σκύμνος φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς *μάνδρας* αὐτοῦ: Եթէ գոչիցէ՞ առեւծ լանտառի (forest) ... Եթէ տայցէ՞ կորիւն առիւծու զձայն իւր *ի մայրւոյ* իւրմէ.

<sup>68</sup> See Jer 4:7: *ἀνέβη λέων ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας* (საყოველით Ge<sup>01</sup>) αὐτοῦ; Ps 9:30: *ὡς λέων ἐν τῇ μάνδρᾳ* (საყოველსა Ge<sup>G</sup>; საყოვლისაგან Ge<sup>G</sup>) αὐτοῦ.

<sup>69</sup> This word is a standard equivalent for *ἀμαρτάνω*. See, e.g., Hos 10:9; 12:9 *ἤμαρτεν*.

<sup>70</sup> See this Armenian equivalent above in 8:14. Assfalg does not note this difference.

<sup>71</sup> *οἶκος* Ἰσραὴλ is transmitted from the end of 5:1.

Armenian translators interpret the context differently, the meanings of their selected equivalents also differ from each other. In terms of vocabulary, there is another difference between the Georgian and Armenian translations in this context: the Armenian renders *ἀναστῆναι* and *ἀναστήσω* with different words (յառնել [rise, arise, get up, stand up] and կանգնիցե [rise, lift up, reinstate, reestablish; raise up, erect, set up, build, rebuild]), while in Georgian, similar to the Greek, the same verb occurs (აღდგომად; აღადგინოს).<sup>72</sup>

6:8    τῇν ὕβριν] გინებაჲ Ge; հպարտութիւնս

The Georgian and Armenian renderings reflect different meanings<sup>73</sup> of the Greek polysemous word ὕβρις<sup>74</sup>: both Georgian and Armenian translations use their own standard equivalents: გინება (shame, insult)<sup>75</sup> and հպարտութիւնս (pride, arrogance, haughtiness, vain-glory, superciliousness).<sup>76</sup> It is also noteworthy that հպարտ is a Parthian borrowing into Armenian; the same loan word is also attested in the Old Georgian vocabulary (ამპარტავანი). Therefore, should the Armenian version have served as a *Vorlage* for the Georgian translation the latter would be expected to apply the same word as the Armenian.

6:6    τὰ πρῶτα μύρα პირველთა მიჰრონთა Ge<sup>GSB</sup>] რჩეუელსა (chosen, cf. *electis* Ach) ნელსაცხებელსა Ge<sup>OJ</sup>; ἄνικτο (dulci, sweet, agreeable) իկով

The Georgian and Armenian translations provide different interpretations of the obscure expression of the *Vorlage*.

### 3.3. VARIOUS TEXTUAL TRADITIONS UNDERLYING GEORGIAN AND ARMENIAN

1:11    νῆκος ძლევად Ge] εἰς νεῖκος B<sup>c</sup> L-49<sup>a</sup>-407 91<sup>c</sup> 106 Ach Syh ἢ  
հակառակութիւն (contrariety, opposition, resistance; dispute, quarrel,  
contest, combat)<sup>77</sup>

8:7    εἰς νῆκος ძლევად Ge] εἰς τέλος σ' θ' ἢ ἡ σφαιρα (*in finem*)

3:15    προστεθήσονται შეიძინენ (შეიძინენ (err) O; შეეძინენ GSB) Ge]  
ἀφανισθήσονται L<sup>72</sup>-407<sup>ms</sup> Syh<sup>ms</sup> անկեցին Arm Th. Tht

<sup>72</sup> Assfalg does not note this difference.

<sup>73</sup> Assfalg does not note this difference.

<sup>74</sup> wanton violence, arising from the pride of strength or from passion, insolence (LSJ); insolence, pride, arrogance; shame, insult, mistreatment (LEH).

<sup>75</sup> See in Minor Prophets: Mic 6:10; Nah 2:2; Zeph 2:10; 3:11; Zech. 9:6; 10:11.

<sup>76</sup> See Mic 6:10; Nah 2:2; 3:11; Zech. 9:6; 10:11.

<sup>77</sup> Assfalg does not note this difference.

Ziegler considers the Armenian *անկցին* to be the equivalent of the Lucianic *ἀφανίζειν*. In other contexts (3:14; 5:2; 7:17), *անկանել* corresponds to *πίπτω*, while in 7:9 *ἀφανισθήσονται* is rendered as *ապականեսցին*. The change of the equivalent of *ἀφανίζω* in 3:15 is apparently caused by the rendering of *ἀπολοῦνται* (=წარწყმდენ Ge) with *ապականեսցին* in the same verse.<sup>78</sup> As for the Georgian equivalent of *προστεθήσονται*—*შეიძინენ*, the literal rendering of the semantics of *προστεθήσονται* makes the meaning so obscure that in the Oshki manuscript *შეიძინენ* is changed into *შეიძრენ* (*shake, move*) (=სეი 1:14; 9:1; სალეს 9:5).

6:2 βασιλειῶν მეფეთაგნისათა Ge<sup>J</sup>; თაგნისათა (err)<sup>79</sup> Ge<sup>O</sup>;  
მეფობათა Ge<sup>GSB</sup>] πόλεων 26 բաղարսն Arm.

However, the Armenian variant might be a rendering independent of the MS 26, since the cities (Էμαθ, Παββα, Γεθ) are referred to in the context.

### 3.4. DIVISION OF WORDS INTO THE SEGMENTS

The following, formal correspondences of the Georgian against the Greek and its differences from the Armenian absolutely exclude the Armenian origin of the Georgian translation and clearly reveal its immediate dependence on a Greek *Vorlage*. The following will deal with the formal rendering of the Greek prefixes, composites and derivatives in Georgian. Let us start with the first one.

#### 3.4.1. PREVERBS

The Armenian language lacks the preverb, while Georgian is equipped with quite a well-developed preverb system, which is the result of very intensive translation activities from Greek into the Georgian. We can trace the formation of this system diachronically: ancient Georgian literary sources and, especially, the translations clearly reveal the tendency of the Georgian to reflect the Greek preverbs formally by choosing between different equivalents.

The Georgian translation of Amos is a good example of the language still in the process of establishing the system, and it clearly shows how the formal translation stimulates the very process. The Georgian translator attempts to reflect not only the lexical meaning of the Greek word but also its structure. The same is true for cases when semantically it is not necessary to render the

<sup>78</sup> *ἀπολοῦνται* οἱκοι ἐλεφάντινοι καὶ προστεθήσονται (*//*~~*ἀφανισθήσονται*~~) οἱκοι ἕτεροι πολλοί: წარწყმდენ სახლნი იგი პილოას-ძულედნი და შეიძინენ (შეიძრენ O) სახლნი მრავალნი სხუანი (ἕτεροι πολλοί): *აპականესცინ* აպარანსჲნ ჟიჟისრესაჲ, ლე რაჟილ ლე აჲლ *აპარანს* ანსცინ (καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ ἀφανισθήσονται).

<sup>79</sup> It is possible that *თაგნისათა* of the Oshki manuscript was considered by a copyist to be a toponym (*Tagan*).

preverbs and, moreover, when the rendering of the preverb leads to pleonasm in the sentence (4:11; 5:3 in the list below). Of special interests are the cases when the formal rendering of segments leads to coining unnatural neologisms, the meaning of which is obscure in Georgian (5:8; 5:15; 4:2 in the list below).

The process of development of the preverbal system is also apparent in the relative consistency of equivalents in Amos. The text applies standard equivalents for *ἐκ*- (გამო-) and *ἀνα*- (ად-//ადმო), while for *ἀπο*- and *εἰς*-, it changes the equivalents due to contextual or lexical meaning. The variety of equivalents for polysemous preverbs such as *κατα*-, *παρα*-, *διά*-, *μετα*- is of special interest, which points to the fact that the translator is in search of equivalents for these preverbs.<sup>80</sup>

The list below provides cases where (unlike the Georgian translation) the Armenian renders only the semantics of the Greek word and does not follow its structure: here simple, organic forms correspond to preverbal Greek forms. Obviously, should the Georgian translation have used the Armenian version as its *Vorlage*, its equivalents would respectively be simple forms too, that is, without preverbs.<sup>81</sup>

- 1:4 *ἐξαποστελῶ* გამოვავლინო Ge<sup>OJ</sup> *αποστελῶ* L C'-68 Th.Tht მოვავლინო Ge<sup>L</sup>; მივავლინო Ge<sup>G</sup>; առաքեցից (առաքել, to send, to dispatch, to expedite) = 1:7, 10, 12. *ἐξαποστελῶ* გამოვავლინო] առաքեցից
- 5:4, 14 *ἐχζητήσατέ* გამოძიოთ (14 გამოიძიოთ) Ge<sup>82</sup>] *ἰσνητεύετε* (ἰσνητέ, to seek, to look for, to search for or after, to make inquiries, to investigate, to examine)
- 3:12 *ἐχσπάσῃ* *γὰρ* (ს)ტაცნის Ge<sup>OJ</sup>] *καραυγέ* *ῥα* (to be able to take away, to take by force)<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> It should also be noted that the difficulty in rendering these prepositions both with verbs and nouns in Georgian is found not only in earlier translations but also in later revisions; see for example Natia Mirotadze, "The Equivalents of the Preposition *κατά* in the Old Georgian Recensions of the Book of Psalms," in *Issue of Linguistic, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University* (2009): 205–13.

<sup>81</sup> The examples presented in this paper are only part of the Greek-Georgian correspondences of preverbal forms. On the importance of rendering preverbs for establishing the origin of the Georgian translation see Bernard Outtier, "Preverbs and the Origin of the Georgian Bible," in *Issue of Linguistic, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University* (2009): 229–32.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. non-preverbal form 5:5 *ἐχζητεῖτε* გამოეძიებთ Ge<sup>GSB</sup>] ეძიებთ Ge<sup>OJL</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> In this context, the Armenian changes also the equivalent while the Georgian keeps it and consequently repeats the word, similar to the Greek: 3:12 *ὃν τρόπον ἔταν ἐχσπάσῃ* ... *οὕτως ἐχσπασθήσονται* ვითარცა-სახედ გამოსტაცნის ... ეგრე გამოტაცნენ Ge<sup>OJ</sup>; ვითარ-სახედ ოდეს გამოსტაცის ... ეგრეთ გამოტაცვებულ იქმნენ Ge<sup>GSB</sup>; Զոր օրինակ թէ կարացէ թափել ... այնպէս գերծցին. There are

- 3:12 ἔξσπασθησονται გამოიტაცენ Ge<sup>OI</sup>; გამოტაცებულ იქმნენ Ge<sup>OSB</sup>  
գերծցին<sup>84</sup> (գերծանել, to take away, to carry off, to detach, to strip, to  
despoil, to rob)
- 4:11 ἔξσπασμένους ἔχ παρὸς გამოტაცებული ცეცხლისაგან Ge<sup>OIG</sup>  
გამოტაცებული ცეცხლით Ge<sup>L</sup>; գերծա ի հყო
- 5:3 ἔξ ἢ ἔξεπορεύσιντο რომლისაგან გამოვიდოდეს Ge<sup>OIG</sup>; რომლისა  
გამოვდის Ge<sup>L</sup> იქონ ელანს ἔλ (ელანს, to go out, to go from the  
inside to the outside)
- 5:19 ἔσπῃ შევარდის Ge<sup>OJ</sup> ივლტოდეს Ge<sup>OSB</sup>; փախնուցու  
(փախչել, to flee, to run away, to escape)
- 5:5 ἔσπορεύσῃ განხუალთ Ge<sup>OJL</sup>; შებუალთ Ge<sup>OSB</sup> մտանք
- 2:10 ἔλῃ აღმოვყვანენ Ge<sup>L</sup> հանի (հանել, to draw or pull out, to  
take away, to abstract, to remove, to displace; to dislodge; to raise, to  
lift up, to carry up)
- 4:5 ἔλῃ აღმოვიკითხეს Ge<sup>OIG</sup>; აღმოვიკითხვიდეს Ge<sup>L</sup>  
Ընթեռնուի (ընթեռնուլ, to read)
- 9:5 ἔλῃ აღვიდეს Ge<sup>L</sup> ել (ელანს, to go out, to go from  
inside to outside; to ascend, to go to a higher place)
- 5:6 ἔλῃ აღვტედეს Ge<sup>OJL</sup>; აღნთოს Ge<sup>G</sup> բորբոքեսցի (բորբոքել,  
to inflame, to kindle, to set on fire, to burn; to warm, to heat)
- 1:14 ἔλῃ აღვაზონე Ge<sup>L</sup> բորբოքեսցի (see, e.g., 5:6. ἔλῃ)
- 4:2 ἔλῃ აღვმეცავებელად Ge<sup>O</sup> აღვმეცავებელად Ge<sup>L</sup>  
աღვმեցობարებელად Ge<sup>G</sup> գანჯրვებულ Ge<sup>L</sup>; ջուրցան  
(ջուրցանել, to heat, to warm, to make hot or warm; to boil)
- 9:13 ἔλῃ გამოადინებენ Ge<sup>L</sup> բխեսցեն (բխել, to flow, to drop,  
to gush, to stream; to derive, to emanate, to come, to proceed, to arise,  
to spring from)
- 5:15 ἔλῃ აღმატოვებთ Ge<sup>OJL</sup> დაემტოვოს Ge<sup>G</sup>;  
Հաստատեց p (հաստատել, to grow harder, to become stronger, to  
be confirmed, to take root in, to settle oneself, to stay)
- 1:3, 9 ἔλῃ գარემოვიցე Ge<sup>OJ</sup>; գარემოვიցე Ge<sup>G</sup> դարձայ  
(դարձալ, to turn, to turn about, to return, to go and come back again)
- 9:5 ἔλῃ წარმოვიდეს Ge<sup>OJ</sup>; შთამოვიდეს Ge<sup>SB</sup> իջ (իջանს, to  
descend; to fall)<sup>85</sup>
- 9:3 ἔლῃ შთავდეს Ge<sup>OJ</sup>; დავკდეს Ge<sup>SB</sup> ընկეს (ընկეს,  
to throw, to cast, to hurl, to pour)

<sup>84</sup> Arm changes equivalent, see previous case.

<sup>85</sup> See the same correspondence 6:10: *παραβαίνω*, section 3.1.1 above.

- 9:2 κατάξω გარდამოვსთხინე Ge<sup>OL</sup>; გარდამოვიხუნე Ge<sup>SB</sup>] ἵκνῃ (ἵκνῃσῃ, to make to descend, to cause to fall; to let down, to lower; to pull down, to take down)
- 5:8 μετασκευάζω გარდასცვალეbs Ge<sup>OL</sup>; გარდაჰმზადებს Ge<sup>G</sup>] ἰσπῃ (ἰσπῃ, to mend, to repair, to restore to the first condition; fig. to renew)
- 8:12 περιδραμοῦνται მიმღრბიოდნა Ge<sup>LSB</sup>] ῥῖსაყსი (ῥῖ, to run, to run to; to slide; to gallop; to walk); > Ge<sup>O</sup>
- 3:11 διαρπαγῇσονται მიმღსატაცებელ იყოს Ge] ῥῖსაყსი (ῥῖ, to ravish, to carry off by force, to carry away with violence)
- 5:5 διαβαίνετε წიადხუალთ Ge<sup>OL</sup>; წარჰვლით Ge<sup>L</sup>] ἀναβ. W'' A''-Q-49'-198-233-534 Bo Aeth Arab Cyr.Th. ῥῖსაყსი Ge<sup>G</sup>; ῥῖსაყსი (ῥῖ, to pass, to flow, to run; to pass away, to pass over)
- 6:2 διὰβητε წიადხუალთ Ge<sup>OL</sup>; გარდავლით Ge<sup>G</sup>] ῥῖსაყსი (ῥῖ, to pass, to flow, to run; to pass away, to pass over)
- 8:5 διελεύσεται გარდავლეს<sup>87</sup> Ge] ῥῖსაყსი
- 7:8; 8:2 τὸν παρελθεῖν თანწარსლვად Ge] ῥῖსაყსი (to pass; to cause to pass; to transmit)
- 5:23 μετάσθησον ῥῖსაყსი გარდაადგილე ჩემგან Ge<sup>G</sup>] ῥῖსაყსი ჩემგან Ge<sup>OL</sup>; ῥῖსაყსი (ῥῖ, to pass, to flow, to run; to pass away, to pass over)

### 3.4.2. PREFIXES

The formal rendering of the prefixed nouns forms compounds—that is, neologisms in Georgian:

- 3:15 τὸν περιπτερον გარემღვრთედი Ge] ῥῖსაყსი (ῥῖ, winged, that has wings; ῥῖ, wing)
- 9:1 τὰ πρόθυρα ბჭეთაწინაშე Ge<sup>OL</sup> (πρό =წინაშე; -θυρα =ბჭეთა; cf. *Soph.* 1:9 წინაშე ბჭეთა Ge<sup>OL</sup>); წინაბჭენი Ge<sup>G</sup>; ῥῖსაყსი (ῥῖ, jamb, threshold; door-posts; portal, entry)

The Greek adverbs are segmented in the Georgian translation:

- 2:9 ἐπάνωθεν ზედაკერძო] ῥῖსაყსი (from above, from on high)

<sup>86</sup> See above, 9:5: ἀναβήσεται.

<sup>87</sup> See 5:17: διελεύσομαι διὰ μέσου განვლო შორის (საშუალ).

2:9 ὑποκάτωθεν ქუցმცკერძო] ի ներքուստ (under, below)

Despite the fact that the Armenian is capable of making a negative form by adding a prefixal particle, the following Armenian equivalent represents a simplex, while the Georgian divides its source word into segments, rendering both parts literally:

7:17 ἀκαθάρτω ἀνα-φθόδας] պղծո՛ւմ (պիղծ, impure, unclean, profane; filthy, foul, dirty)

### 3.4.3. SIMPLEX VS COMPOSITUM

In the following example, there is a calque in Georgian—a compound corresponding to the Greek *hapax legomenon*. As for the Armenian, it applies a completely different way of translation—*figura etymologica*:

7:15 οὐ μὴ ὀχλαγωγίῃς] ნუ ერის-კრებას(ა) ჰყოფ Ge; մի՛ ժողովս ժողովէր (ժողով, assemblage, collection; heap; assembly; company; council, synod; session, sitting; meeting, assembly; crowd, multitude, people; ժողովել, to assemble, to collect)

Or on the contrary: the Georgian, similar to the Greek, employs a simplex, while the Armenian provides a compound or a descriptive form:

1:1 τοῦ σεισμοῦ θρύσις τοῖς Ge<sup>OJLG</sup>] ქუეყანის ძვრის Ge<sup>SB</sup>= գգետն-ա-շարժ (գետն-ա-շարժ (գետին, earth, land, place; շարժել, move) (cf. 1:14 σεισθήσεται] შეიძრას; շարժեցի)

5:10 ἐβδελύξαντο μοιοδαγες Ge] պի՛ղծս<sup>88</sup> արարին (պիղծ, foul; արարել, make)

2:4 οἷς ἐξηκολούθησαν ῥομφελοταῖς μευδωδες Ge] գորոց զհետ գնացին (with whom they left/departed)

6:10 τοῖς προεσθηκόσι წინამძღუართა მათ Ge<sup>OJ</sup>; ზედამდგომელთა Ge<sup>GSB</sup>] ցա՛յնսիկ որք կայցեն առաջի (those who are superior /in the front)

4:1 καταπατοῦσαι] დასთრგუნავთ Ge; առ ոտն հարկանէք (առ [by, with] ոտն [foot] հարկանել, to beat)

6:11 ἐντέλλεται ἀμცნოს Ge] հրամա՛ն տացէ (հրամա՛ն, command, order; permission; edict; տալ, to give, to present, to offer; to make, to render, to produce, to cause)

<sup>88</sup> See 7:17: ἀκαθάρτω, section 3.4.2. above.

In order to emphasize that when establishing the origin of a translation, it is essential to consider the peculiarities of a target language and translation techniques I will specifically point out the following case:

#### 3.4.4. DERIVATIVES IN GEORGIAN

- 8:1 იჭუთჲ მემახურისასა Ge<sup>L</sup>; მემახურისასა Ge<sup>O</sup>] *ხაი-ნრუაგ* (*ხაი* [bird] *ნრუი* [hunter]) cf. 3:5 იჭუთჲ მემახურისა Ge<sup>L</sup>; მახვლისა (err) Ge<sup>O</sup>] *ნრუი* (hunter)

As we can see, in cases where the equivalent of the Greek word exists in Georgian, unlike Armenian, these translations formally differ: the Georgian employs a formal and semantic equivalent of the Greek word while the Armenian applies different ways of translation for these two occasions. In one case (8:1), it descriptively renders the source word by means of a compound *ხაი-ნრუაგ* (bird hunter),<sup>89</sup> while in another case (3:5) it renders it by a generic term: *ნრუი* (hunter).<sup>90</sup>

The following are cases where the Georgian derives the verb from the same root as the Greek, while the Armenian applies a contextual equivalent.

- δυναμις—ძალი, δυνατης—მძლავრი**  
 4:1 *καταδυναστεύσαι*] *ჰმძლავრობთ*; *ერկე* (*ერკელ*, deprive)  
 8:4 *καταδυναστεύοντες*] *ჰმძლავრობთ*; *ერკე*  
**φωνή—ჴმა**  
 3:6 *φωνήσει* (*σάλπιγγ*)] *ჴმა-სცეს* (-სცის *O*) (*საყვრმან*) Ge<sup>OL</sup>; *ჴმა-ყოს* Ge<sup>G</sup>; *ხარკანსი* (*ჴიი*).

When the Georgian verb is derived from the substantive *ჴმა* that corresponds to *φωνή*, the Armenian employs a polysemous word which in different contexts refers to different Greek words.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Here Assfalg only indicates the difference in number between the Georgian and Armenian versions.

<sup>90</sup> Neither of these formal differences is mentioned by Assfalg.

<sup>91</sup> *ხარკანსელ* (to beat, to strike, to give or deal a blow; to strike or sweep the chords of the lyre, to vibrate, to touch, to play or perform on; to ring; to knock; to thump; to prick; to bite; to wound, to hurt, to harm; to knock down, to beat to death, to kill; to spoil); 4:1 *καταπαύσαι*] *დასთრგუნავთ* Ge; *ათ ნიჲს* *ხარკანსელ*; 4:9 *ἐπάταξα*] *დაგც(ნ)ე* Ge<sup>OLG</sup>; *გგუემნე* Ge<sup>L</sup>; *ხარქ* ; 6:11 *πατάξει*] *დასცეს* Ge; *ხარცე*; 5:19 *δάχη*] *სცის* Ge<sup>OL</sup>; *უკბინის* Ge<sup>GSB</sup>; *ხარკანსი*; 6:5 *οἱ ἐπικροτοῦντες*] *რომელნი თანა-უტყუელავთ* Ge<sup>OL</sup>; *რომელნი მტყველვარეობენ* Ge<sup>GSB</sup>; *ირ კაჲს* *ხარკანსი* (*კაჲს* *ხარკანსი*).



#### 4. CONCLUSION

What can be concluded on the basis of this rather tedious comparison of the Greek, Georgian, and Armenian vocabulary<sup>92</sup> of Amos?

(1) Certain mistakes, structural and semantic calques of Greek words, renderings of the lexical meaning of Greek words, and interpretations originating from the Greek all make it evident that the Georgian version was translated from a Greek *Vorlage*.

(2) A few similarities between the Georgian and Armenian as well as other daughter versions are typological. These similarities do not indicate immediate interdependence between these versions. They can be explained by noting that similar problems in the respective parent texts led to similar ways of finding solutions among different translators.

(3) The distinction between the Georgian and Armenian versions is due mainly to different methods of the translation: the Georgian is more literal, while the Armenian, more free; the Georgian reflects the lexical meanings of Greek words, the Armenian, their contextual meaning; the Georgian renders the structures of source words, while the Armenian translates their semantics; lexical equivalents are used more consistently in the Georgian as compared to the Armenian.

(4) The Georgian and Armenian versions were translated from the LXX-MS(S) of different textual traditions.

(5) There is no tracable connection between the oldest Georgian MSS (i.e., Oshki, Jerusalem) and Armenian sources in their extant forms.

But what if Assfalg was right and the extant Georgian translation is a result of extensive revision(s) with reference to the Greek? Hypothetically, anything is possible. But the question still remains: if a critical part of the first translation was entirely changed because of the revision and the layer that had been translated from the Armenian has disappeared, then how can we possibly discuss the origin of the non-existent text?

Experts of any literary languages are capable of tracing the influence of one language on the other without thorough comparative examination of the translation. Georgian translations carried out from the Greek and Armenian languages distinctively differ in character,<sup>93</sup> and in order to establish the *Vorlage* of the Georgian Amos one need not conduct a detailed research. The present paper was aimed to engage those who unquestionably accept the idea proposed fifty years ago in an entirely different context.

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<sup>92</sup> The present paper does not deal with proper nouns and loan words, because their textual value in the medieval MSS is usually questionable. However, I would like to mention that also in its handling of proper nouns the Georgian is closer to the Greek when compared to the Armenian. See Assfalg, *Altgeorgische Übersetzungen*, 433–36.

<sup>93</sup> A good example illustrating this are the two Georgian translations of the text of Ezra 1, surviving both in the form of a seventh-century manuscript fragment translated from the Greek and the complete text of the Oshki manuscript translated from the Armenian.



## Philology



# The Septuagint and Egyptian Translation Methods

*James K. Aitken*

**Abstract:** Theories on the identity of the Septuagint translators have been built upon assumptions regarding the evidence from multilingual Egypt. While evidence of translation activity in Egypt is limited, there are a few surviving translations from Demotic into Greek that can shed much light on the Septuagint translation practice. Similar approaches to Greek register, lexical consistency, transliteration, inflection of noun phrases, polysemous prepositions, interpretive renderings, and literary embellishment are found in both Egyptian translations and the Septuagint. From this, conclusions can be inferred on the social position of the Jewish translators in Egypt.

The contents of Mr. Grey's manuscript are of a nature scarcely less remarkable than its preservation and discovery: it relates to the sale ... of a portion of the Collections and Offerings made from time to time on account, or for the benefit, of a certain number of MUMMIES, of persons described at length, in very bad Greek.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Young's words reflect the excitement of finding a Demotic text with an extant Greek translation in the early years following the decipherment of hieroglyphs and accordingly of Demotic. His excitement is coupled with surprise at the contents in this particular case of the transfer of legal ownership over the rights of caring and making offerings to mummies. Amidst his enthusiasm regarding this translation, however, is a swift denigration of the

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1. Thomas Young, *An Account of Some Recent Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature, and Egyptian Antiquities: Including the Author's Original Alphabet, as Extended by Mr. Champollion, with a Translation of Five Unpublished Greek and Egyptian Manuscripts* (London: John Murray, 1823), 60.

Greek as “very bad.”<sup>2</sup> Similar judgements of Greek written by Egyptians, the “grammatical blunders”<sup>3</sup> of the “uneducated”<sup>4</sup> class, continued well into the twentieth century. The restitution of the status of the Greek of Egyptian translations is as much called for as it is in the case of biblical Greek. Furthermore, the importance of such Egyptian translations for contextualizing Septuagint Greek has been largely ignored, although it sheds much light on the nature of the Greek and the translation technique adopted.

# 1. THE SEPTUAGINT AND TRANSLATION IN ANTIQUITY

It is generally recognized that the first translations of the Septuagint, namely, of the Pentateuch, were undertaken in Egypt.<sup>5</sup> Beyond this, we know little about the context of the translation or the identity of the translators. One of the few resources we have is the nature of the translations themselves and the translation technique therein, and it is from that technique that theories have often been derived regarding the social context or religious presuppositions of the translators. Any theory is predicated, however, on the nature of translation in antiquity and the extent to which the Septuagint is distinctive in its method. It is regularly presented as a unique enterprise, a literary translation unprecedented in scale for its time.<sup>6</sup> Sebastian Brock has done the most to place the translation within the context of other translation activity in antiquity and justifiably has influenced subsequent studies.<sup>7</sup> He stressed the unparalleled nature in the Hellenistic world of such a

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2. His words are (without precise reference) noted by Rachel Mairs, “κατὰ τὸ δυνάτον: Demotic-Greek Translation in the Archive of the Theban Choachytes,” in *Beyond Free Variation: Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the Old Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period*, ed. Jennifer Cromwell and Eitan Grossman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming), who also compares them to those of P. W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.): A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive* (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 333. See too the criticism of such assessments by Marja Vierros, *Bilingual Notaries in Hellenistic Egypt: A Study of Greek as a Second Language*, *Collectanea hellenistica* 5 (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2012), 225.

3. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897), 46.

4. James H. Moulton “Grammatical Notes from the Papyri,” *CIR* 18 (1904): 106–12, 151–55 (151).

5. E.g., Jan Joosten, *Collected Studies on the Septuagint: From Language to Interpretation and Beyond*, *FAT* 83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), “Historical Milieu,” 185–239.

6. Cf. Sebastian P. Brock, “The Phenomenon of the Septuagint,” *OtSt* 17 (1972): 11–36 (11); Tessa Rajak, *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible and the Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1.

7. Brock, “Phenomenon of the Septuagint.”

translation but also pointed to translations in various cultures where the style varied, noting that legal texts tend to be literal while literary ones more free.<sup>8</sup> For Brock, the Septuagint was a compromise between the two. This led on to a discussion of the religious significance of literal translation, especially as taken up by the school of Aquila. In his later article, he explored further the relation between literal and free translations, examining literary accounts of translation processes.<sup>9</sup> He drew comparison with the *senatus consulta* documents in the east, where the Greek follows closely the Latin, and he reached the conclusion that legal and religious texts are “literal,” typified by the *senatus consulta* in which the Greek directs the reader back to the original in Latin.<sup>10</sup>

In Brock’s work, some attention is given to Egyptian translations, if only briefly. For examples of religious texts, he notes two instances of translation from Greek into Egyptian (the Canopus decree of 238 BCE and the Rosetta Stone of 196 BCE),<sup>11</sup> one freer than the other. He also draws attention to one literary text where both the Greek and Demotic survives, the legend of Tefnut,<sup>12</sup> although in this case the translation is more a literary rewriting of what has been preserved in Demotic (see below § 3.1). Iamblichus is called upon to justify that there was a reluctance to translate religious texts in Egypt,<sup>13</sup> although how far literary rationalisation should be used to account for actual practice is debatable. What we find then in Brock are some conclusions regarding translation technique derived from a large range of sources and only brief comparative mention of Egyptian translations without detailed analysis.

Prior to Brock, Elias Bickerman and Chaim Rabin had also examined the Septuagint within the context of translation in antiquity, although neither play much of a role in Brock’s discussions and both seem to be largely rejected in recent scholarship.<sup>14</sup> The weakness of Bickerman’s and Rabin’s studies lies in their adoption of Paul Kahle’s theory of an oral translation tradition, on the

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8. *Ibid.*, 17.

9. Sebastian P. Brock, “Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity,” *GRBS* 20 (1979): 69–87.

10. *Ibid.*, 74.

11. It remains debated as to the original language of the Rosetta Stone.

12. Brock, “Phenomenon of the Septuagint,” 17–19.

13. Brock, “Aspects of Translation,” 75–76. The picture is now far more complex than Brock allows. Ian S. Moyer, *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) discusses in detail the complex relationship between Greek and Demotic. See too Nikolaos L. Lazaridis, *Wisdom in Loose Form: The Language of Egyptian and Greek Proverbs in Collections of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

14. Elias J. Bickerman, “The Septuagint as a Translation,” *PAAJR* 28 (1959): 1–39; Chaim Rabin, “Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint,” *Text* 6 (1968): 1–26.

model of the Targum,<sup>15</sup> and in their conjectures as to how a translator would behave without sufficient citation of evidence. Nevertheless, they did aim to place the Septuagint within Egyptian translation practice, and although some of their presuppositions can be questioned, their work has perhaps been undervalued in recent years. Bickerman explicitly stated that the features of the translation can be explained by the traditional art of translation as known at the time. He sought to compile evidence of translators in Egypt<sup>16</sup> and, building upon the insights from the papyri that the language is the vernacular and not a peculiar dialect, aimed to place the translation within the broader social landscape.<sup>17</sup> Believing the theory of extempore oral translation, he attributed the work to the “dragoman,” itself an anachronistic term from the Ottoman court. Rabin reinforces this oral nature of translation by suggesting, erroneously, that Greek society did not go for written translation as such, preferring rewriting.<sup>18</sup> He assigns to the dragoman certain practices with little evidence beyond occasional reference to Phoenician and Punic inscriptions and once to Demotic.<sup>19</sup> Rabin’s conjectures, though, should not obscure the valid attempt to explain the translation in the Egyptian context of translation. His suggestions too of features in the Septuagint that can be accounted for as the work of a professional translator should also be considered: following word-lists to avoid mistakes (15), word-for-word and clause-for-clause translation (16–17), use of prepositions (18), transliteration (22),<sup>20</sup> occasional good renderings (23), and “intentional” barbarisms (28). Rabin largely follows Bickerman on these phenomena (including “Semitisms” of syntax) but further suggests that omission of parts of text, words, or phrases derives from the model of the dragoman technique.<sup>21</sup> To him such changes would be strange for one respecting a sacred text but would make sense in an oral business translation where the main purpose is to convey the message. As Bickerman, Rabin builds his argument from supposition and is thus criticised by others, especially for a lack of coherence in the features identified and for still relying on a theory of a Jewish specialized (Hebraic) Greek.<sup>22</sup>

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15. Bickerman, “Septuagint as a Translation,” 8; Rabin, “Translation Process,” 23.

16. Bickerman, “Septuagint as a Translation,” 14 n. 27.

17. *Ibid.*, 11–12.

18. Rabin, “Translation Process,” 19. Assuming that there was no model for the translation, he believed the idea had to come from the synagogue Targum (20).

19. E.g., Bickerman, “Septuagint as a Translation,” 14: “professional dragomans who generally clung to the letter.”

20. See Rabin, “Translation Process,” 24. Oddly, most examples are given from LXX with very few from other translations.

21. *Ibid.*, 23.

22. See, e.g., Albert Pietersma, “A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint,” in *Bible and*



It remains true that there is little comparable evidence from Egypt to study translation of the time, but there are sufficient data to save us from moving as far afield as Brock did or from resorting to the speculation of Bickerman and Rabin. There is considerable evidence of multilingualism in Egypt, where languages played complex roles within society including diglossia between Middle Egyptian (hieroglyphs) and Demotic. More significantly some examples of translation survive that can be examined. Egyptian translations are the obvious place to begin in contextualising the Septuagint, and they do confirm the phenomena identified by Bickerman as typical of Egyptian translators, even if his explanations and characterizing of the translators require reconsideration.<sup>23</sup> The importance of specifically Egyptian translations is that they come from the same region and same time period (Ptolemaic) as the Septuagint, and they represent translation from a different (non-Indo-European) language family (Afroasiatic, i.e., Hamito-Semitic) into Greek. There are a number of grammatical affinities between Hebrew and Egyptian Demotic that differentiate the languages from Greek. It may be, following Brock, that different genres reflect different types of translation style, but such simple labels as literal or free are not reflective of the complexity of translation styles. We need to examine the minutiae of the translation methods to gain a greater understanding of the techniques employed. In the case of the Septuagint, we might well have a mix of genres within the Pentateuch,<sup>24</sup> and we do not know how the first translators viewed the text or understood their task. It is not self-evident that they were translating literature.

## 2. TRANSLATION IN MULTILINGUAL EGYPT

With the arrival of Greeks as the new colonizers and settlers in Egypt, Greek soon became the language of administration and the means by which anyone, including native Egyptians, could advance in society. For the first generation under Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II, the administration functioned largely in the indigenous Egyptian Demotic language,<sup>25</sup> but during the reign of Ptolemy II, the number of Greek documents started to outstrip Demotic, even when it is clear that much of the Greek documentary sources were being written by

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*Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI 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), 337–64 (343–44).

23. On a cultural level, this is what J. Méléze Modrzejewski aimed to do: “‘Livres sacres’ et justice lagide,” *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia Juridica* 21 (1986): 11–44.

24. Recognized by Brock, “Phenomenon of the Septuagint,” 20.

25. Dorothy J. Thompson, “Literacy and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt,” in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 67–83 (71–72).

native Egyptians.<sup>26</sup> Demotic continued to hold a special place among the Egyptian priests and was used alongside Greek. Egypt became, even more than before, a multilingual environment, where translation, both oral and written, was the everyday norm.<sup>27</sup> Translators are referred to in various documents, although they reveal little about their working practices,<sup>28</sup> and at times written translations would not always have been needed, when oral translation was also possible. Bilingual archives illuminate the situation in which persons within the one archive seemed to be competent in both languages.<sup>29</sup> We have evidence of bilingual individuals,<sup>30</sup> such as Dionysios son of Kephala, an Egyptian and priest of the local Ibis cult. He became Hellenized, having been recruited as an infantry man into a Ptolemaic garrison, and as the head of a mixed family was apparently competent in both languages.<sup>31</sup> One Apollonios too appears to be bilingual and along with his

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26. Willy Clarysse, "Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek," *ChrEg* 68 (1993): 186–201; Josh Sosin and Joseph G. Manning "Paleography and Bilingualism: P. Duk. inv. 320 and 675," *ChrEg* 78 (2003): 202–10.

27. For summaries of the multilingual situation in Egypt, see Thompson, "Literacy and Power"; B. Rochette, "Sur le bilinguisme dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine," *ChrEg* 71 (1996): 153–68; Arietta Papaconstantinou, "Introduction," in *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids*, ed. Arietta Papaconstantinou (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 1–16; Vierros, *Bilingual Notaries*, 29–34.

28. Cf. W. Peremans, "Les ἐμπνηεῖς dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine," in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten: Akten des internationalen Symposions 26.–30. September 1978 in Trier*, ed. G. Grimm, H. Heinen, and E. Winter (Mainz: von Zabern, 1983), 11–17; B. Rochette, "Traducteurs et traductions dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine," *ChrEg* 69 (1994): 313–22; B. G. Wright, "The Jewish Scriptures in Greek: The Septuagint in the Context of Ancient Translation Activity," in *Biblical Translation in Context*, ed. F. W. Knobloch; (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland, 2002), 3–18; Trevor V. Evans, "The Court Function of the Interpreter in Genesis 42:23 and Early Greek Papyri," in *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*, ed. T. Rajak, S. Pearce, J. K. Aitken, and J. Dines; (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 238–52.

29. Willy Clarysse "Bilingual Papyrological Archives," in Papaconstantinou, *Multilingual Experience in Egypt*, 47–72. See too E. Bresciani and R. Pintaudi, "Textes démotico-grecs et gréco-démotiques des ostraca de Medinet Madi: In problème de bilinguisme," in *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography*, ed. S. P. Vleeming (Leuven: Peeters, 1987), 123–26; Katelijin Vandorpe, "Archives and Dossiers," in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 216–55 (240–42).

30. Moyer, *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*, 31 n. 115.

31. Texts in Katelijin Vandorpe, *The Bilingual Family Archive of Dryton, His Wife Apollonia and Their Daughter Senmouthis (P. Dryton)*, *Collectanea hellenistica* 4 (Brussels: Comité Klassieke Studies, Subcomité Hellenisme, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2002). Discussion in Naphtali

brother possesses texts in both languages. A Ptolemaic letter records the words of a woman writing to her husband who is learning Egyptian to teach it to Greek slave boys learning Egyptian medical techniques (reflecting both a woman who is bilingual and bilingual education at the time):

Discovering that you are learning Egyptian writing, I am happy for you and for myself, because now when you come to the city you will teach the slave-boys in the establishment of Phalou ... the enema-doctor, and you will have a means of support for old age. (UPZ I 148, second century BCE)<sup>32</sup>

The ability to write in both languages might also be possible, although assistance might have been on hand. In one letter (third century BCE), a Greek man speaks of how he has learned Egyptian, perhaps to partake of the Egyptian speciality of interpretation of dreams:

Ptolemaios to Achilleus, greeting. After writing about the ..., it seemed good to me to inform you also about the dream, so that you may know in what way the gods know you. I have written below in Egyptian, so that you may understand correctly.... (there follows a Demotic description of the dream) (P.Cair.Goodsp. 3)

Despite the wide contact between the two languages and despite the scribal class of Egyptian priests learning Greek alongside Demotic in temples, the influence of Demotic Egyptian upon Greek is difficult to detect. Edwin Mayser only finds, for example, twenty-three loan-words from Egyptian in Greek, and some of these are doubtful,<sup>33</sup> indicating how significant the few Egyptian loan-words are in the Greek Pentateuch.<sup>34</sup> The reason for the lack of influence between the languages has been attributed to the care of the priests to preserve their linguistic heritage.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, Willy Clarysse has provided a survey of possible features in Greek that indicate interference.<sup>36</sup> Identifying any Egyptian influence can be difficult when we are still learning about the history of Koine, and some

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Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt: Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 88–103; Vanderpe, “Archives and Dossiers,” 226.

32. See R. Rémondon, “Problèmes de bilinguisme dans l’Égypte lagide,” *ChrEg* 39 (1964): 126–46.

33. Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, 4 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906–1934), 1:35–40; noted by G. Mussies, “Egyptianisms in a Late Ptolemaic Document,” in *Antidoron Martino David oblatum: Miscellanea Papyrologica*, ed. E. Boswinkel, B. van Groningen, and P. Pestman, *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 70–76 (70).

34. ἄχτι (“reed-grass”), θίβυς (“casket”), and οἰφί, an Egyptian measurement.

35. See Mussies, “Egyptianisms,” 71.

36. Clarysse, “Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek,” 197–200.

features could be attributed to internal developments within the language and need to be compared with the standard post-classical Greek.<sup>37</sup> As much for Egyptian documents as for the Septuagint, the possibility has to be considered of a change in the history of language as well as contact-induced change. In his study of Egyptianisms, G. Mussies is careful with his evidence in contrast to earlier editors. He examines documents that are known to have been translations, stated in their superscriptions. He considers whether the grammatical feature has developed into modern Greek, indicating that it may well be a change in the language or, if it is attested in only certain localities, suggesting it arises from language contact in the region rather than a universal development in the language. He does cautiously, therefore, suggest some possible Egyptianisms, although without further research on Koine caution has to be exercised.<sup>38</sup> Even though focus here will be on translation technique, inevitably some conclusions will be drawn from possible linguistic interference.

### 3. EGYPTIAN TRANSLATIONS

The evidence for actual written translations is not as diverse as we might expect. Tessa Rajak rightly surmises that translation was such an everyday activity, both ubiquitous and small scale, that we encounter so few explicit references to it.<sup>39</sup> The type of translation material can be divided into four categories, the third and fourth being the ones of concern here.

#### 3.1. LITERARY TRANSLATION

There are few cases of translated literary texts, and where they do exist we hardly ever have the original source from which it was translated. Some translations can nevertheless be identified, but in most cases appear to be reworkings or expansions rather than pure translations. Where there are both Demotic and Greek versions, one is not a direct descendant of the other but diverges considerably. Manetho is perhaps our earliest example, although his translation of Egyptian chronicles is very much a rewriting of them.<sup>40</sup> We have some Demotic sources with a Greek equivalent, such as the Dream of Nectanebo (Ptolemaic period), the Oracle of the Potter, The Oracle of the Lamb, the

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37. Trevor Evans, "Complaints of the Natives in a Greek Dress: The Zenon Archive and the Problem of Egyptian Interference," in *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, ed. Alex Mullen and Patrick James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 106–23.

38. As Evans, "Complaints of the Natives," strongly advocates.

39. Rajak, *Translation and Survival*, 138.

40. Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 52.

Demotic Chronicle, the Praise of Imouthes (second century CE), and the legend of Tefnut.<sup>41</sup> These works are mostly preserved in later Roman manuscripts but might well reflect earlier translations of Demotic works, some from the Ptolemaic period. These literary translations can have interpretive value for Septuagint studies in terms of comparative prophecy, as shown by Michaël van der Meer, building upon suggestions by Arie van der Kooij.<sup>42</sup> There are also important sociocultural implications for the role of translation in Egypt and the place of Graeco-Egyptian literature, a neglected topic. Given that the Demotic “originals” and the Greek versions differ considerably, however, they cannot be directly compared as regards translation technique.

### 3.2. PARTIAL TRANSLATIONS

There are numerous Demotic-Greek bilingual texts where the text in one language receives a summary in the other, or includes an inserted section, a signature, a registration, archival summary, or subscription in the other language. Mark Depauw surveys some 367 bilingual texts from Ptolemaic Egypt in this class.<sup>43</sup> As these are only partial translations and summaries, they do not afford suitable comparative material.

### 3.3. TRANSLATIONS WITH NO EXTANT *VORLAGE*

We have occasional references to the production of translations between Demotic and Greek where the actual documents are no longer extant but where the formulaic opening states that it has been translated (with the wording ἀντίγραφον συγγραφῆς ... μεθρμηνευμένης Ἑλληνιστί or similar).<sup>44</sup> In the

41. See on all these texts Moyer, *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*, 31. See also Stephanie West, “The Greek Version of the Legend of Tefnut,” *JEA* 55 (1969): 161–83.

42. Arie van der Kooij, “The Old Greek of Isaiah and Other Prophecies Published in Ptolemaic Egypt,” in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse: 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23.–27.7. 2008*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer, WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 72–84; Michaël N. van der Meer, “Visions from Memphis and Leontopolis: The Phenomenon of the Vision Report in the Greek Isaiah in the Light of Contemporary Accounts from Hellenistic Egypt,” in *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. N. van der Meer et al., VTSup 138 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 281–316.

43. Mark Depauw, “Bilingual Greek-Demotic Documentary Papyri and Hellenization in Ptolemaic Egypt,” in *Faces of Hellenism: Studies in the History of the Eastern Mediterranean (4th Century B.C.–5th Century A.D.)*, ed. Peter Van Nuffelen; *StHell* 48 (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 113–46.

44. Some examples are noted by Anna Passoni Dell’Acqua, “Translating as a Means of Interpreting: The Septuagint and Translation in Ptolemaic Egypt,” in Kraus, Karrer,

archive of the Theban choachytes (responsible for making offerings at tombs), we have frequent reference to such translations, but only two have the Greek and Demotic preserved (P.Choach.Survey 12 and 17), among a total of eighteen Greek documents. Such texts are important since we know they are translations and therefore that some of the features could have been generated through the translation process.<sup>45</sup> They are in that sense a more reliable source than a Greek document whose author we can only infer was a native Egyptian.

#### 3.4. TRANSLATIONS WITH *VORLAGE* PRESERVED

The best evidence is those few cases where we have both the Demotic original and the Greek translation. In the past, it has been difficult to study such translations, when both the Demotic and the Greek have not always been published. Where published, they would usually not be found together, the Demotic in a volume on Demotic and the Greek in a volume on Greek. This also corresponded to the distribution of the manuscripts themselves, each being archived in a different University collection.<sup>46</sup> There are two good examples from the archive of the Theban choachytes, one dated to ca. 145 BCE (P.Choach.Survey 12)<sup>47</sup> and known since the nineteenth century, and one to 136 BCE (P.Choach.Survey 17).<sup>48</sup> The latter has received renewed interest with the republication of the Demotic and Greek versions side by side.<sup>49</sup> Choachytes were Egyptian priests (“libation-pourers”) responsible for the care of burials and longer-term performance of the cult of the dead.<sup>50</sup> The archive records legal transfers of the rights to offer such provisions, an apparently lucrative enterprise.

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and Meiser, *Septuaginta—Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*, 322–39 (323 n. 6), but a fuller listing is given below, n. 54. Note too P.Giss. I 39, Thebes 205–181 BCE; and later, the much-discussed P.Oxy. XLVI 3285 (150–200 CE)

45. Initial observations on these texts were made by W. Peremans, “Notes sur les traductions de textes non littéraires sous les Lagides,” *ChrEg* 60 (1985): 248–62.

46. See Vanderpe, “Archives and Dossiers,” 226.

47. The Greek P.Choach.Survey 12B was published as *UPZ* II 175a (with corrections by Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 74–76). The Demotic of 12 is also referred to by its individual manuscript reference as P.Berlin 3119, and the Greek by P.Lond. I 3 (F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. 1 [London: British Museum, 1893], 44–48).

48. The Greek P.Choach.Survey 17B was published as *UPZ* II 177 (corrections in Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 91). The Demotic of 17 is also known as P.Berlin 5507 and P.Berlin 3098, and the Greek as P.Leiden 413.

49. Rachel Mairs and Cary J. Martin, “A Bilingual ‘Sale’ of Liturgies from the Archive of the Theban Choachytes: P. Berlin 5507, P. Berlin 3098 and P. Leiden 413,” *Enchoria* 31 (2008–2009): 22–67.

50. A brief summary of this office is given in Dorothy J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 145–46.

P. W. Pestman's earlier work on this archive contained many insights and observations on the translations, but it is a survey, that is to say, a description of the papyri rather than an edition.<sup>51</sup> From the early Roman period, a Demotic sale document with five Greek translations has been found at Soknopaiou Nesos (in the Fayum) and recently received a full publication too (CPR XV 2 and 3 and 4).<sup>52</sup> Each of the Greek translations from Soknopaiou Nesos reflects a slightly different reading of the original.

#### 4. TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE IN EGYPTIAN TRANSLATIONS

Where both the Demotic and Greek versions of a text have been preserved, codicological as well as translational differences can be observed. The Demotic is understandably written in Egyptian fashion with the Egyptian brush across the breadth of a wide scroll, while the Greek is in vertical columns written with a reed pen, as is to be expected by the second century BCE. The transfer from one linguistic domain to another is visually present in the change in writing style.

The translations are introduced by a note indicating that they are indeed translations, calling them “renderings” or “copies” of the original:<sup>53</sup>

[ἀντίγραφον] συγγραφῆς Αἰγυπτίας με]θρημηνευμένης Ἑλληνισ]τὶ κατὰ τὸ  
δύ[ν]ατόν. (P.Choach.Survey 17B = UPZ II 177, Thebes 136 BCE)

“a rendering of an Egyptian document that has been translated into Greek as far as possible.”<sup>54</sup>

51. Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*. His publication of some of the texts does not contain the relevant ones for our purposes here: P. W. Pestman, *Il Processo di Hermias e altri documenti dell'archivio dei choachiti (P. Tor. Choachiti): Papiri greci e demotici conservati a Torino e in altre collezioni d'Italia*, Catalogo del Museo egizio di Torino, Monumenti e testi 5 (Turin: Ministero Per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza al Museo Delle Antichità Egizie, 1992).

52. M. Schentuleit, “Die spätdemotische Hausverkaufsurkunde P. BM. 262: Ein bilingues Dokument aus Soknopaiou Nesos mit griechischen Übersetzungen,” *Enchoria* 27 (2001): 127–54; see also M. Schentuleit, “Satabus aus Soknopaiou Nesos: Aus dem Leben eines Priesters am Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit,” *ChrEg* 82 (2007): 101–25. The original publication of the Greek was P.Lond. (P. BM.) II 262.

53. In referencing these versions, A signifies the original Demotic text and B the Greek translation.

54. The almost identical formula is found in P.Tebt. I 164, Kerkeosiris 105 BCE; P.Giss. I 36 II, Pathyris 145–116 BCE; PSI V 549 (C.Ptol.Sklav. I 16), Oxyrhynchos 41 BCE; BGU III 1002, Hermopolis 55 BCE; BGU XVI 2594, Chennis 8 BCE; CPR XV 2 and CPR XV 3, Soknopaiou Nesos 11 CE. See too, for translation from Latin, BGU VII 1662 ε[θετο] Ῥωμ[α]ι[χ]ή διαθή[χ]η ... [μεθ]ερμηνευ[μεν]ής(leg. -μένη) ἑλληνιστὶ κατὰ τὸ δύνα[τ]όν ] (cf. BGU I 140, 119 CE; CPR I 51, 198–211 CE). P.Choach.Survey 12B (UPZ II 175 a, 1–2) has been reconstructed as κατὰ δύ[ναμιν] (UPZ II 175a 1; Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 333), although obviously it is not beyond doubt. The

That they are “renderings” of the originals means that the translators are left unnamed, silent witnesses to their work, rarely given the credit.<sup>55</sup> This reflects the wider situation in Egypt whereby scribes often identified themselves by name at the end of the document, but copyists did not.<sup>56</sup> In this respect, the Septuagint is not unusual in its silence on the names of the translators, even if it fits in with Jewish anonymity in literature. While we would not necessarily expect the translators of the Septuagint to name themselves, it does throw into sharp relief Aristéas’s agenda in choosing to name the translators (Let. Aris. 47–50). The author in seeking to identify them by name elevates the status of the translation from a mere “copy” to a self-standing literary work.

The apology *κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν* (“as far as possible”) is so standard in these translation documents that it must be seen as a formula deriving from literary conceit.<sup>57</sup> It probably has little force other than convention, although, since these are legal contracts, it could also be a defence against any charge of misrepresentation. Comparison to the grandson’s apology in his preface to the translation of Ben Sira (Il. 21–22) can easily be made,<sup>58</sup> although we may hesitate drawing parallels between these documentary texts and the literary and rhetorical preface of the grandson.

Some of the specific features of the Egyptian translations can easily be summarized, reflecting characteristics both typical of translation interference and induced by contact with the Demotic language. Greek documents written by Egyptians in general tend to show a lack of connective particles,<sup>59</sup> perhaps governed by a similar lack in their Demotic mother tongue but also reflecting the decline in the use of particles in the post-classical period.<sup>60</sup> The connector in Demotic is as simple as *waw* in Hebrew. The translations reflect a high degree of equivalence in that translation equivalents and vocabulary are largely consistent

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translation of *ἀντίγραφον* by “copy” or even “transcript” (LSJ 154) does not convey the sense that these are original renderings, and hence I have opted for the gloss “rendering.” My thanks to Patrick James for noting this and suggesting a back-formation such as “rescript” might be appropriate.

55. There appears to be one exception to this naming: Ἡρακλείδης μ[ε]τε[λ]λ[η] (φα) εἰς ἀναγρ(αφήν) (SB 1.2051, Thebes 117 BCE).

56. Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 329; Mairs and Martin, “Bilingual ‘Sale,’” 57 n. 90.

57. So P. Fewster, “Bilingualism in Roman Egypt,” in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word*, ed. J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002), 220–46 (232). See Peremans, “Notes,” 252; Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 333; Rajak, *Translation and Survival*, 136.

58. Cf. James K. Aitken, “The Literary Attainment of the Translator of Greek Sirach,” in *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira: Transmission and Interpretation*, ed. J.-S. Rey and J. Joosten, JSJSup 150 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 95–126 (101–2).

59. Clarysse, “Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek,” 199.

60. Evans, “Complaints of the Natives,” 111.



throughout, and the word order is faithfully maintained. This would imply that there were established sets of equivalents or a common practice among bilinguals, perhaps common in oral use before the translations were produced.

#### 4.1. OMISSIONS

In the Choachyte archive, there are sections where the translator omits or abbreviates phrases, indicating the relative importance of the information for the target audience. Thus, the Greek does not reproduce the full dating formula at the beginning, excluding mention of the ruling Pharaoh, and it omits legal rulings at the end, content simply to write *καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κοινά* (“plus all the other usual clauses”), as well as the names of the witnesses.<sup>61</sup> Frequently, we see the expressions *ὁμοίως* or *ὡσαύτως* (“likewise”) to indicate additional occupants of tombs. The names of the tombs appear to have been key and not the date, scribal authority, or seller’s obligations. As Rachel Mairs and Cary Martin note, P.Choach.Survey 17 does not even repeat the Greek word for tomb, merely recording *ἄλλος* or *ἕτερος* “another one.”

#### 4.2. LEXICAL CHOICE

The vocabulary of the translation is standard Koine of the time, containing the typical specialized vocabulary of administration that had developed under the Ptolemies.<sup>62</sup> Since these documents are lists of names of the deceased in tombs, we particularly find titles of occupations, naturally using the standard terms for the time. A section of the tomb is called the *παστοφόριον* (P.Choach.Survey 17B.25) “chamber assigned to *παστοφόροι* ‘priests’” (LSJ 1346), a term appearing in Koine onwards. The very same term is applied in the Septuagint to the priests’s chamber in the temple at Jerusalem (e.g., Jer 42[35]:4; Ezek 40:17; 1 Chr 28:12) and later by Josephus (*J.W.* 4.9.12). Other words attested only in Koine and later are *σιδηρουργός* (“iron-worker, smith,” P.Choach.Survey 17B.7), *λογεία* (“collection,” P.Choach.Survey 12B.7), a term restricted to documentary papyri, *καρπεία* (“profit,” 12B.17, 19; 17B.4 [reconstruction], in distinction from the classical terms *κέρδος* or *καρπός*), and, in a sense only known in Koine, *γεωμέτρης* (“land-measurer,” 17B.11). *κατάγαιος* (“underground chamber,” 17B.24, 28) has a much longer history, but in its specification of a part of a tomb (in the neuter plural) may be new (in contrast to the classical *τάφος* *inter alia*, which is used in relation to *κατάγαιος*, 17B.24).<sup>63</sup>

61. Mairs and Martin, “Bilingual ‘Sale,’” 50, 56.

62. See Thompson, “Literacy and Power,” 76–77.

63. The word is also known, if in its classical sense, to the Septuagint translators (see Gen 6:16; Pss. Sol. 8:9).

It has been well documented how much the Septuagint draws upon the standard Koine of the time.<sup>64</sup> It appears that both sets of translations use the same register.

#### 4.3. LEXICAL CONSISTENCY

Lexical consistency, rendering the same Demotic word by the same Greek word, is a feature of these translations, as much as it is a feature of the translations from Hebrew into Greek. This can be seen both in consistency across the two Choachyte translations, such as the choice of *καρπεία* (“profit”) in both (12B.17, 19, 21; 17B.4, 25, 30), as well as within any one of the translations. Repeated terms such as *κατάγαιος* (“underground chamber,” 17B.24, 28), *ὑποβρύχιος* (“drowned,” 17B.8, 16, 22, 24, 29), and the expression *τὰ προσπίπτοντα* (“the revenue,” 17B.25, 30) display the regular choice by one translator.<sup>65</sup>

Consistency is a marked feature of most of the Septuagint translations, and the use of a consistent religious vocabulary has been observed in such terms as *δικαιοσύνη*, *διαθήκη*, *νομός*, *ἔλεος*, *δόξα*, and *προσήλυτος*.<sup>66</sup> Such consistency would suggest there was an agreed method of translation. This could have been enshrined in word lists from which the translators worked, but it equally could suggest an oral stage preceding the written during which decisions would have been made regarding the most apposite translation choice.<sup>67</sup>

At times consistency comes at the price of elegant renderings, as in the following example from the Choachyte archive:

... [καὶ ἐ]δεξάμ[ην] παρὰ σου | τὴν τούτω[ν τιμὴν ἐκ πλήρους] ἄνευ παντὸς [nb n p3 t3, 17A, l. 11] [ὑπ]ολόγου. (P.Choach.Survey 17B.32–33)

“And I have received from you the price of these in full without any remainder/deduction.”

While the use of *πᾶς* to denote “any” in Greek rather than “all” or “every” is permissible, it is very rare and therefore unexpected here. The translation choice presumably arises from rendering the Demotic *nb*, which as a definite does mean “all, every,” and therefore the Greek *πᾶς* serves as a suitable counterpart to it. However, the Demotic *nb* can also function as an indefinite “any,” frequently

64. E.g., John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, SCS 14; (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983).

65. Mairs, “κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν,” provides tables of all the regular equivalents with their Demotic counterparts.

66. Anneli Aejmelaeus, “The Septuagint and Oral Translation,” in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 59 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 5–13 (8).

67. So, Aejmelaeus, “Septuagint and Oral Translation,” 8–10.

reinforced as here by *n p3 t3* “at all [lit. of the earth].”<sup>68</sup> The motivation here seems to be lexical consistency corresponding to the Demotic. Similar oddities are known in the Septuagint where the desire for consistency overrides good sense.

#### 4.4. INCONSISTENCY

While lexical consistency is a prominent feature of the translations from Demotic, there is inevitably some inconsistency, although it is not extensive. Thus in P.Choach.Survey 17, the obscure Demotic term *h3y* (“blessed”) is translated by *ὑποβρύχιος* (“drowned,” 8, 16, 22, 24, 29) and once by *ἀσιῆς* (12B.22; cf. *ἐσιῆς* in the PGM).<sup>69</sup> This is not mere randomness on the part of the translator, however, since transliteration has its own purpose (see below). Translators seemed to vary in their choice whether to transliterate such Egyptian technical terms or to find a Greek equivalent. In P.Choach.Survey 12, the Demotic *šty.w* is once rendered by *λογείας* (“collections,” 2=7<sup>70</sup>), but more frequently by *καρπειῶν* (“profits,” 17–18, 19–20, 21). An interesting case of inconsistency is P.Choach.Survey 17 (6=19) where Demotic *p3 bsnṯ* (“the smith”), elsewhere rendered correctly by *σιδηρουργός* (ll. 7 and 20), is in this case translated by *πορθμεύς* (“ferryman,” 19).<sup>71</sup> This particular variation has puzzled the editors, who tentatively suggest that either a smith could also be required to work as a ferryman, which is quite imaginable, or the translator knew this gentleman personally and that he had two occupations.<sup>72</sup> Neither explanation is entirely satisfactory.

#### 4.5. TRANSLITERATIONS

The frequency of transliterations in these documents is noteworthy. It seems likely that common priestly titles are translated, as we see in such equivalents *προφήτης* and *παστοφόρος*, while more obscure or *recherché* ones are transliterated. It is possible that some transliterations have already been adopted as loan-words, but even so it is still a choice on the part of the translator to choose an Egyptian-sounding word when a Greek equivalent existed. The most extreme case noted by M. Schentuleit is the title and name combination of *nb*

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68. Janet H. Johnson, ed., *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (CDD)* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute), N: 56, <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/catalog/cdd/>.

69. The meaning of the terms is discussed in detail by Mairs and Martin, “Bilingual ‘Sale,’” 60–67.

70. In references, the first number given is the line of the Demotic papyrus, and the second is the line from the Greek.

71. Mairs and Martin, “Bilingual ‘Sale,’” 51.

72. *Ibid.*, 51

w'b hry šy w3d-wr N3-nfr-ir-šty.t transliterated as νεβουάπει ρίσηι γέτου Νεφορσάτει.<sup>73</sup> We find in the Choachyte archive the Demotic tomb name t3 h.t n Nbwnn transliterated as Θυναβουνούν (P.Choach.Survey 12.3=8), in this case undeclined, and the titles θυπατεστήμει (12B.20)<sup>74</sup> declined in the dative and τση (12B.22; Demotic t3 s.t, “seat”),<sup>75</sup> again undeclined. Mention has already been made of the term hsy (“blessed”) transliterated in P.Choach.Survey 12 as άσιής and found in other documents as well (e.g., UPZ II 180a). A half-way position is encountered in the term χοαχύτης where the elements of the Demotic, w3h mw (lit. “pourer of water”), are rendered into Greek.<sup>76</sup> The Roman Soknopaiou Nesos contracts are more extreme in the extent of their transliterations.

For Rabin, transliterations were a classic case of Martin Flashar’s *Verlegenheitsuebersetzung* (translations of embarrassment), lending to the Septuagint “the appearance of a rough draft, with words pencilled in for later reconsideration.”<sup>77</sup> It seems more likely that such variation is not down to an ignorant translator or one not capable of finding suitable equivalents, especially in places where they are easily at hand, but functions to serve the translator’s literary stratagem. Transliteration of titles is acceptable for readers and speakers familiar with Egypt, namely, the Greek-Egyptian peoples who would consult the legal documents.<sup>78</sup> It thus serves as a case of code-switching that maintains Egyptian identity and expresses the Egyptian nature of the legal issues through the medium of the Greek language.<sup>79</sup> In the Septuagint Pentateuch, transliterations are primarily for institutions or for realia that have no obvious equivalent in Greek,<sup>80</sup> in a similar fashion to the transliterations of the Egyptian documents. We thus find such renderings as: σαβεκ (Gen 22:13), γομορ (Exod 16:16), μαννα (Num 11:16), and in a later book οί ναθινιμ (2 Esd 2:70). Each either has a religious significance or denotes a particular object.

Proper nouns are a separate category that requires further investigation. It is noteworthy, nonetheless, how many names are transliterated in the Pentateuch

73. Ibid.; 2007, 108. CPR XV 1 (3 BCE) a translation of P.BM 262.

74. The reading corrected by Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 76.

75. This is the reading corrected by Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 76.

76. Such neologisation puzzled early editors. Young originally read the Greek as χολχύτης, while Kenyon remained sceptical over the reading χοαχύτης (*Greek Papyri*, 44–45).

77. Rabin, “Translation Process,” 24.

78. Both Schentuleit, “Hausverkaufsurkunde,” 135–37, and Mairs, “κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν,” propose code-switching as a determinative force.

79. See Sang-il Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions in Bilingual Context: A Study in the Interdirectionality of Language*, BZNW 186 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), for a similar argument for the use of Aramaic forms in the Gospels.

80. See comments of Joosten, *Collected Studies on the Septuagint*, 234; and Emanuel Tov, “Loan-Words, Homophony and Transliterations in the Septuagint,” *Bib* 60 (1979): 216–36.

and not adapted to Greek grammar. In one verse (Gen 41:45), nevertheless, we find two names written as Egyptian, one not adapted to Greek grammar (Ψονθομφανηχ) and one that is (Πετεφρῆς “Potiphar”; cf. Gen 37:36; 39:1; 41:50).<sup>81</sup> For the early Ptolemaic period in Egypt, the practice of writing names varied, often being translated but equally in the reigns of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II being transcribed without adaptation to Greek (especially in Upper Egypt).<sup>82</sup> It seems that the Septuagint translators followed this early Egyptian practice and remained more conservative than their Egyptian counterparts.

#### 4.6. WORD LISTS

It is natural to find in such legal documents as these Demotic-Greek translations lists of words, denoting both parties involved and the property being assigned to them. Below is a brief example, which continues for another two lines beyond this citation:

[σοί εἰσιν] οἳ τε [τά]φοι καὶ <τὰ> κατάγαια <αὐτῶν> καὶ οἱ ἐν α[ὐτοῖς κα]ῖ | <οἱ> ὑποβρύχιοι καὶ <τὰ> παστοφόρι]α κα[ῖ οἱ] ἐν τούτοις [κα]ῖ οἱ προγεγραμμ[ένοι] καὶ | 30<οἱ> προσήκο[ντες αὐτοῖς καὶ αἱ καρ]πεῖαι αὐτῶν κ[α]ῖ τὰ προσπί[τον]τα ... (17B.28–30)

[Belonging to you] are both the [to]mbs and <their> underground chambers, and those in t[hem an]d <the> drowne[d and <the> priestly cham]bers an[d those] in them, [an]d the aforementio[ned] and <those> that com[e to them and their pr]ofits a[n]d reve[nu]es ...

In Greek it was not necessary in such lists to use a copula (καί) all the way through, while here the Greek uses it throughout even though it is translating a Demotic document in which there is no copula at all. A remarkable comparative example is found in Greek Hosea, where the dating formula in the opening lists the name of kings, each connected by καί.

Λόγος κυρίου, ὃς ἐγενήθη πρὸς Ὡσηε τὸν τοῦ Βεηρι ἐν ἡμέραις Ὀζιου καὶ Ἰωθαμ καὶ Αχαζ καὶ Εζεκιου βασιλέων Ἰουδα καὶ ἐν ἡμέραις Ἱεροβοαμ υἱοῦ Ἰωας βασιλέως Ἰσραηλ. (Hos 1:1)

81. See Joosten, *Collected Studies on the Septuagint*, 168 n. 36; Marguerite Harl, *La Genèse*, vol. 1 of *La Bible d’Alexandrie* (Paris: Cerf, 1986), 276. It was common in papyri for Egyptian names ending in consonants, when declined, to follow the first declension pattern (ending in -ις or -ης; Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 485), as Πετεφρῆς except that this name appears to be of the so-called “mixed declension.”

82. This is documented by Brian Muhs, “Language Contact and Personal Names in Early Ptolemaic Egypt,” in *The Language of the Papyri*, ed. T. V. Evans and D. D. Obbink (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 187–97.

A word of the Lord that came to Hosee the son of Beeri in the days of Kings Ozias and Ioatham and Achaz and Hezekias of Ioudas and in the days of King Ieroboam son of Ioas of Israel. (NETS)

What makes this example from the Septuagint all the more striking is that the Hebrew (עזיה יותם אחז יחזקיה) also practises asyndeton here without a *waw*.<sup>83</sup>

#### 4.7. INFLECTION IN NOUN PHRASES

Such lists in both papyri and the Septuagint can also lead to breach of concord, which has already been a recognized feature of Greek papyri.<sup>84</sup> One notable aspect, the placement of a nominative in apposition to a noun in a different case (especially in lists), has been documented in the Septuagint too. H. StJ. Thackeray described it as “drifting into the nominative,”<sup>85</sup> which is a gentle if imprecise designation for a phenomenon that requires some explanation. Its appearance in 2 Esdras has been subjected to investigation by R. Glenn Wooden, who then compares it to other places in the Septuagint and New Testament, with passing mention of the papyri.<sup>86</sup> Comparison is easy to draw. It is striking, though, that it is not a mere feature of papyri, as implied by James Moulton but specifically of those papyri known to be translated by Egyptian bilinguals.<sup>87</sup> Thus, we find the phenomenon a number of times in the archive of Hermias, a notary in the town of Pathyris in the Ptolemaic period.<sup>88</sup> In a noun phrase, especially in a list of peoples, the phrase initial element is inflected and the remainder default to the nominative. We see this in the names of the agreeing parties in contracts drawn up by Hermias:

καθ' ἣν ὁμολογεῖ | Νεχθανούπις Πατσεούτος Πέρσης ... συνεχεω|ρηκέναι  
Πετεαρσεμβεῖ Πανοβχούνιος καὶ τοῖς | ἀδελφοῖς Πετεσουχος καὶ Φαγωνις καὶ  
Ψεννησις (P.Grenf. 2 25.4 –7, 103 BCE)<sup>89</sup>

83. I am grateful to Jan Joosten for this point and for drawing my attention to Hosea.

84. E.g., Moulton, “Grammatical Notes,” 151.

85. H. StJ. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 23.

86. R. Glenn Wooden, “Interlinearity in 2 Esdras: A Test Case,” in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Glenn R. Wooden, SCS 53 (Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 119–44 (133–43).

87. See Mussies, “Egyptianisms,” 72; Martti Leiwo, “Scribes and Language Variation,” in *Grapta Poikila*, vol. 1, ed. Leena Pietilä-Castrén and Marjaana Vesterinen, Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 8 (Helsinki: Finnish Institute at Athens, 2003), 1–11 (5–6).

88. Gathered in Vierros, *Bilingual Notaries*. It is the same archive in which Grenfell noted grammatical blunders and from which some of Moulton’s examples are drawn.

89. See Vierros, *Bilingual Notaries*, 141.

an agreement by which Nechthanouphis son of Patseous the Persian agrees ... to have granted to Peteharsemthes son of Panobchounis and to the brothers Petesouchos and Phagonis and Psennesis

In the following list only the name of the first member, Peteharsemtheus, is inflected correctly in the dative. The rest of the names follow in the nominative.

ἐδάνεισεν Πετειαρσεμθεὺς Νεχούτου | Πέρσης Πετειαρσεμθεὶ καὶ Πετεσουχος  
(P.Grenf. 2 27.3–4, 103 BCE) Peteharsemtheus son of Nechouthes a Persina lent to Peteharsemtheus and to Petesouchos.

Vierros in describing this phenomenon says that the nouns appear as if they were placed in parentheses.<sup>90</sup> Comparable examples are found in the Septuagint:

ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐπέθετο, ἡγουμένους καὶ στρατηγούς τοὺς ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐνδεδυκότας εὐπάρυφα, ἵππεῖς ἵππαζομένους ἐφ' ἵππων· νεανίσκοι ἐπίλεκτοι πάντες. (Ezek 23:12)<sup>91</sup>  
She applied herself to the sons of the Assyrians, governors and commanders near her, wearing fine purple, horsemen riding upon horses. They were all elite young men. (NETS)

Οὐκ ἐχωρίσθη ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται ἀπὸ λαῶν τῶν γαιῶν ἐν μακρύμμασιν αὐτῶν, τῷ Χανανι, ὁ Εθι, ὁ Φερεζι, ὁ Ιεβουσι, ὁ Αμμωνι, ὁ Μωαβι, ὁ Μοσερι καὶ ὁ Αμορι. (2 Esd 9:1)  
The people of Israel and the priests and the Leuites were not separated from the peoples of the lands with their things put far away, in reference to the Chanani—the Heththi, the Pherezi, the Iebousi, the Ammoni, the Moab, the Mosri and the Amori. (NETS)<sup>92</sup>

In both these examples, the dative is followed by nominatives. That the translator could write such lists according to classical grammar is shown by 2 Esd 19:18 where there is a similar list, but all the names are Graecized gentilics and in the correct case.<sup>93</sup> This does not stop the translator again later resorting to a list with nouns in the nominative:

καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐκάθισαν ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰουδα καὶ ἀπὸ υἱῶν Βενιαμιν.—ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰουδα· Αθαια υἱὸς Αἷζαια υἱὸς Ζαχαρια υἱὸς Αμαρια υἱὸς Σαφατια υἱὸς Μαλεληλ καὶ ἀπὸ υἱῶν Φαρες. (2 Esd 21:4)

90. Ibid., 141

91. Noted by Wooden, “Interlinearity,” 140–41. See too Ezek 23:7; Zeph 1:12.

92. Given the incongruity of the syntax, NETS presents the nominative as in apposition to the dative through the use of the dash.

93. Wooden, “Interlinearity,” 134.

and in Ierousalem lived some of the sons of Iouda and some of the sons of Beniamin. Of Iouda's sons: Athaia son of Ozia son—he being a son of Zacharia—he being a son of Amaria—he being a son of Saphatia—he being a son of Maleleel, and some sons of Phares. (NETS)

Once more, the translator is elsewhere able to render genealogies correctly (7:1–5; 13:4).<sup>94</sup> Wooden, who also described them as parenthetical interjections,<sup>95</sup> accounts for this phenomenon as interference from the source text in which morphemes are rendered at a visual but not a grammatical level.<sup>96</sup> The presence in 2 Esd 9:1 of the Hebrew preposition *ב* on the first element but not the subsequent ones could in part explain why only the first is in the dative. Similarly, in Demotic the oblique cases were preceded by *n*, but this was not placed before those in apposition—therefore also an explicable factor in not using the dative.<sup>97</sup> It seems unlikely that we should view it as economy in translation,<sup>98</sup> since there is little saved in rendering the nominative rather than the dative. Rather than being a direct result of the translation task, such incongruence probably arises from features within the spoken languages of the translators. Demotic as Hebrew had no case marking system (only markers for feminine and plural) in contrast to the five cases of the Greek system. As a result, those trained to write Greek were probably drilled in the cases, such that the nominative as the subject case may have been indoctrinated deeply in second language education.<sup>99</sup> The nominative would then have been favoured to denote semantic subject or agent even in structures where Greek would use a different case, and only the initial part of the phrase, which was functionally more important, was deemed vital for inflection. Evidence from the later ostraca of the Narmouthis archive confirms how Egyptian scribes handled case endings.<sup>100</sup> As well as providing further examples of this appositional use of the nominative, they show how nouns were abbreviated and thereby the need obviated for marking the case ending. The construction thus arises from language contact and is hence inevitable in translation, and even if it is not a specific feature of translation,<sup>101</sup> it is encouraged by the use of prepositions in the source languages.

As confirmation that this is a specific language-contact induced change, Mussies observes first that this use of the noun is not represented in modern

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94. Ibid., 140. A further example of grammatical incongruence in 2 Esd is 13:24–26.

95. Ibid., 138.

96. Ibid., 134.

97. Mussies, “Egyptianisms,” 72.

98. So Wooden, “Interlinearity,” 135. Mayser, *Grammatik*, 2.3:192, likewise calls it “Breviloquenz des Tabellenstils.”

99. Vierros, *Bilingual Notaries*, 139.

100. Fewster, “Bilingualism in Roman Egypt,” 238–40.

101. As much is implied by the examples attested in the New Testament, discussed by Wooden, “Interlinearity,” 141–42.



Greek and therefore cannot be shown to be an internal development. The situation is different with participles (cf. LXX Am 2:6–7) since an indeclinable absolute form of the participle operates in modern Greek.<sup>102</sup> Second, Mussies finds it is only restricted to texts from Egypt and Syria (e.g., OGIS 611, Hauran), whose vernacular contained no case categories. To this we may add Hebrew speakers, whose native language equally lacked case categories.

#### 4.7. POLYSEMOUS PREPOSITIONS

Stereotyped translation of prepositions can lead to odd uses in Greek, where interference can be prominent. G. Husson has shown how Greek *ὑπό* as a calque of Egyptian *ḥr* adopts a range of senses from the Demotic.<sup>103</sup> Most notable is the rendering *ὄνος ὑπὸ οἴνου*, denoting not the surprising “donkey under wine,” as might be expected in Greek, but “in charge of” the wine, following Demotic *ḥr*.

In P. Choach.Survey 17B, there are two odd uses of prepositions, although interference from Demotic is not conclusive. Of course, prepositions are notoriously difficult to handle, owing to the fact that the case system is changing in Greek, affecting in turn the use of prepositions. Nevertheless, in similar manner to the stereotyped equivalents for prepositions sometimes seen in the Septuagint, we might have the same phenomenon in the Egyptian translations.

ἡμ[ις] τῶν [παρὰ] | Ἀμενώθου ο[ἰ]χοδόμου

A half of those with Amenothēs, builder ...

Demotic: *n3 rmt.w n 'Imn-ḥtp* (P. Choach.Survey 17.5 = 13–14)

This use of *παρὰ* with genitive is frequent in the document, although normally one would expect the meaning “from” with the genitive, whereas here it appears to mean “with.”<sup>104</sup> The second century is too early to see a definitive decline in the use of the dative in favour of the genitive, but very occasionally one can find the genitive use of *παρὰ* for the dative meaning “by, beside” (LSJ *sv* A.III). In the Demotic, the simple preposition *n* is polysemous covering the meanings “in, through, with, by means of.”<sup>105</sup> The meaning “with” is the obvious sense in the Demotic, although the Greek translation appears to have opted for “through” or “by means of.”

102. Mussies, “Egyptianisms,” 72. In this he argues against Ludwig Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik: Das griechisch des Neuen Testaments im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1911), 86–87; and James H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1929), 1:12, who see it as a development of the popular language.

103. G. Husson, “ΥΠΟ dans le grec d’Égypte et la préposition égyptienne *ḥr*,” *ZPE* 46 (1982): 227–30.

104. See Mairs and Martin, “Bilingual ‘Sale,’” 51.

105. *CDD* N:3.

In P. Choach.Survey 17 (8=29), we find the translation of the preposition as follows:

... κα[ὶ οἱ] ἐν τοῦτοις “and those in them”

Demotic: *irm n3 nty ḥtp.w irm-w* “and those who rest along with them”

This is a slightly odd case. Demotic *irm* (“with”) here indicates that the phrase refers to those who rest *with* the dead. If we translate the Greek as ἐν (“in”), then the reference must be the tombs, in which they rest.<sup>106</sup> The Demotic preposition *irm* is unambiguous unless preceded by *n*, and therefore there is no obvious solution to this one.

While these examples remain ambiguous, Husson has shown that such interference is possible, and we find comparable examples in the Septuagint. The stereotyped rendering of Hebrew *bēth*, for example, gives rise to the expressions ἐν δυνάμει βαρεῖα (“with a heavy force”; 4 Kgdms 18:17; contrast Isa 36:2 μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς) and ὤφθη Ἰούδας ... ἐν τρισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν (“Judas was seen ... accompanied by 3000 men”; 1 Macc 4:6).<sup>107</sup>

#### 4.8. SUBTLE RENDERING

At times translators were sensitive to the nuance of a word and did not opt for a mere default rendering. P.Choach.Survey 17 (7=23) translates the Demotic *p3 swnw* (“doctor”) by the Greek ταριχευτής (“embalmer”). Other passages where the Demotic term for doctor appears also indicate that the role could include that of “embalmer,” suggesting that this translation may well be suitable.<sup>108</sup> In an Egyptian context, the priests included a class of doctors who no doubt would have also been embalmers thanks to their medical knowledge. It is possible that even in Greece one duty of physicians was also to embalm, since some anatomical knowledge would have been needed for embalming,<sup>109</sup> although how much is not clear. In Alexandria there developed, however, a sophisticated knowledge of human anatomy, and these Alexandrian doctors might well have used their knowledge for embalming too. The translator has therefore chosen an appropriate equivalent for the context of a Choachyte archive.

This translation equivalent will also strike a note for those familiar with Septuagint Genesis. In Gen 50:2, there are two occurrences of ἐνταφιαστής denoting someone trained for preparing a body for burial or embalming, a near

106. Mairs and Martin, “Bilingual ‘Sale,’” 52.

107. Examples from Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, § 91.

108. Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, 30 n. b.

109. See B. Brier and R. S. Wade, “Surgical Procedures during Ancient Egyptian Mummification,” *ZÄS* 126 (1999): 89–97. See also S. R. Driver. *The Book of Genesis*, 5th ed. (London: Methuen, 1906), 395.

synonym of *ταριχευτής*.<sup>110</sup> It is clear that the individuals are responsible in the passage for embalming, since they are assigned the task of handling Jacob's dead body, although in the passage it is a translation of the Hebrew word for "physician" (participle פֹּרֵץ). Even though they were actually embalming the body, they might also have been physicians such that the LXX translators were probably aiming to introduce a word more suitable to the Egyptian context.<sup>111</sup>

#### 4.9. LITERARY EMBELLISHMENT

It is clear that the translators of the Demotic were educated and occasionally showed some attempts at literary embellishment rather than slavishly following the words or structure of their source text. As illustration, we may note a few examples of the use of particles where there is no equivalent in Demotic:

[σοί εἰσιν] οἱ τε [τά]φοι καὶ <τὰ> κατὰγαια <αὐτῶν> (P.Choach.Survey 17B.28)

οὗτ' ἐγὼ [ο] ὕτ' ἄλλος (P.Choach.Survey 17B.34)

ἐὰν δέ τις (no connective in Demotic) (P.Choach.Survey 12B.26; 17B.35)

μὲν . . . δέ (P.BM 262, l. 3, 6)

The sporadic use of particles in the Septuagint can be compared to these examples.<sup>112</sup>

ὁ τε Ἀδάμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ (Gen 2:25)

οὐκ ἐκκλινοῦμεν οὗτε εἰς ἄγρον οὗτε εἰς ἀμπελῶνα (Num 21:22)

ἐὰν δέ . . . (Gen 44:22; equivalent of Heb *waw*)

Ἡ μὲν φωνὴ φωνῇ Ἰακωβ, αἱ δέ χεῖρες χεῖρες Ἡσαυ (Gen 22:22)<sup>113</sup>

110. For full discussion of the Septuagint term, see James K. Aitken, "Context of Situation in Biblical Lexica," in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography III*, ed. J. Dyk and W. van Peursen (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009), 181–201 (193–95). On the Egyptian and Greek terms, see Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, 145–46.

111. Adolf Deissmann, *Bible Studies: Contributions Chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions to the History of the Language, Literature and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1901), 120–21; Marguerite Harl, *Genèse*, 315.

112. For discussion of the use of particles and their significance in the Greek Pentateuch, see James K. Aitken, "The Characterisation of Speech in the Septuagint Pentateuch," in *The Reception of the Hebrew Bible in the Septuagint and the New Testament: Essays in Memory of Aileen Guilding*, ed. David J. A. Clines and J. Cheryl Exum (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2013), 9–31.

113. The particle *μὲν* only appears seven times in Genesis, the majority in a standard use with conditionals.

Despite the decline in the use of particles in post-classical Greek, they would have been taught in the educational system and used by scribes as a marker of their education.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The features identified in the Egyptian translations can all be paralleled in the Septuagint. To some extent, they are universal characteristics of translations, but the similarities are more than that. They reflect a method of close adherence to the source text in word order, lexical consistency, phrasing, and parataxis. At the same time, the translations display a degree of freedom, with occasional variation, alternation between translation and transliteration, literary embellishment, and the rare interpretative rendering. This balance between consistency and formal equivalence, on the one hand, and a degree of freedom, on the other, is a marker of the Septuagint as much as the Egyptian translations. The Egyptian translations have been described as functional rather than an exercise in elegant composition,<sup>114</sup> and the same can be said of the Septuagint, although occasional elegance can be found in both. The Greek can be described as the Greek of the speakers of the time, especially when it has become a “world” language. Features are not to be dismissed as poor Greek but recognized as the standard Greek of speakers and writers from the region, both Jewish and Egyptian.

In this brief survey, we have had the opportunity to consider translations from the second century BCE and later from the early Roman period. Despite the time difference of two centuries, there seems little difference in the practices of the translators from each period, and there does not seem to be the sort of development towards literalism that Brock surmised. It is an overstatement to think of the translation of the Septuagint as a unique or unprecedented exercise, since the method of translation is the same as that used for documentary translation. There is no reason to doubt that the methods seen in the Choachyte archive in the second century were practised a century earlier, when translation was already a necessary daily activity in Egypt.

It is important to note the Egyptian translators, even while rendering documentary texts, are not the mythical dragomans interpreting without sense or concern for the content. Their method appears to be the same as the Septuagint translators, even if the natures of the respective sources present their own particular responses. Bickerman and Rabin looked for the Septuagint translators among the ordinary translators of Egypt, and in this they were right, falling short only in their reconstruction of an oral dragoman. In opposition to the dragoman theory, van der Kooij has sought to locate the translators among learned scribes, familiar with the text and content they were translating and therefore able to

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114. Mairs and Martin, “Bilingual ‘Sale,’” 57.

introduce interpretation.<sup>115</sup> His theory is built upon the ad hoc nature of the dragoman, translating from the first a new text. There is perhaps too great a binary opposition drawn between the putative dragoman and the generalized scribe-translator, when the two might be found in the one person. Within the one translation activity, there can be two levels of operation: on the one hand, the translation skill and method of rendering into Greek and, on the other, the understanding of the source text. These are two separate issues. To compare the Septuagint to the Egyptian translations is to understand the translation technique and, on the level of grammar, morphology, and lexical choice, the translation method applied. It is conceivable that working in a Greek administrative environment the translators learnt their task alongside their Egyptian counterparts. Even within such an environment translation was not merely ad hoc, since, as we have seen, the Egyptian translators were familiar with regular translation equivalents and context-sensitive renderings. That the Septuagint translators were also familiar with their source texts and knew reading traditions is not contrary to this—their knowledge of Hebrew reading traditions and interpretation is a separate issue from their style of Greek writing. They learnt their Greek skills among the administrative class, but as much as for any other translator of the time, that need not have been their only source of income. One translator named Apollonios, for example, seems to have traded in a range of goods (P.Cair.Zen. I 59065), while another, one Limnaios, was also a simple goatherd (P.Cair.Zen. III 59394).<sup>116</sup> Our Septuagint translators could well have been school teachers, prayer-house officials, or even scholars, but their methods and probably some of their income came from everyday translation. The dragoman is an Ottoman invention, while the scribe-translator is more appropriate for the temple setting; perhaps we should simply call them by the term that does exist in Egypt: *hermēneis*, “translators.”

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115. This has been argued in a series of publications. See, e.g., Arie van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision*, VTSup 71 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 112–23.

116. On these see Evans, “Court Function,” 249–50.



# Passivization in Septuagint Greek<sup>1</sup>

*Takamitsu Muraoka*

**Abstract:** The paper investigates ways in which active voice clauses in the Septuagint Greek are converted to the passive formulation. The patterns of transformation are classified depending on the number and type of objects in the active voice formulation. Besides, a few issues arising in the course of transformation are discussed such as impersonal passive and the appearance of an accusative object in passive transformation as if the verbs concerned had two objects in the accusative when they govern only one object in the active voice in the Septuagint.

I would like to address some issues that arise when a verbal clause in the active voice is transformed to the passive. Let me begin with a disclaimer. I shall not discuss ambiguous cases where one is not absolutely certain whether one is dealing with a middle voice form or a passive voice form. For instance, πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος Gen 1:2. We shall look at passive forms where either an agent is explicitly expressed or such can be understood from the general context with a reasonable degree of certainty. Let us first look at some structural changes that ensue as a result of passivization.

A typical transformation can be illustrated as ἔλουσε ὁ παῖς τοὺς πόδας μου > ἐλούσθησαν οἱ πόδες μου ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδός.

Excluding things like adverbial adjuncts of time, place, and manner a verb in the active voice can be expanded by an object noun or nouns or their equivalents. This verb phrase comes in various patterns.

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1. The following abbreviations will be used: CG = Classical Greek; KG = Koine Greek; SG = Septuagint Greek.

## 1. KINDS AND NUMBER OF VERB-EXPANDING OBJECT

## 1. ONE OBJECT: ACC.

Σώζων σῶζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν Gen 19:17 | ἐσώθη μου ἡ ψυχὴ Gen 32:31  
 ἤγαγεν Ἰωσίας τὸ πασχα “Josiah celebrated the Passover” 1 Esd 1:1 | οὐκ ἤχθη  
 τὸ πασχα τοιοῦτο “such a Passover had not been celebrated” ib. vs. 18.

## 2. ONE OBJECT: GEN.

As in CG, a genitive governed by a verb in the active voice, not a genitive of time or place, for instance, can be raised to the subject in passive transformation.

μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ τῶν πενήτων “Do not forget the poor” Ps 9:33 | οὐκ εἰς τέλος  
 ἐπιλησθήσεται ὁ πτωχός “the poor will not be forgotten for ever” Ps 9:19  
 κυριεύσεις ἡμῶν “you are going to rule over us” Gen 37:8 | κυριευθίσόμεθα “we  
 shall be ruled” Jer 2:31  
 καταφρονήσαντες ὁσιότητος “despising piety” Wis 14:30 | τὰ δόγματα αὐτοῦ  
 κατεφρονεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ “his views were despised by the people” 4  
 Macc 4:26  
 οὐκ εἰσηκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ “they did not listen to him” Gen 42:21 | ἐδεήθημεν τοῦ  
 κυρίου καὶ εἰσηκούσθημεν “we entreated the Lord and got a hearing” 2  
 Macc 1:8.

Not every genitive-governing verb can be passivized. For instance, one can hardly think of a passive voice version of clauses such as ἐπιμελοῦμαι αὐτοῦ “I shall take care of him” Gen 44:21<sup>2</sup> or πᾶν ἐμπνέον ζωῆς “everything that breathes with life” Josh 10:40.

## 3. ONE OBJECT: DAT.

A dative object in an active clause can also be raised to the subject of its passive transform, though this does not happen very often.

πιστεύω ἐγὼ τῷ ῥήματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ Νινευη “I believe the word of God about  
 N.” Tob 14:4G<sup>1</sup> | πιστευθήσονται τὰ ῥήματα ὑμῶν “your words will be  
 believed” Gen 42:20  
 τῷ ἄφρονι διακόνῳ χρήσεται “he will use his foolish servant” Prov 10:4a | ὃ οὐ  
 μὴ χρησθῇ εἰς οὐθέν “which could not be used for any purpose” Jer 13:7<sup>3</sup>

2. In English, one can say “he will be taken care of by me.”

3. Cf. αἱ (νέες) ... οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν “the (ships ...) were not used” Hdt. 7.144.2.



ἀπειλεῖ σοι “he will threaten you” Gen 27:42 | οὐδὲ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου  
ἀπειληθῆναι “nor is He, like a son of man, to be scared off” Num 23:19<sup>4</sup>

#### 4. ONE OBJECT: ACC. (> S) AND SUPPLEMENTING ACC.

This structure is common with verbs of sense perception, verbal communication or cognition. Between one accusative and another supplementing it, there lies a nominal clause. The primary accusative object is raised to the S, whilst the secondary one is made to agree with the S, becoming nominative:

εὗρεν αὐτοὺς ἀξίους ἑαυτοῦ “He found them worthy of Himself” Wis 3:5 | Νῶε  
εὐρέθη τέλειος “N. was found (to be) perfect” Sir 44:17  
εὗρεν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπος πλανώμενον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ “a man found him straying in the  
field” Gen 37:15 | ἐὰν εὐρεθῇ ἄνθρωπος κοιμώμενος μετὰ γυναικός “should  
a man be found lying with a woman” Deut 22:22  
φωστῆρας οὐρανοῦ πρυτάνεις κόσμου θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν “they thought celestial  
luminaries to be gods that rule the world” Wis 13:2 | ὑπὸ τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν  
νομιζομένων ἐλαχίστων εἶναι “by those considered, according to himself, to  
be of the least account” 2 Macc 8:35, where the genitive ἐλαχίστων is in  
agreement with its participial lead verb, νομιζομένων, so that its underlying  
clause would be νομίζονται καθ’ αὐτὸν ἐλάχιστοι (εἶναι).  
τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἐλογισάμεθα μανίαν “we considered his life madness” Wis 5:4 |  
πιστοὶ ἐλογίσθησαν “they were considered reliable” Neh 13:13  
ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν “God called the dry land earth” Gen 1:10 | αὕτη  
κληθήσεται γυνή “this shall be called woman” Gen 2:23, ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος  
προσευχῆς κληθήσεται “my house shall be called a house of prayer” Isa  
56:7, καὶ αὐτοὶ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος “they also shall be called  
children of the living” Hos 1:10.<sup>5</sup>  
ἤγησαι δέ με ὑπεναντίον σοι “you regard me as hostile to you” Job 13:24.

#### 4A. A VARIANT ON 4 (≠ 7): PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE

ὃν ἂν ἐπιγνῶς συντηροῦντα ἐντολάς “whom you recognise as observing  
commandments” Sir 37:12 | γινώσκεται κύριος κρίματα ποιῶν “the Lord is  
known to execute judgements” Ps 9:17  
γνωρίζομενοι ... πονηροὶ ὄντες “known ... to be evil” Esth 3:8L < \*γνωρίζομεν  
αὐτοὺς πονηροὺς ὄντας, cf. γνωσθήτω ἡβετηκυῖα τὸν λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως  
Ουαστιν “Let W. be known as having taken no note of the king’s word”  
Esth 1:18L.

4. Cf. οὐκέτι δὲ ἀπειλοῦμαι, ἀλλ’ ἤδη ἀπειλῶ ἄλλοις “I no longer submit to threats, but are now threatening others” Xenophon, *Symp.* 4.31.

5. Cf. αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται Matt 5:9. Also in CG as in αὐτοὶ νομοθέτοι κληθήσονται “they shall be called legislators” Plato, *Leg.* 681 d.

εἶδεν τὸν Ἰσαακ παίζοντα μετὰ Ρεβεκκας “he saw Is. dallying with R.” Gen 26:8  
 ἢ ὥφθη γὰρ τις ἵππος αὐτοῖς φοβερὸν ἔχων τὸν ἐπιβάτην “for a horse  
 appeared to them having the rider in an awesome manner” 2 Macc 3:25,  
 followed by ὁ δὲ ἐπικαθήμενος ἐφαίνετο χρυσοῦν πανοπλίαν ἔχων “the seated  
 one appeared to have a golden harness,” which latter clause does not lend  
 itself to passive transformation

No example of passive formulation of a clause such as ἤκουσαν αὐτῶν λεγόντων  
 “I heard them saying” Gen 37:17 happens to be attested in SG.

#### 4B. A VARIANT ON 4 (≠ 7): + ὅτι-CLAUSE

οἶδα ὑμᾶς ὅτι τόλμη ἐπείκεισθέ μοι “I know you that you daringly attack me” Job  
 21:27; ἐὰν γνωρίζηται ὁ ταῦρος ὅτι κερατιστῆς ἐστίν “if the bull is known to  
 be a goring (type)” Exod 21:36  
 ἤκουσεν ὅτι ἀπῆρεν ἀπὸ Λαχίς “he heard that he had departed from L.” 4 Kgdms  
 19:8 ἢ ἠκούσθη ὅτι σὺ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λογίζεσθε ἀποστατῆσαι “it was  
 reported that you were contemplating rebelling” Neh 6:6.

#### 5. TWO OBJECTS: ACC. (> S) AND GEN. (= GEN)

The accusative object is raised to the subject and the genitive object left  
 unaltered:

ἐπλησαν τὴν γῆν ἀνομίας “they filled the land with lawlessness” Ezek 8:17 ἢ  
 ἐπλήσθη ἡ γῆ ἀδικίας “the earth was filled with wickedness” Gen 6:11  
 εἶρξαν ἡμᾶς τῆς εἰσόδου “they refused us entry” 3 Macc 3:18 ἢ εἰρχθησαν τῆς  
 οἰκοδομῆς “they were prevented from building” 1 Esd 5:70  
 ἐστέρησέν σε κύριος τῆς δόξης “the Lord deprived you of glory” Num 24:11 ἢ  
 πάσης σοφίας ἐστερήθη “he was deprived of every wisdom” Sir 37:21  
 τοὺς πτωχοὺς αὐτῆς χορτάσω ἄρτων “I shall sate its poor with bread” Ps 131:15  
 ἢ ἐχορτάσθησαν υἱῶν “they were sated with sons” Ps 16:14  
 οὐκ ἐκωλύθησαν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς “they were not prevented from (keeping)  
 building” 1 Esd 6:6.<sup>6</sup>

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6. SG does not happen to attest to active <acc. + gen.>, but see ζῶντας πολλοὺς  
 αὐτῶν ἂν ἔλοι καὶ καλύσειε τοῦ καίειν ἐπιόντας “they capture many of them alive and  
 prevent them from burning as they advance” Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.6.2. It is uncertain  
 whether we have the same syntagm in ὁ καλύσων αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι “one who would  
 stop him returning” Mic 2:4, for in SG we also find a bare infinitive attested, e.g.,  
 καλῶν ἀνελεῖν “preventing (anyone) from destroying” Isa 28:6.

## 5A. TWO OBJECTS: ACC. AND INF.

κωλύσων αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι “preventing him from returning” Mic 2:4,  
 ἐκώλυσέν σε κύριος τοῦ μὴ ἐλθεῖν “the Lord prevented you from going” 1  
 Kgdms 25:26<sup>7</sup> ἢ ἐκώλυθη ὁ λαὸς ἔτι προσφέρειν “the people were  
 disallowed to bring any more” Exod 36:6.

## 6. TWO OBJECTS: DAT. (= DAT) AND ACC. (&gt; S)

The dative object is left unaltered and the accusative object is raised to S:

ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ἀργύριον ἐκάστῳ “to return the silver to each (one of them)” Gen  
 42:25 ἢ Ἀπεδόθη μοι τὸ ἀργύριον vs. 28.

In very few cases, however, the reverse transformation is observed: the dative object raised to S and the accusative object left unaltered:

μισουμένη μὴ ἐμπιστεύσης σεαυτὸν “Don’t trust yourself to a hated (woman)”  
 Sir 7:26 ἢ τὴν Κύπρον ἐμπιστευθέντα “having been entrusted with Cyprus”  
 2 Macc 10:13.

Hence in Εὐαγγελισθῆτω ὁ κύριος 2 Kgdms 18:31 (H יְתְבֹשֶׁר אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ), we should analyse the verb as impersonal and insert a comma after it, making ὁ κύριος vocative and translating “Congratulations, sir.” Compare Εὐαγγελία, κύριέ μου L.<sup>8</sup>

## 7. TWO OBJECTS: ACC. AND ACC.

ἐπότιζεν πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς “it [= the fountain] was watering the entire  
 surface of the earth” ἢ ποτισθήσεται ἡ γῆ “the land will be irrigated”  
 διδάξόν με τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου “Teach me to do your will” Ps 142:10 ἢ  
 δεδιδαγμένοι ᾄδειν κυρίῳ “taught to sing to the Lord” 1 Chr 25:7.

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7. One could argue that the article in these two cases is a genuine genitive form, not a mere marker of the infinitive, since the verb κωλύω can govern a genitive as in the example quoted above under section 5, 1 Esd 6:6.

8. The same could be said on οὕτως ἐντέταλται μοι Lev 10:13, but all the instances of this verb in the perfect (5x) are not genuine passives, e.g., ἐντέταλμαι ὑμῖν “I have commanded you” Josh 8:8. Ἐντέταλται Job 15:22 is passive, but means “he has been consigned.” Thus despite H יְצַוֵּנִי כֵן the example at Lev 10:13 is best rendered “thus He has commanded me.” Note that the same H at Lev 8:35 is rendered οὕτως ἐνετείλατό μοι [κύριος (> H)]. See also Exod 34:34, Num 3:16, 36:2, Ezek 12:7, 24:18, 37:7.

## 2. SOME OTHER RELATED MATTERS

## 8. PSEUDO-BITRANSITIVE VERBS

There are verbs which, in the active, take one accusative object. When passivized, however, they emerge with an accusative, making look as if they are bitransitive. For example, περιτέμνω (“to circumcise”) can take either a person or part of his body as object: περιέτεμεν Αβρααμ τὸν Ισαακ “A. circumcised Is.” Gen 21:4 and περιέτεμε τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας αὐτοῦ “the flesh of his foreskin” Gen 17:24, but a clause such as \*περιέτεμεν Αβρααμ τὸν Ισαακ τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας αὐτοῦ does not occur in SG nor in CG.<sup>9</sup> In passive transformation, we find cases such as περιτμηθήσεται<sup>10</sup> ὑμῶν πᾶν ἀρσενικόν “every male among you shall be circumcised” Gen 17:10 and περιτετμημένον ἤδη ἔχων τὸ τῶν ὀστέων πῆγμα “he already had the ligament of bones cut round” 4 Macc 9:21. On the other hand, we come across a case such as περιτμηθήσθε τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας ὑμῶν Gen 17:11, as if its underlying active formulation were περιτεμοῦσι ὑμᾶς τὴν σάρκα κτλ. See also Gen 17:14, 25.<sup>11</sup> Analogously behaves ξυράω (“to shave”): active—ἐξύρησαν αὐτόν “they shaved him” Gen 41:14, ξυρήσεις τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς “you shall shave her head” Deut 21:12; passive—μετὰ τὸ ξυρηθῆναι αὐτόν “after he was shaved” Lev 13:34, πᾶς πώγων ξυρηθήσεται “every beard shall be shaved” Jer 31:37; middle—ξυρήσεται τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ “he shall shave his (own) head” Num 6:9, τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν οὐ ξυρήσονται “they shall not shave their (own) head” Ezek 44:20. In SG this verb does not take two accusatives, either, when used in the active.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, we find a few cases such as ξυρηθήσεται αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν τρίχα “he

9. Eduard Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. 2 (Beck: München, 1950), 84 justly says: “man konnte kaum sagen ἐξέκοψαν με τὸν ὀφθαλμόν,” that is, in lieu of εἴθε ἐξέκόπην ... τὸν ὀφθαλμόν λίθῳ “I would have my eye knocked out with a stone” Aristophanes, *Nub.* 24.

10. We do not see here a passive loosely used in lieu of a middle voice form, for this particular verb attests to forms clearly marked as middle and capable of being assigned a value as middle, e.g., περιτεμῖσθε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν “you shall cut your stubbornness away” Deut 10:16 and περιετέμοντο τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας αὐτῶν “... the flesh of their own foreskin” Gen 34:24. A similar morphological ambiguity in ἐκείρετο (impf.) “he had a haircut” 2 Kgdms 14:26 can be resolved in favor of the middle in the light of κειράμενος (aor. mid.) later in the verse *L* as against an equivocal reading κειρόμενος (pres.) in the Kaige recension.

11. Cf. περιταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλήν “having many tracts of land amputated” Hdt. 4.159.4 and πᾶσαν ἐν ἔργῳ περιτεμνόμενον σοφίαν “being divested ... of all artfulness” Eur. *Fr.* 473.

12. A case in CG such as ξυρήσαντά μιν τὰς τρίχας “cutting his hair off” Hdt. 5.35.3 with acc. μιν “him” (someone other than the subject) suggests that in SG the verb could have taken two accusatives.

shall have all his hair shaved” Lev 14:8. Similarly Lev 14:9 bis, 21:5. This makes it difficult to determine the voice in a case such as τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ τοὺς πώγωνας ἐξυρῆμένοι “heads and beards” Ep Jer 30. Is it middle or passive? The same collocation occurs in ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρες, ἐξυρῆμένοι πώγωνα καὶ διερρηγμένοι τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ κοπτόμενοι “eighty men, having (their) beards shaved and having their clothes torn and beating their breast” Jer 48:5.<sup>13</sup> Compared with ξυράω, διαρρήγνυμι used here in its pf. middle/passive form with a human pl. subject occurs far more frequently (27:85), which facilitates a more thorough enquiry into our question. The collocation such as διαρρήγνυμι ἱμάτια (or χιτῶνα or ἐσθῆτα) occurs a good number of times. We would note that (1) the verb does not occur in the middle in the fut. and aor.;<sup>14</sup> (2) where the middle voice could be considered appropriate, the active form is used, for example, “ἵνα τί διέρρηξας τὰ ἱμάτιά σου; “why have you rent your clothes?” 4 Kgdms 5:8 || διέρρηξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτοῦ; (3) there are cases in which the pf. ptc. διερρηγμέν- is indisputably passive in value, for example, διερρηγμένα ἔχων τὰ ἱμάτια 1 Esd 8:70, compare ἐνδύσεται διερρηγμένα καὶ ῥακώδη “he will wear torn and tattered (clothes)” Prov 23:21; and (4) the Hebrew, resultative passive participle מְרֵחָה is rendered with a pf. act. ptc. concurring with a personal subject in Χουσι ὁ Ἀρχι ἐταῖρος Δαυιδ διερρηχῶς τὸν χιτῶνα αὐτοῦ 2 Kgdms 15:32; compare παραγίνονται οἱ δοῦλοι Ἰωαβ πρὸς αὐτὸν διερρηχότες τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν 2 Kgdms 14:30.<sup>15</sup> So also 4 Kgdms 18:37, and see διερρηχότες τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν 1 Macc 13:45. It may be concluded, then, that in SG διερρηγμέν- forms are more likely to be passive rather than middle.<sup>16</sup> Thus διερρηγμένοι τὰ ἱμάτια Jer 48:5 exemplifies the same syntactic structure as the earlier cited περιτμηθήσεσθε τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας ὑμῶν Gen 17:11 and ξυρηθήσεται αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν τρίχα Lev 14:8. Hence it is unnecessary to see a syntactic Hebraism in τὰ ἄκρα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν ... ἀποκεκομμένοι (H מְצֻרְצֵר) “having the tips of their hands ...

13. What has been said above about ξυράω also applies to a lexico-semantically related verb here, διαρρήγνυμι; despite its relative frequency we find in SG no example such as διέρρηξα τὸν βασιλέα τὸν χιτῶνα αὐτοῦ or ... τοῦ χιτῶνος αὐτοῦ “I tore the king’s tunic off.” The pf. ptc. in ἐσχισμένοι τοὺς χιτῶνας “having torn their (own) tunic” Isa 36:22 can be analysed as middle.

14. But in Homer we find διὰ τε ῥήξασθαι ἐπ’ ἄλλῃς “to break through the battlements” *Il.* 12.308.

15. This entire clause is absent in MT but is preserved in 4Q53, including מְרֵחָה.

16. At καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ διερρηγόντα 1 Kgdms 4:12, H, even spelled *defectiva*, can only be meant to be read *gru’im*, Qal passive ptc., similarly 2 Kgdms 1:2. At 1 Kgdms 4:12 L reads διερρηγμένα. This verb in its pf. act. is used with passive value in CG as well, e.g., διερρωγιῶν τῶν χορδῶν “after the strings were broken” Plato, *Phaed.* 86a. So with its simplex: φυσητὴρ χαλκῆως ἐρρηγῶς “a burst bellows of a blacksmith” Job 32:19. Then ῥήγνυμι and διαρρήγνυμι appear to belong to a group of verbs that are used indiscriminately as transitive and intransitive, though this fluidity is, so far as the attested forms are concerned, restricted to the pf. ptc. active.

chopped off” Judg 1:7. Similar analysis can be applied to τὰ τοῦ σώματος μέλη ἀκρωτηριαζόμεθα “we have the limbs of our body severed” 4 Macc 10:20; τοῖς ζυγοῖς τῶν πλοίων προσηλωμένοι τοὺς τραχήλους ... τοὺς πόδας ἀρρήκτοις κατησφαλισμένοι πέδαις “fastened with the yokes of the boats by the necks ... secured with unbreakable fetters by the feet” 3 Macc 4:9; οἶκος τοῦ ὑπολυθέντος τὸ ὑπόδημα “the house of one who had his shoes taken off” Deut 25:10;<sup>17</sup> ἀπεξάινετο ταῖς μάστιξιν τὰς σάρκας ὁ γέρων “the old man was having pieces of his flesh scraped off with the whips” 4 Macc 6:6<sup>18</sup>; ἐσκοτισμένοι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς “having their eyes deprived of light” 3 Macc 4:10.<sup>19</sup> This construction is no innovation in SG, as shown by τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκει πίπτει “he fell, his hand cut off with an axe” Hdt. 6.114.1.<sup>20</sup> In conclusion, the non-attestation in CG and SG alike of a clause such as \*περιέτεμεν Αβρααμ τὸν Ισαακ τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας αὐτοῦ could be an accident due to incomplete documentation. In CG a clause such as ἥ σε πόδας νίψει, “she will wash your feet” Homer, *Od.* 19.356 is not uncommon.<sup>21</sup>

There is another syntactic issue that arises from our foregoing discussion. In the syntagm represented in a clause such as περιτμηθήσεσθε τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας ὑμῶν Gen 17:11, we have a personal<sup>22</sup> referent as the grammatical

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17. Cf. τὰ σανδάλιά σου ὑπόλυσαι (mid. impv.) ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν σου “Take your sandals off your feet” Isa 20:2.

18. Pace Gary A. Chamberlain, *The Greek of the Septuagint: A Supplement Lexicon* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2012), 20, who records the verb first attested here as middle. In τὰ πλευρὰ κατετιτρώσκετο juxtaposed to the above-cited 4 Macc clause, the subject of the verb may also be Eleazar and not τὰ πλευρά: “he had his sides being lacerated.” Cf. τιτρώσκεσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν “to have one’s mind wounded” 2 Macc 3:16.

19. Thus syntactically distinct from σκοτισθήτωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν “Let their eyes become darkened” Ps 68:24, where in its active transform the eyes would be put in the accusative, and not a human victim.

20. More CG examples may be found in Raphael Kühner and Bernhard Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen sprache* (Hannover: Hahn, 1890–1904), 2:1.125–26. § 378, 8, e.g., ἀπετμήθησαν τὰς κεφαλὰς “they had their heads chopped off” Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.8.3.

21. For a good number of examples, see Schwyzler, *Grammatik*, 2:81 c, 83 ε. Similar uncertainty attaches to καλύω, which in CG can take two accusatives as in ἔστιν, ὅς σε καλύσει τὸ δρᾶν “there is one who will prevent you from doing that” Sophocles, *Phil.* 1241. As against ἐκώλυσέ σε κύριος τοῦ μὴ ἐλθεῖν “the Lord prevented you from entering” 1 Kgdms 25:26, we have ἀποκαλύσασά με σήμερον ἐν ταύτῃ μὴ ἐλθεῖν vs. 33. Is the article τοῦ a mere infinitive marker? Probably so in the light of ἐκωλύθη ὁ λαὸς ἔτι προσφέρειν “the people were prevented from offering any longer” Exod 36:6, though καλύω can also govern a genitive noun as in οὐκ ἐκωλύθησαν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς “they were not hindered in their building work” 1 Esd 6:6.

22. A rare exception is πόλις τὰ τείχη καταβεβλημένη “a city with its walls razed to the ground” Prov 25:28. One is not here, however, talking about a renovation, but a city

subject and his inalienable body-part as an accusative object. It so happens that the verbs in question express something done to him, something that is perceived or suffered by him as painful, harmful, inconvenient or disadvantageous.<sup>23</sup> Of the SG verbs discussed above, *περιτέμνω* is exceptional in that in passive transformation either ACC<sub>1</sub> or ACC<sub>2</sub> can be raised to the subject. In most other cases, the grammatical subject so raised is a personal referent, and the ACC<sub>2</sub> expresses part of the person, although the logical subject of such a passive verb is what is referred to by the accusative object. In theory at least, *ἀπεξάινετο ταῖς μάστιξιν τὰς σάρκας ὁ γέρων* 4 Macc 6:6 should have been capable of being worded *ἀπεξάινοντο ταῖς μάστιξιν αἱ σάρκες τοῦ γερῶντος*, whilst the text as actually found lays focus on the person, who had the dreadfully painful thing done to him. To this syntagm, then, there appears to be more than *σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος*.<sup>24</sup>

Another standing phrase *συντετριμμένος τὴν καρδίαν* “brokenhearted”<sup>25</sup> appears to represent a syntagm distinct from the one discussed above. In *ἐγγύς*

wall destroyed by enemies. *Καταβάλλω*, a fairly frequently occurring verb, is not known to be bitransitive in SG, nor in CG.

23. One might mention an English syntagm <have + object. + past participle> as in “I had my study ransacked,” though the English syntagm is neutral, since one can also say “I had all the walls of my study painted in bright colours.” All the examples cited in Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 2:84, a, e.g., *ἀπετμήθησαν τὰς κεφαλὰς* “they had their heads severed” Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.8.3 and a much greater number of examples cited in Kühner and Gerth, *Grammatik*, 2:1.316, a and b express something experienced as painful or harmful. This applies to the above-quoted *τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκει πίπτει* Hdt 6.1.141. Likewise *εἴθ' ἐξεκόπην ... τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν λίθῳ* “I would rather have my eye knocked out with a stone” Aristophanes, *Nub.* 24; it cannot possibly mean “would that it had had its eye knocked out ...” (W. J. Hickie; London, 1853). Circumcision would also be a painful operation to eight-day old baby boys, let alone to adult males.

This reminds us of the Japanese passive morpheme *-reru* / *-rareru*. In spite of Western infiltration as in *kore wa itsu kakare* (< *kaku*) *mashita ka?* “When was this written?” the authentic Japanese passive is illustrated in, e.g., *watashi wa hidoi koto o kakare mashita* “I had awful things written (about me, my publication etc.), even with an intransitive verb as in *watashi wa yuube yonaka ni kyuyuu ni korare ta* “late midnight yesterday I had an old friend come to visit me.”

24. A rubric under which this syntagm is sometimes analysed, e.g., Schwyzer, *Grammatik*, 2:84, a.

25. In Biblical Greek, it is always used figuratively unlike as in *ἔδειξε συντετριμμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς* “he pointed out men who had their legs and ribs crushed” Xenophon, *Anab.* 4.7.4. All the same the biblical expression is in origin affiliated with the syntagm discussed above, for one reaches such a state of mind by going through the painful process of one’s hard, overconfident mind and heart crushed. Would it be farfetched to suggest that Medea suffered a loss of her mental (θυμός) equilibrium with her infatuation when we read *ἔρωτι θυμὸν ἐκπλαγεῖσ'* Ἰάσονος “she had her senses thrown to the winds with love for Jason” Euripides, *Med.* 8?

κύριος τοῖς συντετριμμένοις τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς τῷ πνεύματι σώσει “the Lord is near to the broken-hearted and He will save the lowly of spirit” Ps 33:19, where the parallelism with a dative of respect τῷ πνεύματι is to be noted, and see *ιάσασθαι* τοὺς συντετριμμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ “to heal ...” Isa 61:1 || τοῖς συντετριμμένοις τὴν καρδίαν 57:15. Likewise Ps 146:3. This phrase occurs in an original composition as well: τῶν συντετριμμένων τὰς ψυχὰς “of the dispirited” 3 Macc 2:20.<sup>26</sup> Hence *καρδίαν*, *ψυχὰς*, and the like are best viewed as accusatives of respect. We do find, however, a few examples of the passive *συντερίβω* with these substantives as the grammatical subject: *πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον*, *καρδίαν συντετριμμένην* Ps 50:19 (=H); ἐν ψυχῇ συντετριμμένη καὶ πνεύματι ταπεινώσεως “in a broken soul and a spirit of humility” Dan 3:39. *Συντερίβη ἡ καρδία μου*, ἐγενήθην ὡς ἀνὴρ συντετριμμένος Jer 23:9 shows scope for poetic variation—a person broken and his heart broken. For correct analysis of this combination of *καρδία*, *ψυχή*, or *πνεῦμα* and a passive form of *συντερίβω*, we need to remember that, though the corresponding Hebrew verb is also passive and has a person as its formal subject as in *לֹא יִשְׁכַּח אִישׁ אֱנוֹשׁ* *συντετριμμένος τὴν καρδίαν*, the true subject, what is broken, is *לֵב*. *טוב* as applied to a person does not by itself imply a pretty face or good looks, for which *יָפִי* is used. Instead, *טוב* is usually used in its construct form followed by *אֶחָד* or *הַיָּחִיד*. Thus note the description of the baby Moses as understood by the LXX translator with *ἀστεῖον*, “charming” (H *טוב*) Exod 2:2. Therefore, with *ἀνὴρ συντετριμμένος τὴν καρδίαν*, we are not talking about a broken man, but a man with a broken heart.<sup>27</sup>

## 9. COMPOUND VERBS

There are some collocations consisting of a verb and an object, and they are best considered to be forming syntactically inseparable units. In such cases the object is not raised to S in passivization: *τελειώω τὰς χεῖράς τινος* “to consecrate somebody” as in *τελειῶσαι τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν* Exod 29:29. Passivized, not the hands, but the person being consecrated becomes the grammatical subject: *ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ χριστὸς ὁ τετελειωμένος τὰς χεῖρας* “the anointed, consecrated priest” Lev 4:5.

In the case of cognate objects, we sometimes come across pseudo-bitransitive verbs, for example, *ἐζήλωκα ... τὴν Σιων ζῆλον μέγαν καὶ θυμῷ μεγάλῳ ἐζήλωκα αὐτήν* “I was ardently attached ... to Zion and I was attached to

26. The pl. *ψυχὰς* here suggests that in *συνετοὶ καρδίας* Job 34:10, 34 we have an acc. pl. rather than a gen. sg. *Pace* “putting our souls at peace” *NETS* the noun is hardly a second object of the following verb: *ποιήσας ἡμῖν εἰρήνην*.

27. On this interesting feature of Hebrew syntax, see Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 2nd ed., SubBi 27 (Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2006), § 129 *i-ia*, and for further details, Takamitsu Muraoka, “The Status Constructus of Adjectives in Biblical Hebrew,” *VT* 27 (1977): 375–80.



her with great fury” Zech 8:2. In such cases, a cognate object is not raised to S but the other accusative, and the cognate object remains unaltered. For example, *Ἰσραὴλ σώζεται ὑπὸ κυρίου σωτηρίαν αἰώνιον* “Israel is saved by the Lord with eternal salvation” Isa 45:17; *ταφήν ὄνου ταφήσεται* “he will be granted a donkey’s burial” Jer 22:19; *βοηθηθήσονται βοήθειαν μικράν* “they will be offered a little help” Dan 11:34 TH.

However, a cognate accusative can be raised to S if the underlying active clause does not contain a real object: *θρηνηθήσεται θρήνος ἐν μέλει* “a sorrowful dirge will be sung” Mic 2:4. Though possible to analyse the complex *θρηνηθήσεται θρήνος* as impersonal passive, an example in CG such as *ὁ οἰκεῖος ἡμῖν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμήθη* “our war at home was waged like that” Pl. *Menex.* 243e suggests otherwise.

The preceding also applies to a dative cognate object, for example, *περιτομήσεται* “he shall be strictly circumcised” Gen 17:13.

#### 10. IMPERSONAL PASSIVE

The third person singular passive is fairly often used impersonally. The focus of an utterance comes then to rest on the execution of an action rather than on its executor. I am not aware of such a usage in CG.<sup>28</sup> It is known to Classical Hebrew, too. Elsewhere,<sup>29</sup> I have presented some such examples, totalling eleven. In all of them, the LXX translators, five of them, chose not to translate in conformity with their *Vorlage*. Hence we probably do not have a Hebraism / Semitism here. Maybe a language universal of sorts.<sup>30</sup>

Note further *ἐπτάκις ἐκδεδίκηται ἐκ Καὶν* “seven times vengeance has been taken against Cain” Gen 4:24; *τόπος, οὗ οὐ σπείρεται* “a place where one does not sow” Num 20:5; *οὕτως ἐντέταλταί μοι* “so have I been commanded” Lev 10:13; *καὶ ἐκηρύχθη καὶ ἐρρέθη ἐν τῇ Νινευη* “it was announced and said in N.” Jonah 3:7<sup>31</sup>; *προσετάγη τῷ κήτει* “a command was issued to the large fish” Jonah 2:11. Note that in every case the Greek significantly departs from the Hebrew: *שבעתים יקם-יקין, לא מקום ירע, כן צויתי, ויצעק ויאמר בנינו, ויאמר יהוה לדג*.

28. Kühner and Gerth, *Grammatik*, 2:1.125, Anm. 2, “selten”: *Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντέλεγον μὴ δικαίως σφῶν καταδεδικάσθαι* “the Lacedaemonians kept protesting that they had been unjustly judged” Th. 5.49.2, and another instance in Xenophon, *Vect.* 1.1. The other example quoted there does not appear to belong here: *ὣν δ’ ἂν καταψηφισθῇ τιμᾶν ὅτι χρὴ παθεῖν αὐτῶν τινὰς ἢ ἀποτίνειν* “should any one of them be found guilty, the same court would have to decide what his punishment or fine shall be” Plato, *Pol.* 299a.

29. Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, § 152 *fa*.

30. Cf. German *In dem Café wurde bis in die Nacht getanzt* with an intransitive verb. Similarly in Dutch: *Er wordt aan de deur geklopt*.

31. *קָמַךְ* Niphal means “to be convened, assembled,” but not “to be announced.”

## 11. PASSIVE AGENT

Compared with some modern Indo-European languages, it seems that Greek expresses a passive agent rather infrequently.<sup>32</sup> The commonest way is to use <ὕπό + gen.>, cp. συνέτριψα τὸν Δημήτριον “I have crushed D.” 1 Macc 10:52 with συνετρίβη αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν “he, along with his army, has been crushed by us” vs. 53. Other prepositions serve the same purpose, not only in SG but also in CG and KG. They are ἀπό: γυναῖκα ἐκβεβλημένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς “a woman expelled by her husband” Lev 21:7; ἐκ: ἀδικοῦμαι ἐκ σοῦ “I am being wronged by you” Gen 16:5; διὰ: ἀλὸς διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ “caught by God” Exod 22:8; παρά: οὐ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ παρὰ κυρίου χάρις “grace was not granted to him by God” Sir 37:21; πρὸς: καταγελῶμενοι πρὸς ἀπάντων “be mocked by all” 4 Macc 6:20. In addition, a dative also serves the same purpose. As in CG, it is virtually confined to the pf. and the pluperfect, but we find in SG rare exceptions: παμμειγέσιν ἔθνεσιν κατοικουμένην “inhabited by all sorts of ethnic groups” 2 Macc 12:13 (present); φήμη δυσμενῆς ἐξηχεῖτο κατὰ τοῦ γένους ἀνθρώποις ... “a malicious rumour was being broadcast against the nation by people ...” 3 Macc 3:2 (imperfect); ὥς ἐκρίθη σοι “as was laid down by you” 1 Esd 8:90 (aorist).

## 12. VARYING TRANSFORMATIONS

Some verbs, even carrying same or very closely related meanings, attest more than one of the syntagms described above, and their passive transforms also vary. This can be illustrated with καλέω “to name”.

+ double acc.: ἐκάλεσεν τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν Gen 1:10 | ἐκλήθη σκηνὴ μαρτυρίου “it was called tent of testimony” Exod 33:7. Though still with a double acc., we have a slightly different pattern represented in καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσραὴλ “you shall call his name Is.” Gen 16:11 | ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐδωμ Gen 25:30.

+ dat. and acc. (ὄνομα): ἐκάλεσεν ... ὀνόματα πᾶσιν τοῖς κτήνεσιν “he named all the animals” Gen 2:20 | τοῖς δουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ κληθήσεται ὄνομα καινόν “a new name shall be given to those who serve Him” Isa 65:15.

+ dat. and acc. (proper noun or nickname): ἐκλήθη τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ Παρεμβολὴ Δαν “that place was named Dan’s camp” Judg 18:12AL (B: ἐν τῷ). Since we do not find this syntagm attested in the active voice, we probably have an impersonal passive here; cf. MT יִקְרָא here. Likewise σοὶ κληθήσεται Θέλημα ἐμόν “You will be called My darling,” following οὐκέτι κληθήσῃ Καταλελειμένη “you will no longer be called Abandoned” Isa 62:4 (MT קָרָא).

32. In the whole book of Genesis, we have only four cases in which an agent is explicitly marked: thrice with ὑπό (26:29, 45:21, 27) and once with ἐκ (16:5). By contrast the NIV marks such an agent as many as fifteen times by means of “by,” e.g., 5:29, 9:6, 8.

ἄλ :: :: ἄλ (יִקְרָא); οὐ κληθήσεται τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἔτι Διάπτωσις “this place will not be called Fall any more” Jer 19:6 (MT הַיָּד הַזֶּה לִּמְקָרָא לְאֵלִי).

At Gen 26:33, the Göttingen edition reads ἐκάλεσεν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει Φρεαρ ὄρκου; the MT has no verb but reads שְׁם-הָעִיר בְּאֵר שָׁבַע. We would then rather drop the verb and not create an extraordinary syntagm with three object complements; τῇ πόλει is adnominal as in Τί ὄνομα αὐτῷ; “what is his name?” Exod 3:13 (מִהְשָׁמָה).<sup>33</sup>

Beside the presence of a prepositional adjunct the dative σοι in ἐν Ἰσαακ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα Gen 21:12 is probably a dative of advantage: “you will have the benefit of (your) offspring named after Isaac.”

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33. For Wevers's argument for adding the verb, see John W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Genesis*, MSU 11 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 204.



# Reflexive Pronouns in the Greek Pentateuch

Raija Sollamo

Abstract: There are three phenomena, at least, that make the usage of the reflexive pronouns interesting in the Greek Pentateuch. One is the contrast between Hebrew and Greek. While Hebrew has no reflexive pronouns, that is, it does not make a distinction between normal personal pronominal suffixes and reflexive suffixes, the reflexive pronouns do exist in Greek, even though the oblique cases of the personal pronouns often appear in the function of the reflexive pronouns as well. The Pentateuch translators used both the reflexive pronouns and the oblique cases of the simple personal or possessive pronouns to express reflexivity. Altogether, they used the marked reflexive pronouns very sparingly. This general characteristic of the Greek Pentateuch is quite on a par with usual Koine practice and idiom.

Second, the reflexive pronouns of the Greek Pentateuch (207 occurrences) provide us with a view of how the translators managed with the many changes that occurred in the usage of reflexives in the Koine. In the third person singular and plural, they favor the forms beginning with *ἐ-*, such as *ἐαυτοῦ*, *ἐαυτῆς*, *ἐαυτῶν*, *ἐαυτοῖς*, and *ἐαυτόν* that are very common in the Koine and in the New Testament as well. If the forms do not begin with *epsilon*, they could still have a *spiritus asper* to mark their reflexivity. Since the *spiritus* markers are not used in the manuscripts, the decision between a *spiritus asper* and *spiritus lenis* always falls to the text editor. Both Rahlfs and Wevers prefer the *spiritus lenis*, which implies the usage of the simple personal/possessive pronoun. Only in a very few instances do they suggest that the translator intended to have a marked reflexive pronoun with the *spiritus asper* (Gen 41:11, Exod 21:8 [Rahlfs against Wevers], Num 33:5). In the second person singular, the uncontracted forms, such as *σεαυτῶ* for *σαντῶ*, dominate the field. In the first and second person plural, the translators use the same forms as in the third person plural, for instance, *ἐαυτῶν* and *ἐαυτοῖς*. They also use the classical forms, such as *ὑμῶν αὐτῶν* and *ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς*. The Exodus translator introduces an innovation that is unknown else-

where in the Koine into the language of the Septuagint by connecting the reflexive pronoun beginning with ἐ- to the corresponding personal pronoun in the second person plural, producing the combination ὑμῖν ἑαυτοῖς (12:21, 20:23b, 30:32, and 30:37 [Rahlfs prefers ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς in 20:23b and 30:37]). This rarity also appears once in Numbers (16:6, which is text-critically debated, because elsewhere in Numbers ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς is used) and twice in Deuteronomy (4:23 and 9:16).

Third, the differences between the different translators of the Pentateuch are not very conspicuous. The most important are the innovative form of the second person plural reflexive in Exodus and the use of the adjective ἴδιος sporadically in the function of the reflexive pronoun in Genesis and Deuteronomy.

# 1. A BRIEF COMPARISON OF THE USE OF THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN HEBREW AND GREEK

No actual reflexive personal pronouns exist in Biblical Hebrew. Nevertheless, the idea of reflexivity is present in Hebrew and is discussed in Hebrew grammars, although certainly not as a topical grammatical phenomenon. The phenomenon is mostly dealt with in connection with reflexive verbal stems, *niphal* and *hithpael*, which form the usual way of expressing the reflexive in Hebrew.<sup>1</sup> In addition, it is usually mentioned that the lack of the reflexive personal pronouns can be compensated in various ways. First, the simple pronominal suffixes are also used in the reflexive sense in connection with both nouns and prepositions.<sup>2</sup> Second, there also appear substantival substitutes for the reflexive pronoun, such as נפש, קרב, and לב, and more seldom עצם, which are usually used with different prepositions or *nota accusativi*.<sup>3</sup>

A few examples:

Gen 8:9 וַיָּבֵא אֹתָהּ אֵלָיו אֶל־הַתֵּב “and brought it into the ark **with him**.” NRSV

Gen 11:29 וַיֵּקַח אַבְרָם וְנָחֹר לָהֶם נָשִׁים “Abram and Nahor took wives.” NRSV

Judg 3:16 וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ אֶהוּד חֶרֶב “Ehud made **for himself** a sword.” NRSV

Prov 19:8 קִנְיַת־לֵב אֹהֵב נַפְשׁוֹ “To get wisdom is to love **oneself**.” NRSV<sup>4</sup>

1. Joüon § 146, 545.

2. Joüon § 146, 545–546. GKC § 135 i–l, 439.

3. Joüon § 146, 545–546. GKC § 139, f, g, 448–449.

4. As can be seen from the English translations above, the reflexive pronouns in English are not very frequently used and can be replaced with the simple personal or possessive pronouns.

In Greek, reflexive pronouns do exist. Originally, the personal pronouns in the oblique cases were also reflexive. Only gradually did the distinction between personal and reflexive pronouns take place. But even so, the personal pronouns continued to be used as reflexives.<sup>5</sup> Edward T. Jeremiah has described the emergence of reflexivity in Greek language well and connected it with the development of Greek thought about the self as a subject.<sup>6</sup> A big change takes place in pre-Socratic philosophy, when “thinkers begin shifting the centre of ethical gravity towards the self.”<sup>7</sup> Jeremiah concludes that the pronominal ethical system does not imply a mere syntactic alternative to middle reflexivity. It has different semantic properties.<sup>8</sup> At any rate, the distinct reflexive pronouns came into common use in Attic prose. To move from the philosophical domain and Attic prose to the Koine, the reflexive pronouns became rarer, and the oblique cases of the personal pronouns often appeared in the function of the reflexive pronouns.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, if the translator used Greek reflexive pronouns in the proper way, it shows that he understood his Hebrew source text very well and was very capable of translating it into good Greek. If now and then he failed to recognize the Hebrew reflexivity and used a simple personal or possessive pronoun, he still remained within normal Greek practice and idiom. In this respect, it is worth the trouble to place the reflexive pronouns of the Greek Pentateuch under closer scrutiny and compare the translations book by book. For the sake of clarity, it must be mentioned that only the actual reflexive pronouns are included in this study, not the personal or possessive pronouns used in a reflexive sense. This treatise differs from the usual method applied to the study of translation technique in that the point of departure is not the Hebrew parent text but the Greek text of the Septuagint. We ask what reflexive pronouns appear in the Greek Pentateuch, how they are used, how they correspond to the usual Koine practice and idiom, and what kind of differences can be found between the different books.

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5. Eduard Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik I*, 2nd ed., Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 2.1.1 (Munich: Beck, 1953), 606–7. A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 3rd ed (London: Hodder & Stroughton, 1919), 680–81.

6. Edward T. Jeremiah, *The Emergence of Reflexivity in Greek Language and Thought: From Homer to Plato and Beyond*, PhA 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

7. Jeremiah, *Emergence*, 83–125, especially 125.

8. *Ibid.*, 261–68.

9. Robertson, *Grammar*, 681. Jerker Blomqvist and Pouls Ole Jastrup, *Grekisk—graesk grammatik* (Odense: Akademisk Forlag, 1991), § 247, 206–207. Friedrich Blass and Albert Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 13. Aufl. Mit einem Ergänzungsheft von David Tabachowitz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), §§ 283–85, 177–79. Eduard Bornemann and Ernst Risch, *Griechische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Diesterweg, 1978), §§ 66–67, 61–63.

On the Greek side, the oblique cases of reflexive pronouns of the third person (both singular and plural) present a challenging problem for the researcher. In Hellenistic papyri, both forms with *spiritus asper* and without *spiritus asper* occur as well as forms beginning with *spiritus asper* and *epsilon*; for instance, in the masculine genitive singular of the third person the forms αὐτοῦ, αὐτοῦ and ἐαυτοῦ appear alongside one another until the end of the second century BCE. According to Edwin Mayser, the forms without ἐ- prevail in a ratio of 4:1 in the third century BCE, whereas in the second century BCE the forms with ἐ- dominate in the same ratio of 4:1, but in the first century BCE only forms with ἐ- are found.<sup>10</sup> According to Ludwig Radermacher, the forms with ἐ- were colloquial; people used them for clarity, while the forms with *spiritus asper* without *epsilon* remained literary.<sup>11</sup>

Mayser emphasizes that the real challenge does not consist of forms beginning with ἐ- but of deciding whether one has to read αὐτ- or αὐτ- (αὐτοῦ or αὐτοῦ, etc.), that is, a reflexive pronoun or an ordinary personal pronoun used as a reflexive. According to him, the best practice that the editor or researcher can follow is to search the context very carefully in order to find out whether the author sporadically used forms beginning with ἐ- as alternatives for the reflexive pronoun in the third person singular and/or plural or whether his usage of the reflexive pronoun has contemporary parallels or seems to correspond to contemporary idioms. If the latter is the case, then it is reasonable to conclude that he really used the reflexive pronouns beginning with the *spiritus asper* and not the usual forms of the personal pronouns with *spiritus lenis*. Three hundred years of Ptolemaic papyri is so long a period that one practice for the whole period and for the different genres or styles is not plausible. According to Mayser, it is after all impossible to reach absolute certainty on the presence of the *spiritus asper* versus *spiritus lenis* in individual instances.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN THE SEPTUAGINT OF GENESIS

There appear altogether fifty-nine cases of reflexive pronouns in the Greek Genesis. They can be divided into three categories: (1) the reflexive pronoun in the dative (twenty-three occurrences) or in the accusative (twice); (2) the reflexive pronoun as a genitive attribute, placed between the article and the noun (seven occurrences); and (3) the reflexive pronoun after a preposition (twenty-

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10. Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*, vol. 1.2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1938), § 69, 4, 65.

11. Ludwig Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 2 ed., HNT 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1925), 73. Eduard Schwyzer and Albert Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik II: Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik* (Munich: Beck, 1950), 192–99 (–207).

12. Mayser, *Grammatik*, § 66, 71–74.



four instances). In addition to these, the adjective ἴδιος is once used in the function of a reflexive pronoun (Gen 47:18) and once in order to clarify the reflexivity in an instance (Gen 14:14) where the normal possessive pronoun (αὐτοῦ) is used. It also appears in a free idiomatic rendering in Gen 15:13.

## 2.1. EXAMPLES OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN THE DATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

Gen 11:29 וַיָּקַח אֲבָרָם וְנִחֹר לְהֵם נָשִׁים—καὶ ἔλαβον Αβραμ καὶ Ναχωρ **ἐαυτοῖς** γυναῖκας.

Gen 11:4 וַיֹּאמְרוּ הֶבְהֵל נִבְנֶה-לָּנוּ עִיר וּמִגְדָּל—καὶ εἶπαν δεῦτε οἰκοδομήσωμεν **ἐαυτοῖς** πόλιν καὶ πύργον. Note ἐαυτοῖς as the reflexive pronoun of the first person plural.

Gen 24:6 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלִיוֹ אֲבָרָהָם הֲשֵׁמָר לְךָ פְּדִיתָשִׁיב אֶת-בְּנִי שָׂמָה—εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν Αβρααμ πρόσεχε **σεαυτῷ** μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸν υἱόν μου ἐκεῖ.

The Hebrew idiom הֲשֵׁמָר לְךָ פְּדִיתָשִׁיב is here translated by πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ μὴ, but in Gen 31:24 and 31:29 with φύλαξαι σεαυτόν μήποτε. These latter instances are, by the way, the only instances where the reflexive pronoun is used as a direct accusative object of the verb (and even though the verb is in the middle voice) in Genesis. For example:

Gen 31:24 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הֲשֵׁמָר לְךָ פְּדִיתָשִׁיב עִסְיָעֶקֶב מִטּוֹב עַד-רָע—καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Φύλαξαι **σεαυτόν** μήποτε λαλήσῃς μετὰ Ιακωβ πονηρά. Note the middle voice φύλαξαι and the usage of a direct reflexive (σεαυτόν) after it.

## 2.2. EXAMPLES OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS AS A GENITIVE ATTRIBUTE

Gen 19:17 וְעַל-נִפְשֶׁכָּם שֹׁפֵזִים—σώζων σῶζε τὴν **σεαυτοῦ** ψυχήν.

Gen 32:2 וַיַּעֲקֹב הָלַךְ לְדָרְכוֹ—καὶ Ιακωβ ἀπήλθεν εἰς τὴν **ἐαυτοῦ** ὁδόν.

Gen 41:11 וַיִּנְחַלְמָה חֲלוֹם בְּלִילָה אֶחָד אֲנִי וְהוּא אִישׁ כַּפְתָּרוֹן חֲלֵמֵי חֲלֵמָנוּ:—καὶ εἶδομεν ἐνύπνιον ἐν νυκτὶ μιᾷ ἐγὼ τε καὶ αὐτός, ἕκαστος κατὰ τὸ **αὐτοῦ** ἐνύπνιον εἶδομεν. Note that the attributive genitive of the reflexive pronoun is stressed and placed between the article and the noun. This seems to be the main reason why both Rahlfs and Wevers prefer the reflexive pronoun αὐτοῦ here to the simple genitive of the personal pronoun (αὐτοῦ). Another reason might be that the reflexive is common in distributive expressions. Their decision is also supported by a group of manuscripts that read the reflexive pronoun ἐαυτοῦ (961 C<sup>xxx-14</sup> 77<sup>500</sup> 56<sup>c</sup>-129 30-344<sup>7</sup> 74<sup>7</sup>-76 = Compl).

## 2.3. EXAMPLES OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS USED WITH PREPOSITIONS

Gen 18:13 וְהָיָה צִחְקָהּ זֶה לְמָוָה—τί ὅτι ἐγέλασεν Σαρρα ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα. Note that ἐν ἑαυτῇ is an interpretative addition made by the translator that harmonizes his translation with the previous verse where ἐν ἑαυτῇ corresponds to בְּקִרְבָּהּ of the *Vorlage*. The clause is usually interpreted in such a way that ἐν ἑαυτῇ is connected with laughing (thus also in NETS) instead of saying what to my mind would be a more natural interpretation (“thinking in herself”).

Gen 22:16 וְנֹאמַרְתִּי נְאֻם־יְהוָה—λέγων κατ’ ἑμαυτοῦ ὥμοσα λέγει κύριος.

Gen 43:22 לְשִׁבְר־אָכָל בִּידְנוּ הוֹרִדְנוּ אֶתְּךָ וְכֶסֶף אַחֵר—καὶ ἀργύριον ἕτερον ἡνέγκαμεν μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἀγοράσαι βρώματα. Note that ἑαυτῶν is here used for ἡμῶν αὐτῶν as is the usual practice in the Koine.<sup>13</sup>

## 2.4. SPECIAL CASES

Finally, there appear three instances where the adjective ἴδιος is used for the reflexive pronoun or to assure that the possessive pronouns ἡμῶν and αὐτοῦ should be understood as reflexives:

Gen 47:18 וְאֶמְתַּנּוּ וְאֶמְתַּנּוּ אֶסְגִּינְתָּנוּ בְּלִי בְּלִי אֲדֹנָי לִפְנֵי נִשְׂאָר לִפְנֵי—καὶ οὐχ ὑπολείπεται ἡμῖν ἐναντίον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀλλ’ ἡ τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα καὶ ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν. This usage is on a par with the Koine and Classical idioms.<sup>14</sup>

Gen 14:14 וַיִּרְק אֶת־חֲנִיכָיו יְלִידֵי בֵיתוֹ—ἡρίθμησεν τοὺς ἰδίους οἰκογενεῖς αὐτοῦ.

Gen 15:13 וְהָיָה יוֹרֵעַךָ בְּאַרְץ לֹא לְךָ—ὅτι πάροικον ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐν γῇ οὐκ ἰδίᾳ. This is a free idiomatic rendering.

The usage of the adjective ἴδιος as a reflexive is characteristic of Genesis, showing the good competence of the translator even though the number of cases is not great.

In addition to these instances with reflexive pronouns, there quite often appear cases in which the simple personal pronoun has been used in the function of a reflexive pronoun. This implies that the editor has considered the personal pronoun to be more plausible in these cases than the reflexive pronoun αὐτοῦ.

E.g., Gen 32:4 וַיִּשְׁלַח יַעֲקֹב מַלְאָכִים לְפָנָיו אֶל־עִשָׂו אֶחָיו—ἀπέστειλεν δὲ Ἰακωβ ἀγγέλους ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἡσαυ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ.

13. Mayser, *Grammatik*, § 69, 2, 303. Schwyzler, *Grammatik*, 606–7.

14. Blass and Debrunner, *Grammatik*, § 286, 179.

It seems that when the reflexive pronoun is unstressed, the oblique cases of the personal pronouns are used. See, for instance, Gen 2:24, 3:14, 4:8.17, et cetera. If the attributive genitive is used, the unstressed genitive of the personal pronoun is placed after its nominal head, whereas the stressed reflexive pronoun appears between the article and the noun as in Gen 4:23:

וַיִּשְׁמַר לָהּ אֶת-נַפְשָׁהּ עַד-וְצִלָּהּ—εἶπεν δὲ Λαμεχ ταῖς **ἐαυτοῦ** γυναίξιν Ἀδα καὶ Σελλα.

To conclude the section on Genesis, in the third person singular or plural—which are the most interesting cases—the reflexive pronoun is used thirty-seven times, and the forms begin with ἐ-, for instance, *ἐαυτοῦ*, *ἐαυτοῖς*, et cetera. The only exception is the attributive genitive *αὐτοῦ* in Gen 41:11. In two cases, the third person plural reflexive pronoun occurs for the first person plural, namely, in Gen 11:4 (dative: *ἐαυτοῖς*) and in Gen 43:22 (genitive with a preposition: μεθ' *ἐαυτῶν*), and furthermore, *ἐαυτοῖς* once appears for the second person plural reflexive pronoun (Gen 47:23). One specialty of the Genesis translator is the use of the adjective ἴδιος as a reflexive pronoun, bearing witness to what free and idiomatic renderings he could sporadically achieve.

### 3. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN THE SEPTUAGINT OF EXODUS

Reflexive pronouns occur fifty-one times in the Septuagint of Exodus. In comparison with Genesis, the same categories appear in Exodus: the reflexive pronoun is used in the dative (twenty-six occurrences) and the accusative (only in 5:19 and 33:13), as an attributive genitive (ten occurrences), and with prepositions (thirteen occurrences).

#### 3.1. EXAMPLES OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN THE DATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

Exod 6:20 וַיִּקַּח עִמָּרָם אֶת-יִצְחָק בֶּן-דָּתָן לִזְנוּתָהּ—καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἀμβραμ τὴν Ἰωχαβεδ θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ **ἐαυτῷ** εἰς γυναῖκα.

Exod 32:31 וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם אֱלֹהִי זָהָב—καὶ ἐποίησαν **ἐαυτοῖς** θεοὺς χρυσοῦς.

Exod 1:21 כִּי-יִרְאוּ הַמִּיֻּלְדֹת אֶת-הָאֱלֹהִים וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם בָּתִּים—ἐπειδὴ ἐφοβοῦντο αἱ **μαῖται** τὸν θεόν ἐποίησαν **ἐαυταῖς** οἰκίας. Note that the translator has taken the suffix of the second person plural masculine to refer to the midwives instead of the Israelites.

The most common individual reflexive pronoun is *σεαυτῷ* (eleven occurrences); it also translates the second part of the Hebrew idiom *לְהַשְׁמֵר לָךְ* in Exod 10:28, 23:21,<sup>15</sup> and 34:12.

15. In Exod 23:21, the MT is *וְהַשְׁמַרְתָּ לְךָ*, but the *Vorlage* of the LXX or the translator reads *לְהַשְׁמֵר לָךְ* as usual in this idiom.

Exod 23:21 וְשָׁמַע בְּקוֹלִי וְשָׁמַר מִצְוֹתַי—πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ καὶ εἰσάκουε αὐτοῦ. The translator has rendered the phrase as if the idiom were שָׁמַר מִצְוֹתַי as usual, or else this change had already been made in his Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Exod 34:17 וְלֹא תַעֲשֶׂה לָּךְ מַסַּכָּה אֱלֹהִי—καὶ θεοὺς χωνευτούς οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ.

Different alternatives for the second person plural reflexive pronoun appear in the following examples:

Exod 5:11 וְלָכֵן קָהוּ לָכֶם תָּבוֹן—αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς πορευόμενοι συλλέγετε **ἐαυτοῖς** ἄχυρα.

Exod 19:12 וְלָכֵן קָהוּ לָכֶם תָּבוֹן—προσέχετε **ἐαυτοῖς** τοῦ ἀναβῆναι εἰς τὸ ὄρος. Note the idiom וְלָכֵן קָהוּ לָכֶם.

Exod 12:21 וְלָכֵן צִוִּיתִי אֶתְכֶם לֵאמֹר—ἀπελθόντες λάβετε **ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς** πρόβατον κατὰ συγγενείας ὑμῶν.  
ἐαυτοῖς] αυτοῖς A M O<sup>-376</sup> -29-82-135 d<sup>-106</sup> f n<sup>-127</sup> s r<sup>-134txt</sup> y<sup>-527</sup> z 18 59 76' 130  
Cyr Ad 1077 = edd; > 15-376-707 b 106 134<sup>txt</sup> 509 Arm(vid).

Exod 20:23 וְלָכֵן תַּעֲשׂוּ לָכֶם—οὐ ποιήσετε **ἐαυτοῖς** θεοὺς ἀργυροῦς καὶ θεοὺς χρυσοῦς οὐ ποιήσετε **ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς**.  
ἐαυτοῖς 2<sup>o</sup>] αυτοῖς (αυτους 134) A M O<sup>-376</sup> C<sup>''-57'</sup> 118'- 537 107'56'-129 85'-  
130-343' r<sup>-134</sup> x 121-392 z 55 59 76' 424 426 = Compl. Ra.

Exod 30:32 וְלָכֵן תַּעֲשׂוּ כְּמֹהוּ—καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν ταύτην οὐ ποιήσετε **ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς** ὡς αὐτως. The *Vorlage* read וְלָכֵן תַּעֲשׂוּ לָכֶם as in Exod 30:37.  
ἐαυτοῖς] αυτοῖς 72-707-707<sup>1</sup> 500 53'- 56 527 509 799

Exod 30:37 וְלָכֵן תַּעֲשׂוּ כְּמֹהוּ—θυμίαμα κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν ταύτην οὐ ποιήσετε **ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς**.  
ἐαυτοῖς] αυτοῖς B F<sup>b</sup> O<sup>-376</sup>-707-707<sup>1</sup> 500\* 129 n 527 55 (se hab Sixt) = Ra.

Thus, for the second person plural dative, the translator presents two alternatives: (1) ἐαυτοῖς in Exod 5:11, 19:12 (for the Hebrew idiom וְלָכֵן קָהוּ לָכֶם), and 20:23a and (2) ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς in 12:21, 20:23b, 30:32, and 30:37. Rahlfs has three alternatives, for he reads ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς for ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς in 20:23b and 30:37. According to Wevers, the *lectio difficilior* is to be preferred in these cases. Because ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς is grammatically more correct and literary, it is the form that the copyists easily used instead of ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς.<sup>16</sup> However, in the Koine, the third person reflexive pronoun beginning with ἐ- often appears for the other persons in the singular and the plural, for instance, ἐαυτοῖς for the first and

16. John William Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Exodus*, MSU 21 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen 1992), 196.

second person plural. In the Septuagint, but not anywhere else, this *ἐαυτοῖς* also appears combined with the simple personal/possessive pronoun producing such expressions as *ὁμῖν ἐαυτοῖς*.<sup>17</sup> In my opinion, we could also argue vice versa and against Wevers that the classical forms without *ἐ-* represent the *lectio difficilior*, whereas the copyists favored (at least in Exodus) the more common form beginning with *ἐ-* according to their Koine practice and idiom. Thus, the question remains whether the two classical forms *ὁμῖν αὐτοῖς* in Exod 20:23b and 30:37 come from the translator or are introduced by later copyists. If they come from the translator, then he utilized mostly the forms with *ἐ-*, but sporadically the forms without *ἐ-* as well (note also the genitive Exod 35:5 *ὁμῶν αὐτῶν* discussed below). It must be mentioned in this connection that the third person plural of the reflexive pronoun is regularly *ἐαυτοῖς* or *ἐαυταῖς* in Exodus (Exod 5:7, 12:39, 32:8.31, and 1:21).

The form *αὐτῷ*, the third person singular reflexive pronoun, appears in Exod 21:8 (below), at least according to the critical scrutiny of Rahlfs, while Wevers prefers the simple personal pronoun *αὐτῷ*. The dominant form of the reflexive pronoun for the third person singular in Exodus begins with *ἐ-*; *ἐαυτῷ* (dative object or after prepositions) Exod 4:14, 6:20, 16:18; *ἐαυτοῦ* (genitive attribute) Exod 2:11, 18:1.23.27, 21:7, 32:27, 33:11, 34:35, (39:14) 36:21, and (after prepositions) Exod 12:4, 13:19, 14:6, 34:4.<sup>18</sup> But one has to keep in mind that the oblique cases of the personal pronouns are also used for reflexive pronouns, for example, Exod 16:21 and 20:10 (here the personal pronoun by Wevers and the reflexive by Rahlfs),<sup>19</sup> or as Wevers put it “(the translator) only sparsely used the dative singular reflexive pronoun unless there is a good exegetical reason for it.”<sup>20</sup>

Exod 21:8 *וְהָיָה יְעָדָהּ לָאִם (לָ) בְּעֵינֵי אֲדֹנֶיהָ אִשָּׁר- (לָ) (לָא) —ἐάν μὴ εὐαρεστήσῃ τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτῆς ἢν αὐτῷ / αὐτῇ καθωμολογήσατο ἀπολυτρώσει αὐτήν—“If she, whom he betrothed to himself (does not please her master), he shall cause her to be redeemed.” (NETS)*

My parentheses in the Hebrew clause indicate that we should apparently read the preposition *ל* with the third person masculine suffix *ו* instead of the negative *לֹא*. This correction is partly supported by the manuscripts of the LXX. The decision between *αὐτῷ* and *αὐτῇ* is not text critical in the meaning of manuscript

17. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Exodus*, 196. Bornemann and Risch, *Grammatik*, 192–99.

18. In addition to this list, Wevers has one case of the accusative singular neuter *καθ' ἐαυτό* in 36:11 (against Rahlfs).

19. I am not able to give a full list of the instances of usages of the personal pronouns as reflexive pronouns.

20. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Exodus*, 196.

evidence, because the *spiritus* marks are not present there. In my view, the reading of Rahlfs might possibly be preferred here.<sup>21</sup>

Finally, one very interesting example of a double rendering must be presented:

Exod 6:7 עֲשֵׂה לִי אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהִלְכֵם—καὶ λήμψομαι ἑμαυτῷ ὑμᾶς λαὸν ἑμοί.  
 ἑμαυτῷ ὑμᾶς] tr A F M O<sup>29</sup> (72) 82 C<sup>2</sup> b<sup>-314\*</sup> n s x y 128<sup>o</sup> 18 55 59 76<sup>o</sup> 646<sup>o</sup> Phil  
 I 238<sup>te</sup> Lat<sup>o</sup> cod 100 Ambr Cain II 10 Aeth Arab Arm Co Syh = MT.

Either of the two equivalents would have sufficed. A correction is presented by A and its congeners: they change the word order to correspond to the MT: ὑμᾶς ἑμαυτῷ λαόν. From the point of view of Greek, this word order is better, because a heavily stressed ἑμαυτῷ in the second position of the clause is very strange. If ἑμοί was originally added between the lines above ἑμαυτῷ or λαόν, taking it into the text shows an uncertainty with the reflexive pronouns by a later copyist. There are several other corrections in different manuscripts. Finally, it is noteworthy that here the use of the middle voice has not affected the usage of the reflexive pronouns. Otherwise in Exodus, the reflexive pronoun is correctly used in the first person singular, even though there is only one more instance (Exod 19:4 πρὸς ἑμαυτόν).

The accusative appears only twice (Exod 5:19 and 33:13). At least in Exod 33:13, one might speculate whether the use of a middle form of the predicate verb did not occur to the translator. Apparently, it was too short an equivalent. Actually, σεαυτόν is not a literal rendering of אֶת־דָּרְכִי, but it filled the corresponding space in the translation.

Exod 33:13 אֶת־דָּרְכִי נָא הוֹדַעְנִי—ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν.

Exod 5:19 בְּרַע אֶת־מִצְרַיִם בְּנִי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמְרוּ שְׂטָרִי—έώρων δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. ἑαυτοῦς ἐν κακοῖς.

### 3.2. EXAMPLES OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS AS A GENITIVE ATTRIBUTE

Exod 2:11 מִצְרַיִם אִישׁ־עֲבָדִי מִכָּה אִישׁ מִצְרַיִם—ὁρᾷ ἄνθρωπον Αἰγύπτιον τύποντά τινα Εβραῖον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῶν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ.

The end τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ is an interpretative addition made by the translator or his *Vorlage*. The reflexive pronoun used as a genitive attribute (= possessive genitive) is stressed and placed between the article and the noun. This is a rule in Exodus (nine instances), the only exception being Exod 34:35 where the genitive follows the noun.

21. It is noteworthy that in the close context, namely, Exod 21:10, Rahlfs prefers ἑαυτῷ for αὐτῷ (Wevers).

Exod 34:35 וַיִּצְרֹף אֶת־הַמָּסַךְ עַל־פָּנָיו—καὶ περιέθηκεν Μωυσῆς κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον **ἐαυτοῦ**.

Exod 33:18 וְהָרָאֵנִי נָא אֶת־כְּבוֹדְךָ—δείξόν μοι τὴν **σεαυτοῦ** δόξαν.

### 3.3. EXAMPLES OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS AFTER PREPOSITIONS

Exod 17:5 וַיִּשְׁאַל מִזֶּקֶן אֶתָּה וְהָאֵם הַלֵּוִי עֲבֹד—προπορεύου τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου λαβὲ δὲ μετὰ **σεαυτοῦ** ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ λαοῦ.

Exod 35:5 וְהָיָה לְהִזְכָּר וּתְרוּמָה מִקִּבְּלֵיכֶם—λάβετε παρ' **ὑμῶν αὐτῶν** ἀφαίρεμα κυρίῳ.

It is noteworthy that ὑμῶν αὐτῶν and not ἐαυτῶν or ὑμῶν ἐαυτῶν here follows the preposition *παρά*, even though the reflexive pronoun in the second person plural in the dative is always ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς or ἐαυτοῖς according to Wevers (see above).

To conclude the section on Exodus, in the third person singular and plural, Exodus prefers the forms beginning with ἐ- (twenty-two occurrences) along the same lines as Genesis. The only exception is αὐτῷ in Exod 21:8 according to Rahlfs against Wevers. Exodus 6:7 is interesting, for it is a double rendering containing both ἐμαυτῷ and ἐμοί. Exodus is, to a certain extent, indifferent in its usage of various forms of the reflexive pronouns, in the second person plural in particular. The form ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς is not found in contemporary Koine documents, whereas the mere ἐαυτοῖς is usual in all persons in the plural in the Koine, while the combinations of the oblique cases of the simple personal pronoun and αὐτός, such as ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, appear as literary and grammatically correct Classical alternatives in the Koine, but they do not appear in the Ptolemaic papyri. As a rule, Genesis uses the forms ἐαυτοῖς / ἐαυτῶν in plural (pl. 1. p. Gen 11:4 and 43:22; pl. 2. p. Gen 47:23) but nothing comparable to the ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς found in Exodus. For the second person plural, the Exodus translator presents three alternatives: (1) ἐαυτοῖς in Exod 5:11, 19:12 (for the Hebrew idiom לְפָנַי הִשְׁתַּחֲוִי, and 20:23a; (2) ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς in 12:21, 20:23b, 30:32, and 30:37 (Rahlfs reads ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς for ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς in 20:23b and 30:37); (3) in addition, the genitive ὑμῶν αὐτῶν appears in Exod 35:5.

### 4. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN THE SEPTUAGINT OF LEVITICUS

There appear only eighteen instances of reflexive pronouns in the Septuagint of Leviticus. They are used in the dative (*dativus commodi* or dative object) in seven occurrences, in the accusative (accusative object) in five instances, as an attributive (=possessive) genitive three times, and after prepositions in three cases.

## 4.1. EXAMPLES OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN THE DATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

Lev 9:2 קח־לָךְ עֹלֹל בְּדִבְקָר לְחַטָּאת —λαβέ **σεαυτῷ** μοσχάριον ἐκ βοῶν περὶ ἁμαρτίας.

Lev 26:1 לֹא־תַעֲשֶׂוּ לָכֶם אֱלִילִים וַפְסָל וּמִצְבָּה לֹא־תִקְיִמוּ לָכֶם וְאִכְּנוּ מִשְׁכִּית לֹא תִתְּנוּ —οὐ ποιήσετε ὑμῖν **αὐτοῖς** χειροποίητα οὐδὲ γλυπτὰ οὐδὲ στήλῃν ἀναστήσετε ὑμῖν οὐδὲ λίθον σκοπὸν θήσετε ἐν τῇ γῇ ὑμῶν.  
αὐτοῖς] εαυτοῖς (-τοι 458) M' 376-οI C''<sup>414</sup> b d n s t y<sup>121</sup> 126-628 18 55 646; > G-82-426-707 414' 53'-56 128-407 799 Bo Syh = MT.

Note that only in the first instance in the sentence is a reflexive pronoun used, in the following cases the simple personal/possessive pronouns have sufficed for the translator.

Lev 15:29 וַיְבִינֵם הַשְּׂמִינִי תַקְחֶלֶה שְׁתֵּי תַרְיִם —καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ λήμψεται **ἐαυτῇ** δύο τρυγόνας.  
ἐαυτῇ] αυτη B 72 cI''<sup>761</sup> 19' 53' 767 x 121 319 = Ra; > A oI<sup>15</sup> 126 426

This example (Lev 15:29) can be compared with ἐαυτῷ in Lev 15:14.

Lev 19:18 וְאַהֲבַתְּ לְרֵעֶךָ כָּמוֹךָ —καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς **σεαυτόν**.

## 4.2. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS AS A GENITIVE ATTRIBUTE

Lev 16:6 וְהִקְרִיב אֹהֶלֶן אֶת־פָּר הַחֹטֵאת אֲשֶׁר־לּוֹ וְכִפֵּר בְּעֹדוֹ וּבְעֹדוֹ בֵּיתוֹ: —καὶ προσάξει Ἀαρων τὸν μόσχον τὸν περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸν **ἐαυτοῦ** καὶ ἐξιλάσεται περὶ **αὐτοῦ** καὶ τοῦ οἴκου **αὐτοῦ**.  
τὸν ἐαυτοῦ] αυτου A B 15 b n<sup>127</sup> 509 55 799 Lat<sup>cod</sup> 100 = Ra.  
ἐαυτοῦ] αυτου M' G 71-527-619°

Rahlfs reads no reflexive pronoun in this clause, while Wevers prefers to read the reflexive pronoun ἐαυτοῦ in the first item and also repeats the article before this pronoun, while he agrees with Rahlfs in reading the simple αὐτοῦ in the following items.

Lev 16:11 וְהִקְרִיב אֹהֶלֶן אֶת־פָּר הַחֹטֵאת אֲשֶׁר־לּוֹ וְכִפֵּר בְּעֹדוֹ וּבְעֹדוֹ בֵּיתוֹ וְשָׁחַט אֶת־פָּר —καὶ προσάξει Ἀαρων τὸν μόσχον τὸν περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸν **ἐαυτοῦ**, καὶ ἐξιλάσεται περὶ **αὐτοῦ** καὶ τοῦ οἴκου **αὐτοῦ** καὶ σφάξει τὸν μόσχον τὸν περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸν **ἐαυτοῦ**.  
ἐαυτοῦ 1°] αυτου G-15-72-426 319 = Sixt; αυτου και του οικου αυτου (εαυτου V) μονον A B V x 55 = Ra.  
ἐαυτοῦ 2°] αυτου A B V G-15-426 b x 318 55 319 799 = Ra.

Here the reflexive pronouns placed after their nominal heads are text critically debated. Rahlfs reads the simple personal / possessive pronouns throughout the



whole sentence and also includes the words *και του οικου αυτου μονον* after his first *αυτοῦ*. Wevers produces variation: first *εαυτοῦ*, then twice *αυτοῦ* and at the end *εαυτοῦ*. The logic of this translation is that in a stressed position the reflexive pronoun *εαυτοῦ* is used, otherwise the simple personal/possessive pronoun *αυτοῦ* is preferred.

#### 4.3. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS AFTER PREPOSITIONS

Lev 9:7 כִּפֹּר בְּדָמָיִךָ—και ἐξιλάσαι περὶ *σεαυτοῦ*.

Lev 16:22 וְהָיָה לְךָ אֶל־אֱלֹהֶיךָ חֵטְא וְלֹא תִשָּׁחַד וְלֹא תִשָּׁחַד וְלֹא תִשָּׁחַד—και λήμψεται ὁ χίμαρος ἐφ' *εαυτῷ* τὰς ἀδικίας αὐτῶν εἰς γῆν ἄβυσσον.

Lev 22:16 וְהָיָה לְךָ אֶל־אֱלֹהֶיךָ חֵטְא וְלֹא תִשָּׁחַד—και ἐπάξουσιν ἐφ' *εαυτοῦς* ἀνομίαν πλημμελείας.

To conclude the section on *Leviticus*, most occurrences in *Leviticus* appear in the second person singular and in the third person singular masculine. The second person plural appears only once: *ὕμῃν αὐτοῖς* in Lev 26:1. For the third person singular masculine, the translator prefers the forms beginning with *ἐ*-. The examples of the attributive genitive of the reflexive pronoun *εαυτοῦ* in Lev 16:6 and 16:11 bis can be debated. Rahlfs does not read a reflexive pronoun at all in these cases, but Wevers does.

### 5. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN THE SEPTUAGINT OF NUMBERS

The reflexive pronouns are used twenty-five times in *Numbers*. The categories are the usual ones: the reflexive pronoun appears in the dative (dative object or *dativus commodi*) in eleven occurrences, in the accusative only once (Num 22:25), as a genitive attribute (= possessive genitive) in four occurrences, and with prepositions in nine instances.

#### 5.1. EXAMPLES OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN THE DATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

Num 16:5 וְהָיָה לְךָ אֶל־אֱלֹהֶיךָ חֵטְא וְלֹא תִשָּׁחַד וְלֹא תִשָּׁחַד—και προσηγάγετο πρὸς *εαυτόν* και οὗς ἐξελέξατο *εαυτῷ* προσηγάγετο πρὸς *εαυτόν*.

This kind of conglomeration of reflexive pronouns occurs relatively seldom. In the second case the middle voice of the predicate verb has not affected the usage of a reflexive in the dative.

Num 32:24 וְהָיָה לְךָ אֶל־אֱלֹהֶיךָ חֵטְא וְלֹא תִשָּׁחַד וְלֹא תִשָּׁחַד—και οἰκοδομήσετε *ὕμῃν αὐτοῖς* πόλεις τῇ ἀποσκευῇ ὑμῶν και ἐπαύλεις τοῖς κτήνεσιν ὑμῶν και τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν ποιήσετε.

*αὐτοῖς* B V G-29-426707 76\* x<sup>509</sup> 407 55 319] pr εν 422; > 73\* <sup>Lat</sup>codd 100 104(vid) Bo; *εαυτοῖς* <sup>Lat</sup>Aug *Loc* in hept IV 115 rell = Sixt.



## 5.3. EXAMPLES OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS WITH PREPOSITIONS

Num 33:4 **וּמִצְרַיִם מִקְבָּרֵיהֶם אֶת אֲשֶׁר הָכָה יְהוָה בָּהֶם**—καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔθαπτον ἐξ **αὐτῶν** τοὺς τεθνηκότας πάντας οὓς ἐπάταξεν κύριος. Both Wevers and Rahlfs put the *spiritus asper* here.

Num 27:18 **וְאֵשֶׁר יִרְוֶה בּוֹ אִישׁ בְּיָנוֹן אֶת־יְהוָה שָׁעָה קַח־חֵץ**—λαβὲ πρὸς **σεαυτὸν** τὸν Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν Ναυη ἀνθρώπων ὃς ἔχει πνεῦμα ἐν **ἑαυτῷ**.

To conclude the section on Numbers, the reflexive pronouns are sparingly used in the Septuagint of Numbers (see Num 32:24 above). The reflexive pronoun used as a genitive attribute is placed between the article and the noun (Num 1:52 bis and 32:17) or after the noun, in which case the article is repeated before the genitive (Num 5:19). Forms of the reflexive pronoun that begin with ἐ— dominate in the third person singular (eight occurrences) and in the third person plural (three occurrences: Num 11:32, 15:38, and 32:17). Once (Num 33:4), Rahlfs and Wevers prefer to read the form **αὐτῶν** (note the *spiritus asper*) to the simple possessive pronoun **αὐτῶν** after a preposition. In the second person plural dative, the reflexive pronoun is **ὕμιν αὐτοῖς** (four instances: Num 32:24, 34:7, 34:10, and 35:11) or **ὕμιν ἑαυτοῖς** (only in Num 16:6). In the last mentioned instance (Num 16:6) Wevers and Rahlfs make different decisions: Rahlfs reads **ὕμιν αὐτοῖς** (B and its congeners) and Wevers **ὕμιν ἑαυτοῖς** (A and its congeners). In my opinion, Rahlfs is right in his decision. Finally, it is worth noting a rarity: in Num 22:25 a Hebrew *niphāl* form is divided into two composite elements in the Greek translation: an active predicate verb with the accusative of a reflexive pronoun.

## 6. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN THE SEPTUAGINT OF DEUTERONOMY

Reflexive pronouns appear fifty-four times in the Septuagint of Deuteronomy. The categories are as usual: (1) the dative (dative object or *dativus commodi*) in forty occurrences; (2) the attributive (=possessive) genitive only once (Deut 24:16); and (3) with prepositions in twelve occurrences. The most curious instance is Deut 15:2 where the adjective ἴδιος is used instead of a reflexive pronoun in a very free manner.

## 6.1. EXAMPLES OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN THE DATIVE

Deut 25:5 **וְאִם לֹא־יִהְיֶה לָּהּ הֶקְדָּשׁ**—καὶ λήμψεται αὐτὴν **ἑαυτῷ** γυναῖκα.

Deut 28:9 **וְשִׁמְרָתְךָ לְעָם יְהוָה יִקְיָמְךָ**—ἀναστήσαι σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου **ἑαυτῷ** λαὸν ἄγιον.

Deut 29:12 **וְעַתָּה לֹא־יִשְׁתָּחֲוֶה לְהִימָוִת וְלִקְדָּשִׁים אֲחֵרִים**—ἵνα στήσῃ σε **ἑαυτῷ** εἰς λαόν. Rahlfs prefers here the simple personal pronoun **αὐτῷ**.

ἐαυτῶ]—τον 53; αὐτῶ B F<sup>b</sup> 707 C'' 108\* 125-610 W<sup>l</sup>-767 s y<sup>-121</sup> 18 28 59 319 509 646 = Compl Ra; σεαυτῶ 618 44; σαυτῶ 120.

Deut 4:9 מִשָּׁרְךָ וְנִפְשְׁךָ וְיָדְךָ וְרַגְלְךָ—πρόσεχε σεαυτῶ και φύλαξον τὴν ψυχὴν σου σφόδρα. This instance is very interesting, because it has two reflexive expressions: σεαυτῶ and τὴν ψυχὴν σου. The idiom πρόσεχε σεαυτῶ appears nine times in Deuteronomy translating the Hebrew יָדְךָ וְרַגְלְךָ.

Deut 21:11 וְהָיָה לְךָ לְזִכָּרוֹן—καὶ λάβῃς αὐτὴν σεαυτῶ γυναῖκα. (σαυτῶ B 82-426 = Ra).

Deut 9:12 וְעַתָּה לֵבְךָ לֹא יִשְׁכָּח—ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς χωνεῦμα.

Deut 3:7 לֹא בָּזְזוּ וְלֹא בָּזְזוּ וְלֹא בָּזְזוּ—καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη καὶ τὰ σκύλα τῶν πόλεων ἐπρονομήσαμεν ἑαυτοῖς.

Deut 1:13 וְהָיָה לְכֶם לְזִכָּרוֹן—δότε ἑαυτοῖς ἄνδρας σοφούς. Note that ἑαυτοῖς is here the second person plural reflexive pronoun.

Deut 4:23 וְלֹא יִשְׁכָּח—καὶ ποιήσητε ὑμῖν ἑαυτοῖς γλυπτὸν. A and its congeners read ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. The B group is supported by 963: ἑαυτοῖς 963] (x G Syh) αυτοῖς A F M V O<sup>58 72</sup> f y z 55 59 Syh = Compl; > 58-72 Sa<sup>2</sup>

Deut 9:16 וְהָיָה לְכֶם לְזִכָּרוֹן—καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι ἡμάρτετε ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐποιήσατε ὑμῖν ἑαυτοῖς χωνευτὸν. A and its congeners again read ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς (A M oI 129 y z 55 407 509\* = Sixt). Note that ὑμῶν 1<sup>o</sup> is also reflexive, but the simple personal pronoun is used.

## 6.2. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN AS A GENITIVE ATTRIBUTE

Deut 24:16 וְהָיָה לְכֶם לְזִכָּרוֹן—ἕκαστος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀποθανεῖται.

## 6.3. EXAMPLES OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS WITH PREPOSITIONS

Deut 17:14 וְלֹא יִשְׁכָּח—καὶ εἴπῃς καταστήσω ἐπ' ἑμαυτὸν ἄρχοντα.

With prepositions, the second person plural shows the reflexive genitive ὑμῶν αὐτῶν in Deut 13:6, 17:7, 19:19, 21:9.21, 22:21.24, and 24:7. In these instances the textual witnesses are almost unanimous. Mostly it is question of the recurring phrase “and you shall remove the evil one from yourselves” (NETS). The curious phenomenon in these instances is that the predicate verb is always in the second person singular, but the comprehensive or collective reflexive pronoun is in the second person plural. The subject is included in the group of people to which the reflexive of the second person plural refers:

Deut 24:7 וְבִעֲרַת הָרָע מִקֶּרְבְּךָ: καὶ ἐξαρεῖς τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν.

#### 6.4. A SPECIAL CASE

Finally, there appears one instance where the adjective ἴδιος is used in the function of the reflexive pronoun in a good free rendering:

Deut 15:2 וְהָיָה דְבַר הַשְׁמִטָּה שְׁמִיטָה כָּל־בַּעַל מַשָּׁה יְדוֹ אֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂה בְרַעְיוֹ וְהָיָה דְבַר הַשְׁמִטָּה שְׁמִיטָה כָּל־בַּעַל מַשָּׁה יְדוֹ אֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂה בְרַעְיוֹ καὶ οὕτως τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς ἀφέσεως ἀφήσεις πᾶν χρέος ἴδιον ὃ ὀφείλει σοι ὁ πλησίον. “And thus is the ordinance of the remission: you shall remit every *personal* debt which your neighbor owes you.” (NETS)

To conclude the section on Deuteronomy, the Septuagint of Deuteronomy comes very close to the other books of the Pentateuch. The datives are ἐαυτῷ (eleven instances), σεαυτῷ in twenty-five occurrences, including the idiom πρόσχε σεαυτῷ, (once the form σαυτῷ appears in Rahlfs in Deut 21:11, but Wevers prefers the uncontracted form, since the contracted form is supported only by three manuscripts, B 82-426); in the plural ἐαυτοῖς appears once for the first person plural, once for the second person plural, and once for the third person plural, while the combination ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς occurs twice (Deut 4:23 and 9:16). The reflexive pronoun in the possessive genitive is stressed and placed between the definite article and the noun (the only example is Deut 24:16). With prepositions, the second person plural shows the reflexive genitive ὑμῶν αὐτῶν in Deut 13:6, 17:7, 19:19, 21:9.21, 22:21.24, and 24:7.

#### 7. CONCLUSIONS

All the translators of the Greek Pentateuch recognize the reflexivity of their *Vorlage*. Their ability to use reflexive pronouns in their translation is quite good, but they use them very sparingly, that is, not in all cases where it would have been possible or suitable. They very often utilize the usual personal pronouns in the sense of reflexive pronouns. This corresponds well to the general practice and idiom in Koine Greek. However, they utilize reflexive pronouns to the extent that is necessary in order not to cause misunderstandings by their Greek readers. The reflexive pronouns appear 207 times in the Greek Pentateuch.

In the third person singular and plural the translators strongly prefer the forms beginning with ἐ- to forms beginning with αὐτ-. In nonbiblical Greek the forms without ἐ- prevail in a ratio of 4:1 in the third century BCE, while in the second century the forms with ἐ- dominate by the same ratio of 4:1; in the first century only the forms with ἐ- appear.<sup>23</sup> In the Septuagint, the forms with ἐ- comprise an overwhelming majority. This holds true in both Rahlfs's and Wevers's editions, even though the editions differ slightly. Altogether, the

23. See p. 312 above.

Septuagint follows the colloquial style in the usage of the reflexive pronouns that became common from the second century BCE onwards. In the New Testament, the situation is much the same. The forms with ἐ- dominate the field (321 cases), while only very few cases beginning with αὐτ- might appear.<sup>24</sup>

The translations are surprisingly similar in all the books of the Pentateuch. The differences are minimal and not very conspicuous, such as the usage of the third person plural reflexive ἐαυτοῖς, and ἐαυτῶν, in Genesis also for the first and second person plural, while such combinations as ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, and ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς, do not appear. In Exodus and Deuteronomy, the second person plural forms ἐαυτοῖς, and ὑμῖν ἐαυτοῖς/ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, alternate and are divided in the manuscript evidence. Rahlfs and Wevers often make different decisions in their editions. The forms beginning with αὐτ- are very few and debated in the Septuagint, as they are in the Ptolemaic papyri. In two cases (Gen 41:11 and Num 33:4), Rahlfs and Wevers agree about αὐτ-, while Rahlfs prefers the αὐτ- form in Exod 21:8 as well.

Finally, two details can be mentioned. First, the adjective ἴδιος is sporadically used as a reflexive in Genesis (47:18, 14:14, and 15:13) and Deuteronomy (15:2). Another interesting detail is that the reflexive pronoun is mostly used in the dative corresponding to the Hebrew preposition לְ with a pronominal suffix, as an attributive genitive, and with prepositions. In contrast, the usage of a reflexive as an accusative object is infrequent (only ten cases in the Pentateuch). Furthermore, I have found only one case where a Hebrew reflexive verbal stem (*niphal*) has been rendered with an active verb followed by an accusative object (Num 22:25). Contrariwise, the usage of the middle voice in the Greek does not prevent the translator from using a reflexive pronoun as a dative or accusative object, for example, Gen 31:24, 31:29, Exod 21:8, and Num 16:5.

The reflexive pronouns of the Greek Pentateuch provide us with a view of how the translators managed with the many changes that occurred in the usage of reflexives in the Koine.

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24. *Concordance to the New Testament of Nestle-Aland, 26th Edition and to the Greek New Testament, 3rd edition*, with the Collaboration of H. Bachmann and W. A. Slaby (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 462–69. Blass and Debrunner, *Grammatik* § 283, 177–78.

## Pour une poétique du nominatif absolu dans la LXX d'Ésaïe

*Philippe Le Moigne*

**Abstract:** Le nominatif absolu est un phénomène parfaitement reconnu et décrit dans le Nouveau Testament. La présente étude cherche à décrire de tels cas dans le livre d'Ésaïe de la LXX. Une première partie s'attache à distinguer ce phénomène de cas voisins: nominatifs en apposition au sujet d'un verbe, nominatifs employés en fonction de vocatif, sujets de phrases nominales; en plusieurs cas l'interprétation ne va pas de soi. Dans la suite du parcours, on s'intéresse aux nominatifs absolus probables ou avérés dans le corpus. Ceux-ci peuvent être repris dans la suite du discours par un pronom anaphorique ou démonstratif, mais ce n'est pas toujours le cas; à l'occasion on a également un cas de cataphore. Dans un verset, 28,18b, la syntaxe du nominatif absolu rencontre la valeur de «citation» reconnue au nominatif, utilisée en l'occurrence avec une forte valeur d'ironie auctoriale.

En dehors des cas d'identité syntaxique, les nominatifs absolus peuvent correspondre à des tournures diverses dans le TM, notamment des phrases nominales, participes prädicatifs, verbes conjugués coordonnés à des participes. Parfois on suggère, chez le traducteur, une lecture du texte proto-massorétique qui diffère de la compréhension actuelle. Enfin, on relève à l'occasion des *variae lectiones* qui montrent le phénomène en question a pu poser problème aux copistes. L'interprétation en terme de nominatif absolu rejoint souvent une discussion qui touche à la ponctuation du texte à éditer.

Ὑμεῖς ὁ ἠκούσατε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐν ὑμῖν μενέτω (1 Jn 2, 24): «pour vous, que ce que vous avez entendu dès le commencement demeure en vous».<sup>1</sup> Tel est l'un des

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<sup>1</sup> Les traductions du Nouveau Testament, ainsi que celles de la Bible hébraïque, sont celles de la Bible Osty (Seuil, 1973). Les traductions de la LXX d'Ésaïe sont celles du

exemples de nominatif absolu, ou *nominativus pendens*,<sup>2</sup> que cite la grammaire du Nouveau Testament de Blass, Debrunner et Rehkopf.<sup>3</sup> Comme elle l'explique clairement, «das psychologische Subjekt tritt als grammatisches Subj. voran».<sup>4</sup> Cela est très net dans un autre exemple de cette grammaire<sup>5</sup>, Jn 7, 38: ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ ... ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν «celui qui croit en moi!... de son ventre couleront des fleuves».

Le phénomène est donc repéré pour le Nouveau Testament. Mais qu'en est-il de la LXX? En l'absence provisoire d'une syntaxe de la LXX, notre propos d'aujourd'hui est d'explorer, pour un livre donné, celui d'Ésaïe, différents usages de cette possibilité stylistique. Notre édition de référence est celle de Ziegler<sup>6</sup>; mais, comme nous le constaterons, il est d'un grand intérêt de consulter d'autres éditions, notamment lorsque la ponctuation informe la syntaxe; nous nous sommes en particulier servi de l'édition de Tischendorf, que nous citerons à l'occasion.<sup>7</sup>

Notre plan sera très simple: dans une première partie, nous énoncerons les cas de nominatifs *non sujets d'un verbe* qui *ne sont pas* des nominatifs absolus; dans une seconde partie, nous nous pencherons sur les cas de nominatifs absolus dans le livre d'Ésaïe LXX.

## 1. IDENTIFICATION DU NOMINATIF ABSOLU : CE QU'IL N'EST PAS.

1.1. Certains nominatifs ne sont pas sujets d'un verbe et pour autant il ne s'agit pas de nominatifs absolus. Ils sont en apposition au sujet d'un verbe. Ainsi en Es 4, 3:

|                                           |                                             |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| והיה הנשאר בציון                          | καὶ ἔσται τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν ἐν Σιων             |
| והנותר בירושלם                            | καὶ τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ            |
| קדוש יאמר לו                              | ἅγιοι κληθήσονται,                          |
| כל הכתוב לחיים בירושלם                    | πάντες οἱ γραφέντες εἰς ζωὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ. |
| Ceux qui resteront dans Sion              | Et il adviendra, ceux qui resteront à Sion  |
| et ceux qui seront laissés dans Jérusalem | et ceux qui resteront à Jérusalem           |

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projet de la Bible d'Alexandrie, en cours de rédaction; les auteurs en sont Alain Le Boulluec et Philippe Le Moigne.

<sup>2</sup> Nous ne tenterons pas de distinguer les deux notions.

<sup>3</sup> BDR § 466<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., § 466.2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., § 466.4.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Ziegler, *Isaias*, Septuaginta 14 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939, 1967<sup>2</sup>), 123-370.

<sup>7</sup> Constantinus de Tischendorf, *Η ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ*, Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX Interpretes 2 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1835, 1880<sup>6</sup>), 267-326.



seront appelés saints,  
tous ceux qui sont inscrits pour la vie  
à Jérusalem.

seront appelés «saints»,  
tous ceux qui auront été inscrits pour la  
vie, à Jérusalem.

Le groupe final, πάντες οἱ γραφέντες εἰς ζωὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, est apposé aux sujets neutres singuliers, dont l'attribut ἅγιοι est d'ailleurs masculin pluriel. C'est sans doute parce que cette syllepse paraissait rude que Tischendorf et Swete proposaient une autre ponctuation: καὶ ἔσται τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν ἐν Σιών καὶ τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἅγιοι κληθήσονται πάντες οἱ γραφέντες εἰς ζωὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. «Et il adviendra, ceux qui resteront à Sion et ceux qui resteront à Jérusalem ... on appellera «saints» tous ceux qui auront été inscrits pour la vie, à Jérusalem». On voit bien que ce changement ... introduit un nominatif absolu, les deux neutres singuliers qui sont ensuite anaphorisés par les deux masculins pluriels. On a ainsi le choix entre la peste de la syllepse et le choléra du nominatif absolu.<sup>8</sup>

1.2. On prendra également garde de ne pas confondre le nominatif absolu avec des nominatifs employés en fonction de vocatif. Ainsi en Es 3, 12: λαὸς μου, οἱ πράκτορες ὑμῶν καλαμῶνται ὑμᾶς, καὶ οἱ ἀπαιτοῦντες κυριεύουσιν ὑμῶν· λαὸς μου, οἱ μακαρίζοντες ὑμᾶς πλανῶσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸν τρίβον τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν ταρασσουσιν «Mon peuple, vos percepteurs glanent sur vous, et les exacteurs sont vos seigneurs. Mon peuple, ceux qui vous disent heureux vous égarent et brouillent le chemin de vos pas». Après chacune des deux occurrences de λαὸς μου, prennent place deux propositions contenant en tout trois occurrences du pronom de la deuxième personne du pluriel,<sup>9</sup> ce qui rend naturelle

<sup>8</sup> C'est encore une syllepse, et rien d'autre, que l'on a en Es 9, 3 accompagné cette fois d'une conjonction apodotique, le καὶ qui précède εὐφρανθήσονται: τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ λαοῦ, ὃ κατήγαγες ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ σου, καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται ἐνώπιόν σου ὡς οἱ εὐφραϊνόμενοι ἐν ἀμῇτῳ καὶ ὃν τρόπον οἱ διαιρούμενοι σκύλα «La plus grande partie du peuple, que tu as ramenée dans ta joie, ils se réjouiront devant toi, comme on se réjouit à la moisson et tout comme on le fait en se partageant les dépouilles». Une nouvelle fois, Tischendorf (mais non Swete, très proche de Rahlfs et de Ziegler) rejette la syllepse au profit d'un nominatif absolu; et le καὶ devient alors une simple conjonction de coordination: τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ λαοῦ, ὃ κατήγαγες ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ σου· καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται ἐνώπιόν σου ὡς οἱ εὐφραϊνόμενοι ἐν ἀμῇτῳ, καὶ ὃν τρόπον οἱ διαιρούμενοι σκύλα «la plus grande partie du peuple, que tu as ramenée dans ta joie... Et ils se réjouiront devant toi, etc.». Enfin, bien plus loin dans notre livre, c'est encore à une apposition que l'on semble avoir affaire, en Es 63, 1a: Τίς οὗτος ὁ παραγινόμενος ἐξ Ἐδωμ, ἐρύθημα ἱματίων ἐκ Βοσορ, οὕτως ὠραῖος ἐν στολῇ βίᾳ μετὰ ἰσχύος; «Quel est celui qui se présente, venant d'Édom, rougeoiement de manteaux venant de Bosor, si beau dans son habit, avec une violence mêlée de force?»

<sup>9</sup> En revanche le TM, dans la première paire de propositions, présente la troisième personne du singulier: וְשֵׁנִי, בּו.

l'interprétation du nominatif comme valant un vocatif.<sup>10</sup>

1.3. Il convient enfin de ne pas confondre le nominatif absolu avec les sujets des phrases nominales. Ces dernières sont d'identification immédiate lorsque l'ordre des mots exhibe une relation prédicative; ainsi, entre autres nombreux exemples, d'Es 1, 7a:

|                                                                       |                                                          |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| ארצכם שממה<br>עריכם שרפות אש                                          | ἡ γῆ ὑμῶν ἔρημος,<br>αἱ πόλεις ὑμῶν πυρίκαυστοι·         |
| Votre pays est une désolation,<br>vos villes sont brûlées par le feu, | Votre terre: déserte;<br>vos villes: brûlées par le feu; |

Le fait que les adjectifs sont placés en dehors du groupe formé par l'article et le substantif suffit à les caractériser comme attributs. Il y a relation de prédication, et phrase nominale. Ces cas ne posent aucun problème.<sup>11</sup>

Plus discutables sont des tournures du type d'Es 6, 2a:

|                                                |                                                                                    |
|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| שרפים עמדים ממעל לו<br>שש כנפים שש כנפים לאחד  | καὶ σεραφὶν εἰστήκεισαν κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ,<br>ἕξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἕξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνί, |
| Des Séraphins se tenaient au-dessus<br>de lui; | Et des séraphins se tenaient autour de lui:                                        |
| chacun avait six ailes,                        | six ailes pour l'un, six ailes pour l'autre;                                       |

Le plus simple est de supposer une relation de prédication, en d'autres termes de «sous-entendre» un verbe être dans la deuxième ligne: «six ailes (étaient) à l'un», c'est-à-dire «l'un avait six ailes»<sup>12</sup>.

Il est parfois extrêmement délicat de trancher. Ainsi en Es 12, 2a:

|                                               |                                                                             |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| הנה אל ישועתי<br>אבטח                         | ἰδοὺ ὁ θεός μου σωτήρ μου κύριος,<br>πεποιθώς ἔσομαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ               |
| Voici le Dieu de mon salut,<br>j'ai confiance | Voici mon Dieu, mon Sauveur, le Seigneur,<br>je mettrai ma confiance en lui |

<sup>10</sup> Cas analogues: Es 5.3 ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Ἰουδα καὶ οἱ ἐνοικαοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ; Es 9, 2 bis ὁ λαὸς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐν σκοτει ... οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου; Es 28, 1b, etc.

<sup>11</sup> Ne donnons qu'un seul autre exemple, Es 13, 6: ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου «car le jour du Seigneur est proche».

<sup>12</sup> De même Es 8, 14b: ὁ δὲ οἶκος Ἰακωβ ἐν παγίδι, καὶ ἐν κοιλάσματι ἐγκαθήμενοι ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ «mais la maison de Jacob est dans un piège, et ils sont installés dans une trappe, à Jérusalem»; Es 2, 12 ἡμέρα γὰρ κυρίου σαβαωθ ἐπὶ πάντα ὑβριστὴν κτλ «jour du Seigneur Sabaoth [= le jour du Seigneur Sabaoth est] contre tout orgueilleux, etc.»; Es 28, 1b; Es 30, 6; et ainsi de suite.

On peut comprendre (comme tend à l'exprimer la traduction proposée) la première ligne comme un nominatif absolu, anaphorisé par le αὐτῷ de la seconde ligne; mais rien n'interdisait de voir dans la première ligne une relation prédicative: «Voici, mon Dieu, mon sauveur, c'est le Seigneur»<sup>13</sup>. Il serait vain, à notre avis, de chercher ici des raisons faisant pencher la balance dans l'un ou l'autre sens. Les deux interprétations sont aussi plausibles l'une que l'autre.<sup>14</sup>

Un cas un peu différent se lit en Es 4, 5a:

|                                        |                                                    |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| וּבְרָא                                | καὶ ἥξει,                                          |
| יְהוָה עַל כָּל מְכוֹן הָר צִיּוֹן     | καὶ ἔσται πᾶς τόπος τοῦ ὄρους Σιών                 |
| וְעַל מְקִרְאָהּ                       | καὶ πάντα τὰ περικύκλω αὐτῆς                       |
| עֵנַן יוֹמָם                           | σκιᾶσει νεφέλη ἡμέρας                              |
| וְעֵשָׂן וְנֶגַע אֵשׁ לְהִבָּה לַיְלָה | καὶ ὡς καπνοῦ καὶ ὡς φωτὸς πυρὸς καιομένου νυκτός· |
| Créera                                 | Et il arrivera,                                    |
| Yahvé sur toute l'étendue du mont      | et il adviendra à tout lieu de la montagne         |
| Sion                                   | de Sion                                            |
| et sur ses assemblées                  | et à tous ses alentours:                           |
| une nuée le jour                       | une nuée les couvrira d'ombre le jour,             |
| et, la nuit, la clarté d'un feu        | et comme si de la fumée et la lumière d'un         |
| flamboyant.                            | feu brûlaient, la nuit;                            |

Le nominatif absolu interfère ici avec un jeu sur la liaison forte καὶ ἔσται «et il adviendra»; les versets précédents ont mentionné le pardon de Dieu, et l'exaltation renouvelée d'Israël; on peut être tenté de comprendre le verbe «être» initial au sens fort: Sion et ses alentours «existeront», ils «seront» (conformes à l'économie divine). En même temps, ils sont aussi, dans la phrase et pour le sens, compléments des actions exprimées par la deuxième partie de la citation—c'est-à-dire le rappel de la présence divine lors de l'Exode<sup>15</sup>: on voit que l'ambiguïté de la grammaire permet deux interprétations qui se rejoignent sur le fond, puisqu'il s'agit toujours de rappeler l'alliance.

S'il n'y avait pas d'exemples clairs de nominatifs absolus dans le corpus, on devrait pencher, dans les cas ambigus, pour une phrase nominale; mais il existe

<sup>13</sup> Ainsi NETS: «Behold, the Lord is my God, my savior».

<sup>14</sup> Parfois la balance se fait entre phrase nominale et apposition. Ainsi en Es 18, 2b, là où Tischendorf ponctuait de manière à lire une proposition nominale: πορεύσονται γὰρ ἄγγελοι κοῦφοι πρὸς ἔθνος μετέωρον, καὶ ξένον λαὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν· τίς αὐτοῦ ἐπέκεινα; ἔθνος ἀνέλπιστον καὶ καταπεπατημένον. «Car des messagers agiles marcheront vers une nation altière, vers un peuple étranger et cruel; qui l'est davantage? C'est une nation sans espoir et piétinée», Ziegler et Rahlfs voient une apposition: πορεύσονται γὰρ ἄγγελοι κοῦφοι πρὸς ἔθνος μετέωρον καὶ ξένον λαὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν, τίς αὐτοῦ ἐπέκεινα; ἔθνος ἀνέλπιστον καὶ καταπεπατημένον «car des messagers agiles marcheront vers une nation altière, vers un peuple étranger et cruel—qui l'est davantage?—, une nation sans espoir et piétinée».

<sup>15</sup> Voir Ex 13, 21–22.

des cas où le nominatif absolu est la meilleure interprétation, voire la seule possible. Penchons-nous donc à présent sur ces cas.

## 2. USAGES DU NOMINATIF ABSOLU EN ES-LXX

Pour commencer notre parcours, opposons justement des phrases nominales du TM à un nominatif absolu de la LXX :

Es 19, 11a

|                                           |                                         |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| אך אולים שרי צען                          | καὶ μωροὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἄρχοντες Τάνεως·   |
| חכמי יעצי פרעה                            | οἱ σοφοὶ σύμβουλοι τοῦ βασιλέως,        |
| עצה נבערה                                 | ἢ βουλή αὐτῶν μωρανθήσεται.             |
| Les princes de Soân ne sont que des fous; | Et les souverains de Tanis seront fous; |
| les plus sages des conseillers de Pharaon | les sages conseillers du roi,           |
| sont un conseil stupide.                  | leur conseil sera folie.                |

Le TM a deux phrases nominales, disposées (en bonne poésie vétértestamentaire) en chiasme :

|                                                |   |                                        |
|------------------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------------|
| prédicat («rien que des fous»)                 | + | sujet («les princes de Soân / Tanis»)  |
|                                                | / |                                        |
| sujet («les sages-des conseillers de Pharaon») | + | prédicat («un conseil étant-stupide»). |

La LXX introduit un verbe conjugué à chacune des propositions nominales que nous venons de décrire: ἔσονται, μωρανθήσεται. Mais le cas est différent dans les stiques a1 et a2. En a1 nous avons une phrase prédicative sans rien de plus. En a2, il s'agit nettement d'un nominatif absolu. Tout se passe comme si l'auteur d'Es-LXX avait pris le ה final de צעה pour un suffixe possessif et le participe נבערה pour une forme conjuguée.

Le nominatif absolu est avéré et répond parfaitement à la description donnée dans l'introduction. Les «sages conseillers du roi» sont si inutiles qu'ils ne peuvent même pas être sujet d'un verbe.

Il est intéressant de constater que cette construction a semblé intolérable à certains témoins; l'apparat de Ziegler indique en effet que, devant ἢ βουλή αὐτῶν μωρανθήσεται, des témoins (en l'occurrence S<sup>ca</sup> et Sa) introduisent un καί:

|                                       |                                      |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>texte de Ziegler</i>               | <i>texte variant</i>                 |
| καὶ μωροὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἄρχοντες Τάνεως· | καὶ μωροὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἄρχοντες Τάνεως |
| οἱ σοφοὶ σύμβουλοι τοῦ βασιλέως,      | οἱ σοφοὶ σύμβουλοι τοῦ βασιλέως      |
| ἢ βουλή αὐτῶν μωρανθήσεται.           | καὶ ἢ βουλή αὐτῶν μωρανθήσεται       |

Nous n'avons à dessein introduit aucune ponctuation dans le texte variant; en effet, le *καί*, conjonction de coordination, unit par définition deux éléments qui sont sur le même plan syntaxique; ce ne peut être que les deux verbes conjugués, ou plus précisément les deux propositions qui ont chacune pour verbe l'un et l'autre des verbes conjugués. À ce moment, le stique α2α, οἱ σοφοὶ σύμβουλοι τοῦ βασιλέως, devient une apposition à ce qui précède. Or il se trouve que, avec le texte même que Ziegler<sup>16</sup> retient, nous avons cette hypothèse dans l'édition de Tischendorf, qui ponctue ainsi: καὶ μωροὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἄρχοντες Τάνεως, οἱ σοφοὶ σύμβουλοι τοῦ βασιλέως, ἡ βουλή αὐτῶν μωρανθήσεται «et les souverains de Tanis seront fous, les sages conseillers du roi ; leur conseil sera folie».

En définitive donc, on aura un nominatif absolu ou on n'en aura pas selon qu'on introduit ou pas une ponctuation forte après la première proposition καὶ μωροὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἄρχοντες Τάνεως. Voilà qui doit nous inciter à la prudence dans la suite de notre enquête.

Plus simple, et calquant cette fois-ci la syntaxe de l'hébreu correspondant, est le demi-verset suivant, Es 28, 18b:

|                                    |                                      |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| שׁוֹט וְשׁוֹט כִּי יַעֲבֹר         | καταιγὶς φερομένη ἐὰν ἐπέλθῃ,        |
| וְהָיָה לוֹ לְמַרְמָס              | ἔσεσθε αὐτῇ εἰς καταπάτημα.          |
| Quand passera le fléau torrentiel, | le tourbillon déchaîné, s'il passe,  |
| vous en serez écrasés;             | vous serez pour lui bons à piétiner. |

Le fait de présenter d'abord au nominatif la *καταιγὶς φερομένη* introduit une sorte de suspense, ou représente plutôt en soi la violence des éléments, avant que l'auteur ne la mette en rapport avec ses interlocuteurs; et ce rapport est évidemment défavorable. En outre, si l'on porte attention au contexte immédiat, ce nominatif est la reprise ironique de 28, 15, qui exprimait la pensée des impies (ceux précisément auxquels on s'adresse en 28, 18b), pensée pleine d'orgueil et de présomption de la part de ceux qui ont conclu une alliance avec l'Hadès: *καταιγὶς φερομένη ἐὰν παρέλθῃ οὐ μὴ ἔλθῃ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς* «le tourbillon déchaîné, s'il passe, ne viendra pas sur nous». Le nominatif de 28, 15 est pleinement justifiée par la syntaxe, limpide, de la proposition dont il est le sujet; celui de 28, 18b, notre nominatif absolu, en constitue en quelque sorte la citation, destinée à montrer que la confiance des impies (citée en même temps que ce nominatif) se heurtera à une cruelle désillusion.<sup>17</sup>

Un exemple du même type, aussi bref mais plus compliqué, se lit en Es 27, 2:

<sup>16</sup> Ainsi que, avant lui, Rahlfs et Swete.

<sup>17</sup> Ronald Troxel souligne à juste raison que la phrase de la LXX est «mirroring the word order of the MT»: *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 262.

|                      |           |                                |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
|                      | ביום ההוא | τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ                |
|                      | כרם חמד   | ἀμπελῶν καλός·                 |
|                      | ענו לה    | ἐπιθύμημα ἐξάρχειν κατ' αὐτῆς. |
| En ce jour-là,       |           | Ce jour-là,                    |
| la vigne délicieuse, |           | le beau vignoble!              |
| chantez-la!          |           | Désir d'un prélude sur elle:   |

Il semble bien que, d'une manière ou d'une autre, le féminin αὐτῆς anaphorise le masculin ἀμπελῶν καλός, tout en—d'où le désaccord de genre—cataphorisant en même temps la πόλις ἰσχυρά, πόλις πολιορκουμένη, la «ville forte, ville assiégée» du verset suivant; c'est peut-être la raison du genre féminin du pronom αὐτῆς.

Dans les exemples que nous venons de parcourir, nous avons parfaitement le schéma tracé par la BDR, citée en introduction, avec un pronom (αὐτῶν, αὐτῇ, αὐτῆς) qui anaphorise le nominatif absolu. Mais parfois ce pronom manque, sans qu'il s'agisse pour autant d'une phrase nominale; on peut considérer qu'il est sous-entendu. Ainsi en Es 1, 6:

|                                        |                                                    |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| מכף רגל ועד ראש                        | ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς                              |
| אין בו מתם פצע וחבורה ומכה טריה        | οὔτε τραῦμα οὔτε μῶλωψ οὔτε πληγὴ<br>φλεγμαίνουσα, |
| לא זרו ולא חבשו                        | οὐκ ἔστιν μάλαγμα ἐπιθεῖναι                        |
| ולא רככה בשמן                          | οὔτε ἔλαιον οὔτε καταδέσμους.                      |
| De la plante des pieds jusqu'à la tête | Des pieds jusqu'à la tête                          |
| rien en lui n'est intact ; blessures,  | aucune lésion, aucune meurtrissure,                |
| meurtrissures, plaies vives,           | aucune blessure enflammée ...                      |
| ni bandées ni pansées,                 | Impossible d'appliquer émollient,                  |
| ni adoucies avec de l'huile !          | huile ni bandages.                                 |

La synopse n'est pas aisée à établir entre LXX et TM. Dans ce dernier, on a une structure nominale à partir de פצע, que l'on peut comprendre comme des appositions à מתם בו אין. La LXX, une nouvelle fois, introduit un verbe conjugué (οὐκ ἔστιν au sens de «il n'est pas possible»), d'où une structure différente de celle du TM. Le complément de ἐπιθεῖναι serait un pronom anaphorisant la liste de αβ (οὔτε τραῦμα οὔτε μῶλωψ οὔτε πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα), liste présentée négativement par anticipation de la négation du verbe principal. L'impression que laisse cette construction avec nominatif absolu nié est celle d'une surprise, d'une mauvaise surprise. On croit avoir une phrase nominale décrivant *une absence de blessure*, mais l'absence est en réalité, à partir de βα, celle des moyens de soigner toutes ces plaies;<sup>18</sup> la déception du lecteur mime celle de Dieu devant l'infidélité de son peuple.

<sup>18</sup> De très nombreux témoins présentent l'ajout, après κεφαλῆς, de οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ ὀλοκληρία (= TM מתם בו אין); c'est ce texte que retient Tischendorf, supprimant du même coup le nominatif absolu, car désormais la liste de αβ se construit, comme dans le TM, en

Dans l'exemple suivant, on peut considérer que le nominatif absolu<sup>19</sup> cataphorise le substantif masculin qui suit, avec une syllepse à la clef; il s'agit d'Es 32, 17–18:

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| והיה מעשה הצדקה שלום<br>ועבדת הצדקה השקט<br>ובטח עד עולם<br>וישב עמי בנוה שלום<br>ובמשכנות מבטחים<br>ובמנוחת שאננות                                                                                                                    | καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἔργα τῆς δικαιοσύνης εἰρήνη,<br>καὶ κρατήσῃ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀνάπαυσιν,<br>καὶ πεποιθότες ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος·<br>καὶ κατοικήσῃ ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει εἰρήνης<br>καὶ ἐνοικήσῃ πεποιθώς,<br>καὶ ἀναπαύσονται μετὰ πλούτου.                     |
| L'œuvre de la justice sera la paix,<br>et l'ouvrage de la justice, la tranquillité<br>et la confiance pour toujours.<br>Mon peuple habitera dans un séjour de<br>paix,<br>dans des demeures sûres<br>et dans des asiles d'insouciance. | et les œuvres de la justice seront la paix,<br>et la justice occupera un séjour.<br>Confiance pour l'éternité!<br>Et son peuple habitera une ville de paix<br>et il y habitera dans la confiance,<br>et ils séjourneront au milieu des richesses. |

Nous nous intéressons au membre qui finit le verset 17, καὶ πεποιθότες ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος. Les sujets des deux propositions qui précèdent sont des substantifs non animés, τὰ ἔργα et ἡ δικαιοσύνη. Ensuite, au début du verset 18, le sujet est ὁ λαός. Notre nominatif absolu fait la transition entre les deux schémas. Comme nous le disions en introduction, il cataphorise ὁ λαός; on notera que le participe πεποιθώς se retrouve à la ligne 2 du verset 18, dans une identité formelle qui va au-delà du polyptote du TM (בטח / מבטחים). Quant à la syllepse, elle se retrouve à la dernière ligne du verset 18, avec la brutale succession (sans nominatif sujet re-exprimé) de καὶ ἐνοικήσῃ (singulier) et de καὶ ἀναπαύσονται (pluriel). Ce nominatif «en l'air» a rebuté certains témoins du texte<sup>20</sup> qui ajoutent, après πεποιθότες, le verbe conjugué ἔσονται; preuve que le phénomène du nominatif absolu faisait problème.

Un autre passage pose une question d'un autre ordre. Il s'agit d'une accumulation de nominatifs. Il nous semble important de citer le contexte précédent et celui qui suit, pour bien montrer le caractère insolite de ces nominatifs d'Es 40, 22–23. Lisons donc un passage plus large, Es 40, 21–24:

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tant qu'apposition de ce membre supplémentaire (d'où également la différence de ponctuation): ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ ὀλοκληρία, οὔτε τραῦμα οὔτε μῶλωψ οὔτε πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα· οὐκ ἔστιν μάλαγμα ἐπιθεῖναι οὔτε ἔλαιον οὔτε καταδέσμους: «des pieds jusqu'à la tête rien en lui d'intact, ni lésion, ni meurtrissure, ni blessure enflammée; impossible d'appliquer, etc.».

<sup>19</sup> Si c'en est bien un; il est également tentant de penser à une proposition nominale elliptique.

<sup>20</sup> S<sup>c</sup> A'-26-86 C'-566 46 198 233 403' 407 534 770 Bo Cyr<sup>(lem)</sup>.

הלוא תדעו הלוא תשמעו  
הלוא הגד מראש לכם  
הלוא הבינתם מוסדות הארץ  
הישב על חוג הארץ  
וישביה כחגבים  
הנוטה כדק שמים וימתחם כאהל לשבת

הנותן רוזנים לאין  
שפטי ארץ כהוה עשה  
אף בל נטעו אף בל זרעו  
אף בל שרש בארץ גועם  
וגם נשף בהם ויבשו  
וסערה כקש תשאם

Ne le savez-vous pas? Ne l'avez-vous  
pas entendu ?

Ne vous l'a-t-on pas annoncé depuis  
le début?

N'avez-vous pas compris la fondation  
de la terre?

Il siège par-dessus le cercle de la  
terre,

dont les habitants sont comme des  
sauterelles.

Il étend les cieux comme une fine  
gaze,

il les déploie comme une tente où l'on  
habite.

Il réduit à rien les souverains,

les juges de la terre, il en fait un  
néant;

à peine sont-ils plantés, à peine sont-  
ils semés

à peine leur tige a-t-elle pris racine en  
terre

qu'il souffle sur eux: ils sèchent

et la tempête les emporte comme de la  
paille.

<sup>21</sup> οὐ γνώσεσθε; οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε;

οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν;

οὐκ ἔγνωτε τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς;

<sup>22</sup> ὁ κατέχων τὸν γῦρον τῆς γῆς,

καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὡς ἀκρίδες,

ὁ στήσας ὡς καμάραν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ

διατείνας ὡς σκηνὴν κατοικεῖν,

<sup>23</sup> ὁ διδοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς οὐδὲν ἄρχειν,

τῇν δὲ γῆν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν.

<sup>24</sup> οὐ γὰρ μὴ σπείρωσιν οὐδὲ μὴ φυτεύσωσιν,

οὐδὲ μὴ ῥιζωθῇ εἰς τῇν γῆν ἡ ῥίζα αὐτῶν·

ἔπνευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξηράνθησαν,

καὶ καταίγῃς ὡς φρύγανα ἀναλήμψεται

αὐτούς.

Ne connaîtrez-vous pas? N'entendrez-vous  
pas?

Ne vous a-t-on pas annoncé dès le  
commencement? N'avez-vous pas connu  
les assises de la terre?

C'est lui qui contient l'orbe de la terre—ses  
habitants sont comme des sauterelles—,

lui qui a fait tenir comme une voûte le ciel et  
qui l'a étendu comme une tente que l'on  
habite,

lui qui donne des souverains pour qu'ils  
soient souverains du néant,  
et il a fait de la terre comme un néant.

Car ils ne sèmeront ni ne planteront,

et leur racine ne s'enracinera pas en terre;

il a soufflé sur eux et ils se sont desséchés,  
et un tourbillon les emportera comme des  
brindilles.

Au sein même des versets 22–23, tous les participes avec article, au nominatif, ne sont pas sur le même plan. Ainsi au v. 22 καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὡς ἀκρίδες, avec changement de référent (il ne s'agit plus de Dieu), est clairement une proposition nominale, avec le verbe «être» sous-entendu, proposition qui constitue une parenthèse dans la séquence des épicleses divines. Penchons-nous à présent sur la proposition qui finit le v. 23, τῇν δὲ γῆν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν. Du



point de vue de la comparaison avec le TM, il s'agit d'une traduction littérale de la proposition avec verbe conjugué עשה qui répond normalement à un premier membre au participe, הנותן.<sup>21</sup> On pourrait être tenté de considérer le δέ dans τὴν δὲ γῆν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν comme une conjonction apodotique; à ce moment-là la séquence des participes articulés qui commence avec ὁ κατέχων au v. 22 seraient des sujets, et non des nominatifs absolus. Il nous semble cependant que les conjonctions apodotiques s'observent après des propositions dont le verbe est conjugué, et non après des participes. Dans cette hypothèse, la proposition τὴν δὲ γῆν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν constituerait presque une parenthèse au même titre que le καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὡς ἀκρίδες du verset précédent. Cette cascade de nominatifs absolus finit par trouver un verbe, mais médiatement, après les deux propositions négatives qui commencent le v. 24: οὐ γὰρ μὴ σπείρωσιν οὐδὲ μὴ φυτεύουσιν, οὐδὲ μὴ ῥιζωθῇ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἢ ῥίζα αὐτῶν. Le sujet du verbe suivant, ἔπνευσεν, est bien évidemment Dieu, dont il était question dans la suite des nominatifs absolus dont nous sommes partis. À la différence des cas que nous avons parcourus précédemment, au début de notre parcours des nominatifs absolus dans le livre d'Ésaïe, le nominatif absolu ne réapparaît pas sous la forme d'un pronom anaphorique, mais, invisible, ou du moins caché, dans la désinence du verbe conjugué ἔπνευσεν.

Il existe un passage, dans notre livre, où ce schéma est répété, c'est-à-dire où des nominatifs absolus se retrouvent, plus loin,<sup>22</sup> comme sujets d'un verbe; mais cette fois-ci ils sont anaphorisés par un pronom démonstratif, οὗτος; il s'agit d'Es 66, 3:

|                                                                                                 |                                                                                    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| שוחט השור מכה איש זובח השא ערף בלב                                                              | ὁ δὲ ἄνομος ὁ θύων μοι μόσχον ὡς ὁ ἀποκτείνων κύνα,                                |
| מעלה מנחה דם חזיר                                                                               | ὁ δὲ ἀναφέρων σπειδάλιν ὡς αἶμα ὕειον,                                             |
| מזכיר לבנה מברך און                                                                             | ὁ διδούς λίβανον εἰς μνημόσυνον ὡς βλάσφημος·                                      |
| גם המה בחרו בדרכיהם ובשקוציהם                                                                   | καὶ οὗτοι ἐξελέξαντο τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ βδελύγματα αὐτῶν,                      |
| נפשם חפצה                                                                                       | ἃ ἢ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν ἠθέλησε,                                                            |
| On immole un bœuf et on abat un homme ; on sacrifie un agneau, et on rompt la nuque à un chien; | Mais le transgresseur? Celui qui me sacrifie un taurillon comme l'on tue un chien, |

<sup>21</sup> Paul Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* (Rome: Institut biblique pontifical 1923), indique qu' «un participe, prédicatif ou non prédicatif, est assez rarement continué par un autre participe; généralement, on continue par un temps fini» (§ 121 j, p. 342; voir aussi § 118 l, p. 324). Dans notre passage, l'auteur de la LXX d'Ésaïe n'a pas agi de manière uniforme, car face à la succession participe + temps conjugué en 40, 22b (הנותן / וימתחם), on lit en grec deux participes : ὁ στήσας ... καὶ διατείνας.

<sup>22</sup> La précision est importante; sans cette distance, les nominatifs sont tout simplement sujets du verbe, ou apposés, d'une manière ou d'une autre.

|                                                            |                                                                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| on offre en oblation du sang de porc;                      | et celui qui offre de la fleur de farine<br>comme du sang de porc, |
| on fait un mémorial d'encens, et on<br>bénit une Iniquité. | celui qui donne de l'encens en mémorial<br>comme un blasphémateur? |
| Puisqu'eux-mêmes ont choisi leurs<br>voies                 | Et ceux-là ont choisi leurs voies<br>et leurs abominations,        |
| et que dans leurs Ordures<br>leur âme se complaît.         | dont leur âme a voulu.                                             |

Dans une structure proche du TM, la LXX accumule les participes articulés<sup>23</sup> au nominatif masculin singulier. La ponctuation forte après βλάσφημος (le point en haut) s'explique par le καί qui suit,<sup>24</sup> qui ouvre véritablement une nouvelle proposition. Le οὔτοι anaphorise nos nominatifs absolus; le verbe conjugué ἐξελέξαντο possède ainsi un sujet «classique», à la différence du ἔπνευσεν de l'exemple précédent.

Un exemple proche d'Es 40, 22–23 se lit en Es 45, 10. Nous avons de même un participe articulé, même si le contexte grammatical diffère quelque peu. Comme dans l'exemple précédent, il nous semble nécessaire de citer l'environnement du nominatif absolu:

|                                                              |                                                                                                                                |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| הוי רב את יצרו                                               | <sup>9</sup> Ποῖον βέλτιον κατεσκεύασα ὡς πηλὸν<br>κεραμέως;                                                                   |
| חרש את חרשי אדמה                                             | μὴ ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριάσει τὴν γῆν ;                                                                                             |
| היאמר חמר ליצרו מה תעשה                                      | μὴ ἐρεῖ ὁ πηλὸς τῷ κεραμεῖ Τί ποιεῖς,                                                                                          |
| ופעלך אין ידים לו                                            | ὅτι οὐκ ἐργάζῃ οὐδὲ ἔχεις χεῖρας;                                                                                              |
| הוי אמר לאב מה תוליד ולאשה מה תחילין                         | <sup>10</sup> ὁ λέγων τῷ πατρὶ Τί γεννήσεις; καὶ τῇ<br>μητρὶ Τί ὠδινήσεις;                                                     |
| כה אמר יהוה קדוש ישראל ויצרו                                 | <sup>11</sup> ὅτι οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἄγιος<br>Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἐπερχόμενα                                          |
| האתיות שאלוני על בני ועל פעל ידי תצוני                       | <sup>9</sup> Ἐρωτήσατέ με περὶ τῶν υἱῶν μου καὶ περὶ<br>τῶν θυγατέρων μου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἔργων<br>τῶν χειρῶν μου ἐντεῖλασθέ μοι. |
| Malheur à celui qui incrimine Celui<br>qui le façonne        | <sup>9</sup> Qu'ai-je établi de mieux que l'argile du<br>potier?                                                               |
| —tesson parmi les tessons de terre!—                         | Est-ce que le laboureur labourera la terre?                                                                                    |
| La glaise dit-elle à celui qui la<br>façonne: «Que fais-tu?» | Est-ce que l'argile dira au potier: «Que<br>fais-tu?                                                                           |
| et son ouvrage: «tu n'as pas de<br>mains?»                   | Tu ne travailles pas, tu n'as pas de mains?»                                                                                   |

<sup>23</sup> Alors que les participes prédicatifs du TM sont sans article.

<sup>24</sup> Et qui ne donne lieu à aucune variante, d'après l'apparat de Ziegler.

Malheur à celui qui dit à un père:  
«Qu'as-tu engendré?»  
et à une femme: «Qu'as-tu mis au  
monde?»

Ainsi parle Yahvé, le Saint d'Israël et  
Celui qui le façonne:  
Est-ce à vous de m'interroger sur mes  
fils, et de me donner des ordres sur  
l'ouvrage de mes mains?

<sup>10</sup> C'est celui qui dit à son père:  
«Qu'engendreras-tu?» et à sa mère:  
«Qu'enfanteras-tu dans les douleurs?»!

<sup>11</sup> Car ainsi parle le Seigneur Dieu, le Saint  
d'Israël, lui qui a fait l'avenir:  
Interrogez-moi sur mes fils et mes filles, et  
sur les œuvres de mes mains donnez-  
moi des ordres!

À la différence du passage précédent, le nominatif absolu du verset 10 ὁ λέγων κτλ, ne se retrouve pas directement dans la syntaxe des lignes qui suivent. Le rapport n'est donc pas grammatical, il est thématique. Du point de vue de la comparaison avec le TM, le nominatif absolu vient juste de l'absence de correspondant de הַי «malheur», mot que l'auteur de la LXX d'Es connaît pourtant parfaitement.<sup>25</sup> Notre nominatif absolu introduit abruptement la thématique de l'engendrement, des fils et des filles<sup>26</sup> alors que jusqu'à présent il ne s'agissait que de création d'objets, de vases de potiers. Les deux idées (engendrement biologique et fabrication artisanale) se retrouvent ensuite coordonnées au verset 11. Le verset 10, celui du nominatif absolu, introduit ainsi l'idée qui sera reprise ultérieurement sans pour autant chercher à la relier artificiellement à ce qui précède. Il s'agit en quelque sorte d'une cataphore thématique, et non grammaticale. L'absence de traduction du הַי «malheur»<sup>27</sup> viendrait alors du fait que, dans le verset 11, il n'est pas question de malédiction. Cette absence même confirme la fonction cataphorique du nominatif absolu.

Un cas plus discutable encore se lit en Es 32, 13–14a, qui décrit la désolation que subit le pays dont les habitants avaient pourtant confiance<sup>28</sup>:

|                                           |                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| עַל אֲדַמַּת עַמִּי קוֹץ שְׁמִיר תַּעֲלֶה | ἡ γῆ τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἄκανθα καὶ χόρτος ἀναβήσεται, |
| כִּי עַל כָּל בְּתִי מִשׁוֹשׁ             | καὶ ἐκ πάσης οἰκίας εὐφροσύνη ἀρβήσεται·        |
| קִרְיָה עֲלִיזָה                          | πόλις πλουσία,                                  |
| כִּי אֲרַמּוֹן נִטֵּשׁ                    | οἴκοι ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι πλοῦτον πόλεως          |

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Es 1, 4 οὐαὶ ἔθνος ἀμαρτωλόν = הַי גּוֹי חַטָּא; Es 5, 11 οὐαὶ οἱ ἐγειρόμενοι τὸ πρωὶ = הַי מְשַׁכְּמִי בַבֶּקֶר ; etc.

<sup>26</sup> Thématique soulignée dans la LXX par l'article à valeur possessive (*son* père, *sa* mère; l'anaphorique αὐτοῦ est d'ailleurs présent, après πατρί et μητρί, en Co Syh Syl Eus) et par le choix de μητρί «mère» en regard de אִשָּׁה «femme» du TM.

<sup>27</sup> Cependant le manuscrit 86 présente, avant ὁ λέγων, l'interjection οὐαί.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Es 32, 11–12: ἔκστητε, λυπήθητε, αἱ πεποιθυῖαι, ἐκδύσασθε, γυμναὶ γένεσθε, περιζώσασθε σάκκους τὰς ὀσφύας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μαστῶν κόπτεσθε ἀπὸ ἀγροῦ ἐπιθυμήματος καὶ ἀμπέλου γενήματος «Soyez stupéfaites, soyez chagrinées, vous qui avez confiance, dévêtez-vous, dénudez-vous, ceignez vos reins de haillons et frappez-vous les seins, pour un champ désirable et le produit de la vigne».

|                                      |                                            |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| המון עיר עזב                         | καὶ οἴκους ἐπιθυμητοὺς ἀφήσουσιν·          |
| sur le sol de mon peuple qui montera | La terre de mon peuple montera en épines   |
| en épines et en ronces               | et en herbe,                               |
| sur toutes les maisons de plaisance  | et de toute maison la joie sera ôtée:      |
| de la cité en liesse.                | ville riche!                               |
| Car la citadelle est désertée,       | Des maisons délaissées laisseront aller la |
| la ville bruyante abandonnée.        | richesse de la ville et des maisons        |
|                                      | désirées.                                  |

Le nominatif πόλις πλουσία, qui ne se construit pas, semble être une exclamation teintée d'ironie. Ce qui deviendra «épines» et «herbe», c'est la «ville riche», dont précisément les «maisons délaissées» perdront cette richesse. On notera le polyptote πόλις πλουσία (nominatif absolu qui annonce précisément la suite) / πλοῦτον πόλεως, d'autant plus remarquable que le TM correspondant ne manifeste nullement une telle unité morphologique; en face de πόλις / πόλεως nous lisons deux noms différents de la «ville», קריה et יר; et ce qui correspond à la «richesse» de la LXX (πλουσία / πλοῦτον) est successivement la «joie» (עליזה) puis le «bruit» (המון).

### 3. CONCLUSION

Nous avons dans notre exposé rencontré différents cas de nominatifs absolus; parfois ils étaient anaphorisés par le pronom anaphorique αὐτός, parfois même par le démonstratif οὗτος; mais il arrive aussi que rien, dans le texte, ne matérialise le retour discret de cette pierre d'attente. La comparaison avec le texte massorétique témoigne de cette même diversité; identité syntaxique, phrases nominales, participes prédictifs, verbes conjugués coordonnées à des participes, tout cela peut donner naissance, dans la LXX, à des nominatifs absolus. Une interprétation unifiée n'est pas aisée à établir et nous ne nous y essaierons pas. Nous avons simplement tenté, çà et là, de brefs commentaires stylistiques, qu'il conviendrait probablement de développer. La conclusion que nous souhaiterions tirer de ce parcours serait tout simplement qu'il convient de prendre conscience de ce procédé du nominatif absolu; qu'il ne s'agit ni d'une faute de grammaire ni d'une déficience de la tradition manuscrite, mais bien d'un outil poétique utilisé à dessein par l'auteur de la LXX d'Esaië. Si nous avons réussi à convaincre de cela, nous aurons atteint notre modeste objectif.

# Lexical Possibilities in LXX Research: Revision and Expansion

William A. Ross

**Abstract:** This article reviews the findings of John A. L. Lee regarding historical linguistic investigation of *Koine* Greek documentary evidence in his published dissertation. With the passage of over three decades since Lee's work, much more papyrological and inscriptional evidence has surfaced. Moreover, a significant amount of the data is now digitized and searchable. Therefore, this article begins to pursue the course set out by Lee himself in the introduction to the published version of his dissertation where he suggests it could surely "benefit from revision or expansion" in light of new data. To do so, here the digital databases of documentary evidence are investigated for occurrences of ὁράω and βλέπω that are additional to those found by Lee. After assessing the use of the two words in new evidence, a "revision" of Lee's conclusions is offered. Even in light of new data, Lee's conclusions prove remarkably accurate, suggesting the potential of his methodology for further application and even "expansion." Accordingly, this article also discusses the difficulties inherent in documentary evidence research and possible ways forward, with particular attention to the double text of LXX Judges.

## 1. INTRODUCTION AND DIRECTION

In 1970, John Lee completed his doctoral work with a thesis entitled *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, which was later published.<sup>1</sup> In that study, Lee made two major advances towards understanding the linguistic milieu of the Septuagint (LXX) translators. The first was that the

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1. John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, SCS 14 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983). My sincere thanks to Dr. Lee for his guidance and help with this article.

language of the LXX Pentateuch is essentially the vernacular *Koine* Greek of its time, rather than an Alexandrian “Jewish-Greek” dialect as posited by some.<sup>2</sup> Lee reached this conclusion by comparing the language of the Greek Pentateuch with *Koine* documentary evidence, demonstrating that the translators’ vocabulary “includes a large number of uses, formations, and words that had recently become current in the language.”<sup>3</sup> Secondly, Lee conducts several lexicographical experiments by which he establishes a *terminus ante quem* for the translation of the LXX Pentateuch, approximately the middle of the second century BCE or earlier.<sup>4</sup>

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2. These scholars maintain that the “peculiar” characteristics of LXX Greek are unrelated to its status as a translated text, but that rather it was a kind of stand-alone Egyptian Jewish dialect. See Henry B. Swete and Henry St. J. Thackeray, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: University Press, 1900), 9, 299; Henry S. Gehman, “The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek,” *VT* 1 (1951): 81–90; Nigel Turner, “The Unique Character of Biblical Greek,” *VT* 5 (1955): 208–13; idem, “The ‘Testament of Abraham’: Problems in Biblical Greek,” *NTS* 1 (1954–1955): 219–23; idem, “Second Thoughts: VII Papyrus Finds,” *ET* 76 (1964): 44–48; idem, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1965), 174ff.; see also idem, *Syntax*, vol. 3 of *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, ed. Nigel Turner and James H. Moulton (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), 4ff, cited in Lee, *Lexical Study*, 13 n. 5, 6. Contrasting this position is that of Adolf Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, trans. A. Grieve, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1909), 66ff; idem, *Philology of the Greek Bible*, trans. Lionel M. Strachan (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1908), 48ff. Deissmann’s work was paradigm-shifting for the study of “Biblical Greek,” as he was the first to posit it as “eine griechische Weltsprache, eine gemeinsame Sprache” (*Licht vom Osten: Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt*, 4th ed. [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1923], 51). Deissmann was later followed by Albert Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der KOINH* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1901), 120–26, 174–85; James H. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1 of *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1908), 13; Henry St. J. Thackeray, *Introduction, Orthography and Accidence*, vol. 1 of *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 25ff, cited with others in Lee, *Lexical Study*, 12 n. 3. For a history of scholarship on the conception of the nature of *Koine* Greek, see James W. Voelz, “The Language of the New Testament,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase, vol. 25.2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), 893–977, esp. 894–930.

3. Lee, *Lexical Study*, 145. Lee also persuasively argues that had a Jewish-Greek dialect existed, it would have been influenced by Aramaic, because it—rather than Hebrew—was the language of the Jews prior to their adoption of Greek (15–18).

4. Lee qualifies his dating conclusions, stating that linguistic changes such as those used for his experiments are “by their nature incapable of being accurately dated. They are gradual developments which take place over a fairly long period of time. At best, therefore, we cannot expect to date our text more accurately than to within a century”

Lee's dissertation is focused primarily upon establishing his first conclusion, the nature of Septuagint Greek. His application of lexicography to dating is developed only in chapter 8 and fills just a tenth of his work by page length. But it is that methodology that will be the focus of this article. In his preface, Lee states that the ten year interval between the completion and publication of his dissertation entailed drawbacks, not least of which were the advances made in the field of Greek lexicography during that timeframe. Consequently, he notes that his research would "benefit from revision or expansion,"<sup>5</sup> and it is specifically that end towards which this article is directed, albeit in preliminary form.

If advances had been made between 1970 and 1983, the amount of lexicographical data available now has proportionately grown.<sup>6</sup> Today, linguistic data is accessible and searchable as never before via digitized databases that are constantly updated.<sup>7</sup> Additionally, a greater number of lexical resources are available in print as well.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, both the need and opportunity exist for

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(*Lexical Study*, 131). Later research conducted by Evans confirmed the second century date and even suggests a third century date of translation; Trevor Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 263–64.

5. Lee, *Lexical Study*, v.

6. This is especially true of Hellenistic inscriptions, which Lee did not take into account but acknowledged would be very important for future lexical studies (*Lexical Study*, 147; cf. Trevor Evans, "The Potential of Linguistic Criteria for Dating Septuagint Books," *BIOSCS* 43 [2010]: 12). Additionally, the "Words from the Sand" project, now underway at Macquarie University, is focused upon providing a "state of the art lexical analysis of early Greek papyri [from Egypt]" ("Words from the Sand: A Lexical Analysis of Early Greek Papyri from Egypt," n.p., [https://www.mq.edu.au/research/centres\\_and\\_groups/ancient\\_cultures\\_research\\_centre/research/lexicon/](https://www.mq.edu.au/research/centres_and_groups/ancient_cultures_research_centre/research/lexicon/)).

7. John A. L. Lee, "A *Lexical Study* Thirty Years On, with Observations on 'Order' Words in the LXX Pentateuch," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 515. These databases make lexical research much more feasible. Lee recounts how during his doctoral work "not just hours or weeks, but months were spent searching for words in the indexes of documentary volumes and confirming occurrences. Every text had to be laboriously copied by hand in the library, then recopied into the manuscript when written, before finally being handed over for typing.... Photocopying was only just beginning to be possible" ("A *Lexical Study* Thirty Years On," 515).

8. For an excellent overview of the extant resources, see Michaël N. van der Meer, "Problems and Perspectives in Septuagint Lexicography: The Case of Non-Compliance (ἀπειθήω)," in *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, SCS 58 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 65–67.

“revision or expansion” in this field of Septuagint research that could yield further valuable results.<sup>9</sup>

Lee’s methodology is straightforward, which is not to say easy. The process is basically as follows: first identify a word or meaning that is demonstrably out of use in *Koine* by a certain time point yet present in a Septuagint book. Then find another word or meaning that later comes to replace the first. If the later word or meaning is not present in that Septuagint book, then the book was translated before the lexical or semantic change occurred.<sup>10</sup> Simple, perhaps, but very little work has occurred to carry Lee’s methodology forward.<sup>11</sup> To quote Trevor Evans on the use of Lee’s lexical dating methodology, “the lack of activity hints at the difficulty and complexity of the task.”<sup>12</sup> However, the methodology does have room for development that could make the task more manageable. The potential for expansion upon Lee’s work will be discussed below, specifically with regard to the double text of Judges.

## 2. REVISING PREVIOUS WORK

First, however, it will be necessary to determine whether Lee’s work requires revision. Specifically, his conclusions drawn from data pertaining to one set of *Koine* Greek words will be re-evaluated, so far as it is possible here. Due to space constraints, only a few illustrative translations of the word occurrences found are included below.

The word pairs that Lee investigated are two words for “seeing”: βλέπω and ὁράω; and, secondly, two words for “donkey”: ὄνος and ὑποζύγιον. Only the “seeing” words will be reinvestigated here. Furthermore, for brevity’s sake and to demonstrate their potential, I have largely conducted my research with the

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9. See Dries De Crom, “The Lexicon of LXX Canticles and Greco-Roman Papyri,” *ZAW* 124 (2012): 255–62, who surveys some of the potential benefits that documentary evidence could afford LXX studies. Also see James K. Aitken, *No Stone Unturned: Greek Inscriptions and Septuagint Vocabulary*, CSHB 5 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014).

10. See Lee, *Lexical Study*, 135, 143–44; Evans, “Linguistic Criteria,” 6. It is possible that a book was translated in the midst of such a linguistic transition and therefore could contain both old and new uses of the words or meanings to some extent.

11. Both Lee and, more recently, Evans point this out. Lee asks, “What sort of follow-up work has there been? It is safe to say not very much.... There has been no book or major work that pursues the subject thoroughly” (*Lexical Study* Thirty Years On,” 516). Likewise Evans, “Lee’s discovery remains undeveloped.... There have been few systematic efforts to harness this kind of evidence ... none on a major scale” (“Linguistic Criteria,” 5). However, both Lee and Evans undertake a smaller scale lexicographical exercise in these articles.

12. Evans, “Linguistic Criteria,” 6. Evans’s article is helpful for understanding Lee’s methodology, along with the difficulties inherent in it. At one point, Evans proposes “Strategies for Future Study” (13–15), which this article will build upon below.



online databases of papyri and inscriptions.<sup>13</sup> These were searched for occurrences of the words in sources other than those Lee himself found. In other words, the occurrences that Lee identifies in his thesis shall be taken for granted as correctly evaluated and accounted for. The focus in this article falls rather upon those occurrences found in sources not cited by Lee and therefore additional to the information available to him.<sup>14</sup>

For the βλέπω and ὁράω pair, Lee observes that in Classical Greek the word for the transitive idea “to perceive visually” was ὁράω in the present, imperfect (έώρων), and perfect (έώρακα).<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, at that time βλέπω had the intransitive sense “to look (in a specified direction)” or “to have the power of sight.”<sup>16</sup> Based on Menander’s use, however, transitive βλέπω seems to have begun to appear in ordinary speech around the end of the fourth century BCE.<sup>17</sup> Lee also observes that by the first century CE ὁράω in the present and imperfect

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13. Even limiting the present study in this way proved quite time consuming and exacting. I have aimed at exhaustive searches but am likely to have missed occurrences of the words under investigation. There are three primary sites for electronic searches. First, from NYU’s Digital Library Technology Services and the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, “Papyri.info,” n.p., <http://www.papyri.info/>. The site “aggregates and displays information from the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS), the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (DDBDP), the Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens (HGV), and Bibliographie Papyrologique (BP), as well as links to Trismegistos.” Second, for inscriptional information, the Packard Humanities Institute, “Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress,” n.p., <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>. Thirdly, there is “Claros: Concordance of Greek Inscriptions,” n.p., <http://www.dge.filol.csic.es/claros/cnc/2cnc.htm>. These sites offer data roughly up through the mid-1990s and so are still in some ways limited for our purposes. Brill’s complete online reference to the *SEG* was also used to supplement the PHI site’s information on the inscriptions with the most recent data; BrillOnline Reference Works, “Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum,” n.p., <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum>. When searching the inscriptional evidence, I have limited data to the Egypt, Nubia, and Cyrenaïca regions for the sake of space, and since this is roughly the linguistic milieu of the Greek Old Testament in general. Some recourse has been made to the “WörterListen aus den Registern von Publikationen griechischer und lateinischer dokumentarischer Papyri und Ostraka,” which contains a list of words in more recent publications; available from “Hinweise zur Benutzung der WörterListen,” n.p., <http://www.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/hps/pap/WL/WL.html>.

14. Although rechecking all of Lee’s own citations could be profitable for the sake of thoroughness, he does not cite his lexical data precisely enough to make that feasible here without searching all the evidence de novo.

15. Lee, *Lexical Study*, 131. He states that “the other tenses [were supplied] by the root ὁπ- (ὁψομαι, etc.).”

16. Ibid., 131–32. There are cases where βλέπω seems to occur as a synonym to ὁράω, but which are primarily poetic uses (132).

17. Ibid.

is almost completely unused; instead, βλέπω takes its place in those tenses, now with the transitive sense “to perceive visually.”<sup>18</sup> Lee then proceeds to survey as thoroughly as possible with the available evidence the replacement of ὁράω by βλέπω in the period between the end of the fourth century BCE and the middle of the first century CE.<sup>19</sup>

To begin with papyrological evidence, Lee’s research shows that ὁράω was still the conventional word for “to see” in the transitive sense in the third century BCE. He found twenty-seven occurrences—twenty-four in the present and three in the imperfect—against none of βλέπω in a transitive sense.<sup>20</sup> In my survey of the papyri dated to the third century, I found five occurrences of ὁράω additional to those Lee found.<sup>21</sup> All but one is in the present tense and is used transitively, although one instance occurs in a fragmentary text that is difficult to decipher with much certainty.<sup>22</sup> Consider this example:<sup>23</sup>

| Source and Date | Line | Text                   | Translation                         |
|-----------------|------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| P.Tebt.         | 8    | οὐχ ὁρῶ πῶ[ς] δυνήσκει | I do not <b>see</b> how you will be |
| III.1.759,8     | 9    | πρoίστασθαι            | able to manage your own             |
| [TM 5357]       |      | τῶν ἰ[δί]ων.           | things.                             |
| (226 BCE)       |      |                        |                                     |

18. Lee evaluates first century CE data on the basis of the New Testament, which is supported by the papyri, and where βλέπω occurs over one hundred times with the sense “perceive visually” (ibid., 134).

19. Lee states rather bluntly that “the evidence at our disposal for this period is, as might be expected, far from adequate” (ibid., 135). For the third century BCE, Lee examined the following papyrological collections: P.Cair.Zen., P.Hib. I, II, P.Mich.Zen., P.Col.Zen. I, II, P.Lille I, P.Magd., P.Petr., P.Gurob, P.Eleph., P.Rev., P.Hamb. II, P.Sorb., and “portions” of *PSI* IV–VII; see ibid., 135 n. 21. For a bibliography of all monographs of papyrus and other ancient texts, see John F. Oates et al., eds., *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, 4th ed., BASPSup 7 (Atlanta: Scholars Press 1992). The documentary evidence cited here using the guidelines in the “Checklist” for papyri and inscriptions compiled by George H. R. Horsley and John A. L. Lee, “A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphic Volumes,” *Epigraphica* 56 (1994): 129–69. Additionally, wherever a Trismegistos number is available for a papyrus or inscription, I have provided it in brackets.

20. Lee, *Lexical Study*, 135. βλέπω does occur in the sense of “to face (towards)” three times clearly in P.Cair.Zen. V.59–847.7, 42, 50, and once disputably in P.Cair.Zen. V.59–639.5, perhaps as a compound.

21. P.Tebt. III.1.759,8 [TM 5357]; P.Yale I.33,4 [TM 8195]; P.Bon. 11 FrH,r 6 [TM 78128]; P.Col. III.6,5 [TM 1728]; and P.Col. III.51,14 [TM 1767], the last of which is in the imperfect.

22. P.Bon. 11 FrH,r 6 [TM 78128]. The accusative χρήσιμον following ὁράω points towards transitivity.

23. All translations are my own.

As for βλέπω in the third century BCE, just one further occurrence was found where the word is used intransitively:

| Source and Date | Line | Text                                                                        | Translation                                                                                              |
|-----------------|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| P.Hal. 8,4      | 2    | Συηνίτην τὸν ἐν Τμουνεψώνει                                                 | Syēnitēs, the man in                                                                                     |
| [TM 5878]       | 3    | τοῦ Ἀπολλωνοπολίτου περὶ τοῦ                                                | Tmounepsonēs of                                                                                          |
| (232 BCE)       | 4    | μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν τὰς χρείας<br>παρέχεσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ βλέπειν<br>τὰς νύκτας. | Apollōnopolis, concerning his<br>inability to render duties on<br>account of not <b>seeing</b> at night. |

In this century, then, the additional data has yielded results that align with what Lee's findings would lead us to expect: five occurrences of transitive ὁράω, one of intransitive βλέπω, consistent with the Classical use.

In the following two centuries, the papyrological evidence is scant. This was the case when Lee conducted his research, and it remains the case today despite advances. Lee found eight cases of the transitive use of ὁράω in the present, none in the imperfect, and βλέπω four times in a transitive sense.<sup>24</sup> This led Lee to conclude that "it was during the second century BC that βλέπω began to compete seriously with ὁράω,"<sup>25</sup> which he corroborated with evidence from Polybius. Lee suggests that "by about the middle of the first century AD βλέπω had all but ousted ὁράω."<sup>26</sup>

Further research turned up three more occurrences in the second to first centuries BCE. First, βλέπω is used transitively twice, one in the early second century and another in the first half of the first century, both in the present tense.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, ὁράω in the present is used in a transitive sense, and notably in a text dated as late as 10 BCE.<sup>28</sup>

24. Lee, *Lexical Study*, 135–36. For the second and first centuries BCE. For papyri, Lee (135 n. 23) searched P.Tebt. I, III.1 and 2, P.Adler, *BGU* VI, VIII, *UPZ* I, II, P.Strassb. II, and "parts" of P.Ryl. II, IV, *PSI* IX, P.Amh. II. One further instance of transitive βλέπω occurs in an inscription, *SIG* 1104.42.

25. *Ibid.*, 137. Lee states that clearly "the evidence does not permit a positive conclusion on this point." He does, however, cite the telling text in which both ὁράω and βλέπω are used in a transitive sense within a single sentence, demonstrating their near synonymy (*UPZ* 68,6 [152 BCE]).

26. *Ibid.*, 137. Lee cites fifteen transitive uses of βλέπω in Polybius (ca. 202–150 BCE), which he located using Arno Mauersberger et al., *Polybios-Lexikon* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1956–2004); *Lexical Study*, 136 n. 25.

27. P.Yale I.43,18 [TM 5536]; P.IFAO II 5,7 [TM 78419].

28. Lee searched this collection, but only volumes VI and VIII.

| Source and Date                          | Line | Text                                                         | Translation                                                   |
|------------------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| BGU XVI 2623,6<br>[TM 23347]<br>(10 BCE) | 6    | οὐχ <b>δράω</b> οὖν ἐν τῷ<br>παρόντι[λλο]ν [ἀ]               | Not <b>seeing</b> then in the<br>present circumstances        |
|                                          | 7    | νοτερον <sup>(29)</sup> σου ὠρμήθην<br>γράψας παρακαλέσαι σε | another better than you, I<br>began writing to summon<br>you. |

According to Lee, transitive *δράω* was “beginning to be obsolete” by the first century BCE.<sup>30</sup> This last papyrus goes to show that, even at as relatively late a time as 10 BCE, it was not completely obsolete. It may be that *δράω* is used here for stylistic reasons due to the heightened register of this “letter of recommendation.”<sup>31</sup> It is perhaps telling, however, that in a period of scant evidence, out of the three instances of “seeing” words found, two are transitive *βλέπω* and only one is *δράω*.<sup>32</sup>

Moving into inscriptional evidence for the *δράω* / *βλέπω* word pair from the Alexandrian region, the data is difficult to evaluate regardless of the time period. Often inscriptions are quite fragmentary, making translation difficult, and only occasionally do the electronic databases or hard copy volumes provide very precise dates, if any at all.<sup>33</sup> Naturally this makes assessing inscriptional data

29. [ἀ]|νώτερόν? Emendation given in the apparatus of papyri.info.

30. Lee, *Lexical Study*, 137.

31. Papyri.info lists this as an “Empfehlungsschreiben” from Phaidros to Athenodoros, as seen in line 1. Lee comes to a similar conclusion regarding register for the eight instances of transitive *δράω* in the New Testament, which he observes occurs in the “more literary books, viz. Luke, Acts, and the Epistles” (*Lexical Study*, 133). For a similar phenomenon, see John A. L. Lee, “ΕΧΑΠΙΟΣΤΕΛΛΩ,” pages 99–113 in *Voces Biblicae: Septuagint Greek and Its Significance for the New Testament*, ed. Jan Joosten and Peter J. Tomson (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), esp. 102.

32. Other potential occurrences of *δράω* that did not seem clear enough for inclusion here due to their fragmentary nature are P.Heid. VI 364,3 [TM 3061] and P.Rain.Cent. 55,6 [TM 5269]. Additionally, it is worth mentioning the occurrences of our words in the Greek magical papyri (*PGM*), accessible through the “Thesaurus Linguae Graecae,” n.p., <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>. See also Hans D. Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation: Including the Demotic Spells*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992). The word *βλέπω* occurs forty-two times, mostly intransitively, whereas in contrast *δράω* does not occur at all. The reasons for this could be several. First, it may be due to *δράω* having become obsolete, since the *PGM* are dated almost entirely to the first several centuries of this era. Additionally, it is possible that due to the difference in genre, namely magical spells, *βλέπω* was the more obvious lexical choice. In many instances the instructional tone of the genre is apparent, e.g., *PGM* 4.2328; 4.3191; 13.200, etc. where *βλέπω* is used in the intransitive sense, e.g., “look up.” Either way, the *PGM* attest to the relative scarcity (in this case total absence) of *δράω* in the first century CE.

33. Woodhead says of inscriptions that in “many cases, even in the majority of cases, a precise dating is impossible, and it would be misleading to attempt to offer one

challenging; yet it is nevertheless important evidence that Lee did not systematically investigate. Because of the difficulties, only the clearest examples of noncompound forms dating from approximately the mid-third to late first centuries BCE are dealt with here.<sup>34</sup>

Research into *ὀράω* turned up nine further citations, five of which are too fragmentary to rely upon for sound conclusions.<sup>35</sup> In all the other occurrences, however, *ὀράω* is used transitively in the present tense. Consider this example:

| Name and Date | Line | Text                             | Translation                      |
|---------------|------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| OGI 1.48,8    | 7    | καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως                  | they set noble and worthy        |
| [TM 6372]     | 8    | τῆς πόλεως προέστησαν            | men over the city, <b>seeing</b> |
| (278/77 BCE)  |      | <b>ὀρῶντές</b> τινὰς τῶν πολιτῶν | some of the citizens not         |
|               | 9    | [μ]ὴ ὀρθῶς ἀνα[στρ]εφόμενους     | conducting themselves            |
|               |      | καὶ θόρυβον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα       | virtuously and producing an      |
|               | 10   | παρ[έ]- [χ]οντας ἐν ταῖς         | uncommon uproar in the           |
|               |      | βουλαῖς [καὶ] ἐν ταῖς            | councils and assemblies          |
|               |      | ἐκκλησίαις,                      |                                  |

Two of the inscriptional texts date to the third century BCE<sup>36</sup> and another anywhere between the late second and early first century BCE.<sup>37</sup> A final occurrence is dated only to the Ptolemaic period and appears in a poetic text that may not reflect contemporary usage.<sup>38</sup> Despite the imprecise dating of the last text, these occurrences of transitive *ὀράω* generally align with what Lee's conclusions would lead us to expect, just as the papyrological evidence did: two uses of transitive *ὀράω* in the third century and only one in later periods.

Unfortunately, research into occurrences of *βλέπω* in the inscriptions yielded no results in the Alexandrian region from the third through first centuries, making comparison with inscriptional occurrences of *ὀράω* difficult.

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... [yet a] scholar or student who is not himself a specialist in epigraphy may ... accept what the 'professional' epigraphist has told him." A. Geoffrey Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 52. Again, to address the challenge of dating as thoroughly as possible, Brill's online version of the *SEG* was used to check for the most recent data; BrillOnline Reference Works, "Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum," n.p., <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum>.

34. Lee cites one example of an inscription from the first century BCE (ca. 37/6), mentioned above, which uses *βλέπω* transitively: *SIG* 1104.42; *Lexical Study*, 136.

35. IEgBaillet 1422,3; IALexandriaMus 374b,4; *SEG* 34.1532,10; IEgBaillet 409,2; IEgBaillet 96,2, although these last two are in the perfect tense, which is not strictly relevant to our inquiry into perfect and imperfect occurrences.

36. *OGI* 1.48,8 [TM 6372]; IEgSyene 37,8.

37. *SEG* 26:1817,44.

38. IEgVers 17. Thanks to Lee for this observation.

However, broadening the search to the other regions indexed in the databases yielded at least twenty-seven occurrences. Many of these unfortunately are not dated or their date ranges are unhelpfully broad,<sup>39</sup> and some are quite fragmentary.<sup>40</sup> This brings the reliable texts down to just ten, three of which are difficult to decipher<sup>41</sup> and one other dated broadly to the Roman imperial period.<sup>42</sup> Still, the seven clearer occurrences of βλέπω are distributed roughly two per century, providing an interesting cross-section of the word's use to compare with the three transitive uses of ὁράω found in inscriptions. In the first three occurrences dating from the mid-fourth to early third century through the second century BCE, βλέπω appears to be used intransitively,<sup>43</sup> as in the following source:

| Source and Date                           | Line | Text                                         | Translation                                        |
|-------------------------------------------|------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| IG VII 3073,col.<br>II,95<br>(2nd c. BCE) | 94   | εἰς τὴν μακρὰν πλευρὰν τοῦ                   | on the far side of the place                       |
|                                           | 95   | {τοῦ} τόπου τοῦ πρὸς<br>μεσημβρίαν βλέποντος | <b>facing</b> the south, paved with<br>hard rocks. |
|                                           | 96   | καταστρω[τήρων πέ]-<br>τρας τῆς σκληρᾶς      |                                                    |

In the last four instances, however, dated to the mid-second century through the Roman imperial period, the word has a clear transitive sense.<sup>44</sup> That this lexical evidence comes from inscriptions in regions beyond Alexandria notwithstanding, it is remarkable that again lexical usage matches exactly that which Lee's conclusions lead us to expect.<sup>45</sup>

To summarize, then, assuming that the research John Lee conducted in the papyri collections cited in his dissertation is accurate, investigation of evidence either not available for or not checked in his work points to the following revision. In the third century BCE, one additional occurrence of intransitive βλέπω in papyri and two in inscriptions were found to add to Lee's three

39. Some not even narrowed within a century: *SEG* 31.519,2; IG II<sup>2</sup> 1227,18; some with no dates: IKyzikos I.540,3; *SEG* 30:1431,2; *SEG* 34:1266,12; *SEG* 6.724–725,30; IG XII,5 587,3; IEphMcCabe 23,7; TAM IV,1 122,3; MAMA VII.553,1–2; MAMA VII.558,1.

40. *SEG* 37:1049,1; IEphMcCabe 2094,1; *SEG* 56.1069bis,2. Some also appear to be in verse, which I have not considered due to the differing genre: ISmyrnaMcCabe 277,7; *SEG* 31.519,2; *SEG* 30, 1370,2.

41. *SEG* 4:91,1; IRhenaia 468,1; IG II<sup>2</sup> 3977,2.

42. *SEG* 50:1225,7–8.

43. IG IV<sup>2</sup>, I.121,79; FD III.1:358,8; IG VII 3073,col. II,95.

44. ISardBR IV,27–28; IAegThrace 205,9; IG II<sup>2</sup> 1343,42; *SEG* 50:1225,7–8.

45. Even the three more difficult texts appear to support Lee's conclusions as well. Each seems to use βλέπω transitively, one dated to the late third century, and two to the mid- to early first century BCE.

instances of the same in papyri.<sup>46</sup> Seven additional occurrences of transitive ὁράω in that same century, five in papyri and two in inscriptions, may also be added to Lee's twenty seven in papyri.<sup>47</sup>

In the first and second centuries, two instances of transitive βλέπω in papyri and four in inscriptions now supplement Lee's two occurrences in papyri and one in an inscription.<sup>48</sup> One inscriptional occurrence of intransitive βλέπω was also found in this time period, pointing to its ongoing use in that sense to some extent.<sup>49</sup> As for ὁράω, two instances of transitive use were found in inscriptions, although one of those may date back to the third century.<sup>50</sup> Interestingly, one instance of transitive ὁράω was found dated as late as 10 BCE, as mentioned above.<sup>51</sup>

The cumulative effect of these findings is to corroborate Lee's conclusion that transitive βλέπω began to compete seriously with ὁράω in the second century and by the mid-first century had mostly replaced it.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, still insufficient evidence exists to posit the shift definitively at an earlier date.<sup>53</sup>

### 3. EXPANDING RESEARCH IN FUTURE WORK

Knowing now that Lee's conclusions are in need of little or no revision, at least for the ὁράω / βλέπω word pair, we may move towards some expansion of the methodology by which we have analyzed them. Historical-linguistic study of Greek from the Classical to *Koine* periods could touch on many facets

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46. P.Hal. 8,4 [TM 5878] (232 BCE); IG IV<sup>2</sup>, I.121,79 (350–300 BCE); FD III.1:358,8 (219/8 BCE); See Lee, *Lexical Study*, 135.

47. P.Tebt. III 1.759,8 [TM 5357] (226 BCE); P.Yale I.33,4 [TM 8195] (253 B.C.E.); P.Bon. 11 FrH,r 6 [TM 78128] (late third century BCE); P.Col. III.6,5 [TM 1728] (257 BCE); P.Col. III.51,14 [TM 1767] (251/0 BCE); *OGI* I.48,8 [TM 6372] (278/7 BCE); IEgSyene 37,8 (238 BCE); see Lee, *Lexical Study*, 135.

48. P.Yale I.43,18 [TM 5536] (190–89 BCE); P.IFAO II.5,7 [TM 78419] (50–1 BCE); ISardBR IV,27–28 (155 BCE); IAegThrace 205,9 (mid-second/early first centuries BCE); IG II<sup>2</sup> 1343,42 (37/6 BCE); *SEG* 50:1225,7–8 (Roman Imperial Period); see Lee, *Lexical Study*, 135–36, where he cites *UPZ* 68.6 (152 BCE); *BGU* VIII 1747.24 (64/3 BCE); *SIG* 1104.42 (37/6 BCE).

49. IG VII 3073,col. II,95 (second century BCE, Boiotia, Lebadeia). This use, along with that of transitive ὁράω in 10 BCE cited below, are the exceptions that prove the rule, and reminds us that language is a living thing and not merely data on a chart.

50. *SEG* 26:1817,44 (late-second/early first centuries BCE); IEgVers 17 (Ptolemaic period).

51. BGU XVI 2623,6 [TM 23347].

52. Lee, *Lexical Study*, 137.

53. Lee cites Polybius's use of transitive βλέπω (15x) based on Mauersberger's lexicon but must assume that ὁράω was used more often in the transitive sense since the lexicon was unfinished at the time he wrote. However, it has since been finished, and Lee's assumption proves correct also; ὁράω is used 45x; Mauersberger, *Polybios-Lexikon*, s.v.

of language, each of which could yield returns for dating LXX books.<sup>54</sup> We will focus here on lexical semantics, although syntax also holds potential for similar studies.<sup>55</sup>

To reiterate, what we seek is to observe a demonstrable historical-linguistic change over the course of the three centuries leading up to the turn of the era and then to compare and align those changes with the language employed in the Septuagint. As noted above, there are obstacles inherent to such an inquiry,<sup>56</sup> although checking Lee's work is a first step in moving forward.<sup>57</sup> Beyond that, however, there are two primary challenges involved with dating the translation of Septuagint books by lexical means. First, the need for more valid historical-linguistic examples of lexical obsolescence and/or semantic development, which I shall call "word-samples."<sup>58</sup> The second challenge is the relative lack of documentary evidence for the second and first centuries BCE with which to analyze historical-linguistic developments.<sup>59</sup>

Lee's lexical conclusions may create a way forward, as they provide not only a methodological starting point but a historical-linguistic benchmark.<sup>60</sup> Since the Pentateuch was translated first,<sup>61</sup> its specific vocabulary features that reflect broader historical-linguistic changes in *Koine* Greek will likely persist within the vocabulary of most or all other Septuagint books. For example, the gradual shift from *ὁράω* to *βλέπω* as the "seeing" word of choice should

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54. Ever since Deissmann, it has been recognized that the language of the Greek Old Testament aligns with vernacular *Koine* in matters of orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax, style, and vocabulary; Voelz, "Language of the New Testament," 907.

55. E.g., Evans, *Verbal Syntax*.

56. On which see Evans, "Linguistic Criteria," 8–12. He includes the lack precision which lexical dating offers, the lack of sufficient understanding of *Koine*, and the lack of evidence in the second and first centuries BCE. Evans states, nonetheless, that "we have reasons for optimism" that lexical dating could have further success (13).

57. *Ibid.*, 13–15. Evans calls this the "first necessary step" and states that "a thorough reassessment of the evidence thus obtained [by Lee] may well yield additional material that could in turn require nuancing of [his] specific results."

58. This need and challenge is recognized by both Lee (*Lexical Study* Thirty Years On," 517 n. 11) and Evans ("Linguistic Criteria," 10).

59. These and other challenges are discussed in more detail by Evans, "Linguistic Criteria," 8–12. On the lack of documentary evidence Evans, citing Wolfgang Habermann, "Zur chronologischen Verteilung der papyrologischen Zeugnisse," *ZPE* 122 (1998): 144–60, states that 3,662 papyri can be dated to the first century BCE, 2,201 to the second, and 1,085 to the third ("Linguistic Criteria," 11).

60. Moving forward with this assumption would of course require checking the *ὄνος* / *ὀπόζυγιον* word pair as well.

61. See Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 50; Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 41–47.



manifest itself in the lexical stock of the Septuagint books translated later. As further word-samples of lexical obsolescence and/or semantic development are identified and dated within extrabiblical *Koine*, they too should corroborate one another within the lexical stock of Septuagint books.<sup>62</sup> In this way, a kind of lexical cross-examination among Septuagint books could ensure the validity of a given word-sample is not merely due to a lack of attested occurrences within Greek sources generally.

For example, let us say that the patterns of word-sample “A” suggest that Isaiah was translated later than the Psalms. Word-sample “B” is expected to corroborate this timeline of translation of these books based on lexical trends of word-sample “B” in extrabiblical *Koine*. However, word-sample “B” appears in both Psalms and Isaiah in a manner contrary to that expectation. This would lead us to reevaluate both word-samples “A” and “B” and possibly discard one or both as insufficiently attested in extrabiblical usage to provide reliable lexical evidence for dating translation.<sup>63</sup>

In this manner, Lee’s work, along with further valid word-samples, could serve as a control for the challenge of evidentiary scarceness as further lexical research is undertaken in extrabiblical Greek with an eye towards analyzing the vocabulary of Septuagint books. Involved in this process too is the recognition that the Septuagint itself is one of the largest sources of nonliterary *Koine* Greek vocabulary that we have at our disposal and that it furnishes valid evidence for such research when used with caution.

Finding more valid word-samples of lexical obsolescence and/or semantic change will certainly take time and effort.<sup>64</sup> As preliminary criteria for their validity, word-samples should generally belong to Greek vernacular rather than literary language, since the latter tends to retain vocabulary not used in ordinary speech.<sup>65</sup> Secondly, word-samples ought to be nontheological, since LXX

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62. Of course, not every word-sample would occur in every book. For example, the “donkey” words are not used in Jonah and thus cannot contribute to its dating. Furthermore, one must take into account the style and register involved in the Septuagint book under analysis, as well as in the Greek sources from which the word-samples are derived, as these factors influence lexical choice as well.

63. Proposed timelines of the translation of LXX books already exist based on other internal and external criteria. See especially Gilles Dorival, “L’achèvement de la Septante dans le judaïsme : De la Faveur au Rejet,” in *La Bible Grecque des Septante du Judaïsme Hellénistique au Christianisme Ancien*, ed. Marguerite Harl, Gilles Dorival, and Olivier Munnich (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 83–111.

64. See Evans, “Linguistic Criteria,” 10; Lee, “*Lexical Study* Thirty Years On,” 517 n. 11. The “Words from the Sand” project at Macquarie University, mentioned above, will prove an invaluable resource here.

65. Lee, *Lexical Study*, 131; von Soden, speaking of the New Testament authors but which equally could be applied to the LXX translators, stated that they wrote “in the living language of their time, in that popular language of conversation and commerce, as

translators occasionally imbued Greek words with technical meaning not otherwise used in *Koine*.<sup>66</sup> Instead, words having to do with the everyday issues such as trade, agriculture, and military life are far more likely to find credible support in the documentary evidence. Other criteria would prove helpful, and will likely accrue as lexical research is carried out.

Fortunately, a good amount of legwork has been done to record words that undergo semantic change from the Classical to *Koine* periods. Lee, for one, has identified a body of word-samples that provide an excellent starting point for any lexical dating research. To list a few in addition to the word-samples discussed already, the pairs βούλομαι / θέλω, βοάω / κράζω, and ὑπάγω / ἀποτρέχω undergo semantic shifts that could help date LXX book translations.<sup>67</sup> Evans suggests the pairs ἀσπάζομαι / χαιρετίζω and ὀργίζομαι / πικραίνω as “promising” for the task as well.<sup>68</sup> Additionally, F. W. Gingrich recorded many other potential word-samples that I will not list here.<sup>69</sup>

Still, not every LXX book will contain these starter word-samples. At this point the double text of Judges may present another way forward in lexical research possibilities.<sup>70</sup> The double text books often present the interesting opportunity to contrast different Greek lexical choices for a single translated Hebrew word. Potential word-samples for lexical dating may be identified

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it again lives before our eyes in the epistles and commercial records which the sands of Egypt have preserved for the excavator of to-day [sic]” (Hermann von Soden, *The History of Early Christian Literature: The Writings of the New Testament*, ed. W. D. Morrison, trans. J. R. Wilkinson (New York: Putnam’s Sons, 1906], 10–11, cited in Voelz, “Language of the New Testament,” 912).

66. E.g., the “repent” word group. See Voelz, “Language of the New Testament,” 928–29 and n. 208. See Walter Bauer, introduction to *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, by Walter Bauer et al., ed. Frederick W. Danker, 3rd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), xix–xx. See Felix W. Gingrich, “The Greek New Testament as a Landmark in the Course of Semantic Change,” *JBL* 73 (1954): 189–96.

67. Lee, *Lexical Study*, 144. In more recent articles, Lee has drawn attention to “order” words such as ἐντέλλομαι / συντάσσω / προστάσσω / κελεύω (John Lee, “*Lexical Study* Thirty Years On,” 517–18), the “sending” words ἀποστέλλω / ἐξαποστέλλω / πέμπω (Lee, “ΕΧΑΠΙΟΣΤΕΛΛΩ”), and also ὦω / βρέχω (“Some Features of the Speech of Jesus in Mark’s Gospel,” *NovT* 27 (1985): 1–26; cf. “*Lexical Study* Thirty Years On,” 516 n. 11, where Lee states that this pair “could be followed further in the LXX”).

68. He posits that the latter of both have “a later ‘feel’” (“Linguistic Criteria,” 19).

69. See “Greek New Testament,” 193–96, where he lists over thirty potential word-samples, some of which are discussed below.

70. Evans draws attention to the double texts as a possibility for moving forward with lexical research, following Lee; “Linguistic Criteria,” 15, 18–19 n. 50. Other double texts include Daniel, Hab 3, portions of 1–2 Kgs, Esther, and Tobit; see Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, 85–101.

relatively easily by generating a wordlist for each text. Such a list can be easily broken into parts of speech and ordered by frequency of use, so that the unique lexicon of each text is readily available to compare.

A preliminary exercise in Judges yields some interesting results. We find that παιδάριον is used twenty-two times in Rahlfs' A text and only nine times in the B text,<sup>71</sup> which uses νεανίας as well (7x), a word that appears nowhere in A or the Greek Pentateuch.<sup>72</sup> Additionally, we find πόλεμος fourteen times in A and only three times in B, which generally uses παράταξις instead.<sup>73</sup> As for verbs, κατοικέω occurs fifty-three times in A but just thirty-seven times in B,<sup>74</sup> which more often uses οἰκέω.<sup>75</sup> Also, A uses πολεμέω thirty-one times whereas B only seven times.<sup>76</sup> Examples could be multiplied.<sup>77</sup> Whether a historical-

71. Rahlfs's A text is based mostly upon Codex Alexandrinus (A) and B upon Codex Vaticanus (B). A text: 7:10, 11; 8:14, 20; 9:54\*2; 13:5, 7, 8, 12, 24; 16:26; 17:7, 11, 12; 18:3, 15; 19:3, 9, 11, 13, 19; B text: 7:10, 11; 8:14, 20; 9:54\*2; 13:5, 7, 24.

72. B also uses the diminutive νεανίσκος (4x; 2x in A) and παιδίον (3x; 0x in A). I was not able to consult the following potentially helpful work: Graham S. McGregor, *A Semantic Study of Words for Young Person, Servant and Child in the Septuagint and Other Early Koine Greek* (Sydney: University of Sydney Press, 1976).

73. A text: 3:1, 2, 10; 8:13; 20:20\*2, 22, 23, 28, 34, 39\*2, 42; 21:22; B text: 3:1, 2, 10. παράταξις occurs 17x in B at 6:26; 8:13\*2; 18:11, 16; 20:14, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 28, 34, 39\*2, 42; 21:2, and 1x in A at 6:26. Another word used differently is δύναμις: 13x in B and 7x in A, which usually employs another word from the δυν- group.

74. A text: 1:9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 19, 21\*2, 27\*5, 29\*2, 30\*3, 31\*4, 32\*2, 33\*5, 35; 3:3, 5; 4:2; 5:15; 8:11, 29; 9:21; 10:1, 18; 11:3, 8, 21; 15:8; 18:1, 7, 9, 28; 20:15; 21:9, 10, 12, 21, 23; B text: 1:9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 19, 21\*2, 27\*5, 29\*2, 30\*3, 31\*4, 32\*2, 33\*5, 35; 3:3, 5; 4:2; 5:23; 10:18; 11:21; 18:1.

75. Only used once in A at 9:41, but in B 11x at Jdg. 9:21, 41; 10:1; 11:3, 8, 26; 20:15; 21:9, 10, 12, 21.

76. A text: 1:1, 3, 5, 8, 9; 5:14, 19, 20\*2; 8:1; 9:17, 38, 39, 45; 10:18; 11:4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 20, 25\*2, 27, 32; 12:1, 3, 4; 20:14, 18; B text: 1:1, 8, 9; 5:8, 19; 11:25\*2.

77. For example, certain proper nouns are spelled differently in Judges A and B, such as Σικιμα (A text [25x]: 8:31; 9:1, 2, 3, 6\*2, 7, 18, 20\*2, 23\*2, 24, 25, 26\*2, 31, 34, 39, 41, 46, 47, 49, 57; 21:19; B text [13x]: 9:6\*2, 7, 18, 20\*2, 23\*2, 24, 25, 26\*2, 49. In B the lemma occurs only in the plural form Σικιμων) versus Συχημ (A text [2x]: 9:28\*2; B text [14x]: 8:31; 9:1, 2, 3, 28\*2, 31, 34, 39, 41, 46, 47, 57; 21:19) and Μιχα (A text only [24x]: 17:1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12\*2, 13; 18:2, 3, 4, 13, 15, 18, 22\*3, 23, 24, 26, 27, 30, 31) versus Μιχαϊας (B text only [23x]: 17:1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12\*2, 13; 18:2, 3, 4, 13, 15, 18, 22\*3, 23, 24, 26, 27, 31), respectively. These could present opportunities in phonology. The tendency of *Koine* towards simplicity included "a drastic reduction in the number of vowel sounds and the gradual elimination of distinctions in vowel quantity." Voelz, "Language of the New Testament," 933. Phonology is a difficult area which would only provide supporting evidence, however; see James Aitken, "Phonological Phenomena in Greek Papyri and Inscriptions and their Significance for the Septuagint," in *Studies in the Greek Bible: Essays*

linguistic change significant enough for our purposes can be ascertained in these word-samples remains to be seen with further research.

Some scholars have already found lexical evidence that points to A witnessing to an older text, which corroborates current consensus on Judges' textual history.<sup>78</sup> Most hold that the dual text comes from a single *Vorlage*, with Alexandrinus (A) standing closer to the Old Greek (OG).<sup>79</sup> Paul Harlé states summarily, "les deux textes ne sont pas deux traductions indépendantes; ils procèdent d'une même souche, et leurs relations sont de l'ordre de recension postérieure à recension antérieure; le taux des similitudes entre les deux types de text plaide en faveur d'une telle interprétation."<sup>80</sup> If this is so, then lexical dating could shed further light on which text is older, perhaps within a century or less.

The textual history of Judges is more complex than merely contrasting the Alexandrinus and Vaticanus texts, however.<sup>81</sup> Each text has been refined into groups and subgroups of manuscripts since Rahlfs's work, each of which

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in *Honor of Francis T. Gignac, S.J.*, ed. Jeremy Corley and Vincent Skemp, CBQMS 44 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2008), 256–77, esp. 276.

78. Lee makes brief observations on the B text that point to a later date; *Lexical Study*, 148.

79. See Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches*, AASF B 72 (Helsinki: Universität Helsinki, 1951); Otto Pretzl, "LXX-Probleme im Buch der Richter," *Bib* 42 (1961): 233–69, 353–83; Barnabas Lindars, "A Commentary on the Greek Judges?," in *VI Congress, International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem, 1986*, ed. Claude E. Cox, SCS 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 167–200; Natalio Fernández Marcos, "The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Judges," in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*, ed. Adrian Schenker, SCS 52 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 1–16; Joseph Schreiner, "Textformen und Urtext des Deborahliedes in der LXX," *Bib* 42 (1961): 173–200; idem, "Zum B-Text des griechischen Canticum Deborah," *Bib* 42 (1961): 333–58; Angel Sáenz-Badillos, "Tradición griega y texto hebreo del Canto de Débora," *Sefarad* 33 (1973): 245–59; Walter Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments*, HSM 23 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980); Satterthwaite states that "it is likely ... that the Göttingen edition, when it appears, will print only one main text, which will not be identical to either Rahlfs' A or B texts" (Philip E. Satterthwaite, "Judges: To the Reader," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007], 195–96). On the other hand, Fernández Marcos has suggested that "tout au long du cycle de Samson, des traces d'une Vorlage hébraïque différente ont été découvertes" (Natalio Fernández Marcos, "Héroes et victim: Samson dans la LXX," in *L'apport de la Septante aux études sur l'Antiquité*, ed. Jan Joosten and Philippe Le Moigne (Paris: Cerf, 2005), 132.

80. Paul Harlé, *Les Juges* (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 26.

81. But lexical research possibilities could shed light into the manuscript groups identified in Judges A and B. For a brief overview of the relationship between the A and B texts, see Satterthwaite, "To the Reader," 195–96; Harlé, *Juges*, 25–28.

reflects differing levels of revision.<sup>82</sup> The AII group has been found to be closest to the OG and the most idiomatic,<sup>83</sup> and lexical dating research could help confirm or modify this view. Moreover, the AII group could offer a venue in which to investigate historical-linguistic questions of syntax, as Evans has done in the Greek Pentateuch,<sup>84</sup> which in turn could support conclusions drawn from lexical dating. Seppo Sipilä demonstrates the correct and idiomatic quality of the Greek in the A text at many points despite narrow segmentation in the translation technique.<sup>85</sup> Martin Karrer's study of recently discovered leaves of Sinaiticus also suggests that A is "oriented towards the Greek target language and enriches the Hellenistic horizon of early Judaism."<sup>86</sup>

On the other hand, portions of LXX-Judges has been judged by some as highly literalistic and source-oriented. Raija Sollamo characterizes Judges as among the "most slavish" of LXX books.<sup>87</sup> So while it is true that the LXX was generally written in vernacular *Koine* in terms of both vocabulary and

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82. A is divided into AI, AII (or L), and AIII (or K), and B contains *kaige* characteristics; see Soisalon-Soininen, *Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches*; Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, VTSup 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 34–88; Bodine, *Greek Text of Judges*.

83. See Soisalon-Soininen, *Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches*, 38, 50; Bodine, *Greek Text of Judges*, 93–183.

84. Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, esp. 175–97. Evans's conclusions for the Greek Pentateuch drawn from verbal syntax corroborate Lee's drawn from lexicography; see Evans, "Linguistic Criteria," 14.

85. Seppo Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom: Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Joshua and Judges Regarding the Clause Connections Introduced by ו and וְ*, SESJ 75 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 207–8, 211–12. So although Soisalon-Soininen claims that "Man geht kaum fehl, wenn man Jdc. für die seinem Sprachgebrauch nach schwächste Übersetzung der ganzen LXX hält" (Soisalon-Soininen, *Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches*, 60, cited in Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom*, 8 n. 39), Sipilä's reevaluation suggests otherwise, thus revising Sollamo's characterization of Judges.

86. Martin Karrer, "The New Leaves of Sinaiticus Judges," in *Die Septuaginta—Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte. 3. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 22.–25. Juli 2010*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund, WUNT 286 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 617. Fernández Marcos likewise states that in AII "la plupart des changements introduits tout au long du processus de traduction et le souci du traducteur/copiste d'offrir un texte dote de sens, qui puisse être lu et compris par les lecteurs hellénistiques" ("Héroes et victim," 132). If that is so, then a variety of historical-linguistic shifts in syntax may be observable and thus offer insight into dating; see Voelz, "Language of the New Testament," 931–37.

87. Raija Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*, AASF, Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 19 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1979), 286.

grammar,<sup>88</sup> historical-linguistic syntax research per se could prove challenging, particularly in the *kaige*-influenced B text of LXX-Judges.<sup>89</sup> There Harlé identifies a high level of source-oriented literalism, stating that later translators had a concern to “donner au texte grec, de temps à autre, une couleur *sui generis* qui ait pour effet de le *distinguer de la littérature grecque contemporaine*.”<sup>90</sup>

Hebrew interference on Greek syntax in certain portions of Judges will thus disallow firm conclusions drawn from syntax studies alone. Paired with lexical study, however, the prospect of new insights is far more promising. The questions to be answered by lexical dating research in the texts of Judges, then, are largely text-critical in nature. With the ongoing work in the Göttingen edition of Judges, such answers are likely to be most welcome.<sup>91</sup>

#### 4. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it remains to be seen just how much further work with Lee’s lexical dating methodology could contribute to LXX studies. But a greater understanding of the linguistic milieu of the Alexandrian translators of the Hebrew Scriptures, along with a sharpened picture of a timeline of the translation thereof are certainly not beyond the scope of possibility. Add to that the benefit of an increased understanding of *Koine* Greek per se, and it seems that more work in applying historical-linguistics to LXX studies would be worthwhile. As mentioned, the new possibilities and growing resources with which to conduct such work also point to the increasing attractiveness of what is otherwise a complex and underworked field.

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88. Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell: 2010), 106.

89. See Barthélemy, *Devanciers d’Aquila*, 34–35, 47–80; Bodine, *Greek Text of Judges*, 11–46, 187–88.

90. *Juges*, 35; see also 36. Emphasis added. So also Karrer, “New Leaves,” 617.

91. Indeed, Bodine calls for the need for “more detailed work” in Judges following up upon his conclusions, which mostly focus upon the B text; Bodine, *Greek Text of Judges*, 185–86. Lee agrees, stating that “it is clear that these [lexical] features have something to contribute to the study of the text of Judges” (*Lexical Study*, 148). Some have already recognized the overlap between translation technique, syntax studies, lexical choice, and dating. See Anneli Aejmelaus, “Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry, JSOTSup 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 62–63; Soisalon-Soininen also suggests that based on the usage of *ἐκ* and *ἀπό* the B text may be more original in that respect (*Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches*, 45); Claude Cox, “Εἰσακούω and Ἐπακούω in the Greek Psalter,” *Bib* 62 (1981): 251–58; idem, “Vocabulary for Wrongdoing and Forgiveness in the Greek Translations of Job,” *Text* 15 (1990): 199–30; De Crom, “Lexicon of LXX Canticles,” esp. 260–61.

Moreover, we have begun to see how the challenges that lexical dating in the LXX might be met, although it will take consistent reapplication of new findings to previous conclusions, as we have done here. Lee's work from 1970 has held up, even gone virtually uncontested, in light of the new findings discussed in this article. With the documentary data that has surfaced since his research, we may still affirm with confidence that lexical evidence in the Greek Pentateuch supports dating its translation to at least the mid-second century BCE. At the very least, this gives us continued hope for the value of investigating diachronic lexical semantics in the LXX and presents intriguing opportunities for its expansion.





# Literary Features in the First Cycle of Speeches in LXX Job<sup>1</sup>

Marieke Dhont

Abstract: The LXX is to be regarded both as a translation and as a literary creation in its own right. When encountering literary features in the Greek text, the question arises whether these features have their basis in the Hebrew text or whether they are introduced autonomously by the translator—especially in the case of a “free” translation such as LXX Job, which is known to be a Atticized and stylized text. This article looks at the use of literary features in LXX Job 3–14, especially related to word-order (symmetry and chiasmus) and lexical repetitions (primarily anaphora and epiphora). As such, some new insights are gained in the aspects of “freedom” of the Greek translation of the book of Job.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Scholarly attention to the presence of literary features in the LXX has increased in the past decades.<sup>2</sup> In this respect, we find ourselves at the

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1. Participation in this conference was made possible through funding obtained from the FWO Vlaanderen and KU Leuven OT 09/001.

2. To name but a few: James K. Aitken, “Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecclesiastes,” *BIOSCS* 38 (2005): 55–78; Eberhard Bons and Thomas Kraus, eds., *Et sapienter et eloquenter: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*, FRLANT 241 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011); Deborah Gera, “Translating Hebrew Poetry into Greek Poetry: The Case of Exodus 15,” *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 107–20; John Gammie, “The Septuagint of Job: Its Poetic Style and Relationship to the Septuagint of Proverbs,” *CBQ* 49 (1987): 13–31; Takamitsu Muraoka, “Literary Device in the Septuagint,” *Text* 8 (1973): 20–30; Gerhard Taubers Schmidt, *Secondary Parallelism: A Study of Translation Technique in LXX Proverbs*, AcBib 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004); Theo van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an*

crossroads of considering the LXX as a translation and as a literary creation in its own right. After all, the presence of literary features in the LXX implies that the Greek translators might have rendered a certain feature of the Hebrew text on the one hand or that they might have added features to the Greek text autonomously on the other. Both aspects are part of the so-called “translation technique”<sup>3</sup> of a LXX book.

Taking into consideration the assumption that each LXX book has been translated by a different translator and has therefore its own characteristic translation “technique(s),”<sup>4</sup> this article focuses on the book of Job. It is one of the most poetic biblical books and as such very rich in literary features.<sup>5</sup> Moreover,

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*Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*, CBET 47 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007); Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses*, SCS 61 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), esp 139–204.

3. A characterization of the LXX translation technique can be defined as a description of the working habits and abilities of the translator of a LXX book; see Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translator: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert V. J. Hiebert, Claude Cox, and Peter Gentry, JSOTSup 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 54–73 (56). See also Timothy McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 39.

4. Aejmelaeus, “Characterizing Criteria,” 55; Martin Rösel, “Translators as Interpreters: Scriptural Interpretation in the Septuagint,” in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 64–91 (69). This statement should, however, be nuanced. Firstly, some scholars have observed that one and the same biblical book can witness a wide range of translation techniques, indicating that more than one translator might have worked on the translation. See, e.g., Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 22–23; Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*, Initiations au christianisme ancien (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 108. Secondly, some scholars argue that the translations of certain individual books reveal a very similar translation technique, concluding that they were probably the work of the same translator. For instance, one translator is sometimes believed to be responsible for both Qohelet and Canticum; see, e.g., Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint. Understanding the Bible and Its World* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 20. Job and Proverbs have sometimes been ascribed to the same translator as well; see, e.g., Gammie, “Septuagint of Job,” 14–17; Jean-Daniel Kaestli, “La formation et la structure du canon biblique: Que peut apporter l’étude de la Septante,” in *The Canon of Scriptures in Jewish and Christian Tradition. Le canon d’Écritures dans les traditions juive et chrétienne*, ed. Philip S. Alexander and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, Publications de l’Institut romand des sciences bibliques 4 (Lausanne: Zèbre, 2007), 99–113 (106).

5. See, e.g., Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 76; Edouard Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, trans. Harold Knight (London: Nelson, 1967 [first published as *Le livre de Job*, 1926]), clxxv–clxxix; Robert

the Greek translation is notorious for its qualitative and quantitative deviations from the MT,<sup>6</sup> although scholarship tends to assume the translator is responsible for most deviations.<sup>7</sup> It is a very “free” translation,<sup>8</sup> and scholars typically

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Gordis, *The Book of God and Man: A Study of Job* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 157–68; David Clines, “On the Poetic Achievement of the Book of Job,” in *Palabra, Prodigio, Poesía, in Memoriam P. Luis Alonso Schökel*, ed. Vicente Collado Bertomeu, AnBib 151 (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2003), 243–52; Edward L. Greenstein, “‘Difficulty’ in the Poetry of Job,” *Online Proceedings of the Fifteenth World Congress of Jewish Studies (August 2–6, 2009)* (2010), 1–15; Gregory W. Parsons, “Literary Features of the Book of Job,” *BSac* 138 (1981): 213–29.

6. The approximate percentage of the number of missing *stichoi* in the LXX compared to the MT in relation to the poetic composition of the book have been calculated: 4 percent in the first cycle of speeches (Job 3–14), 16 percent in the second cycle (Job 15–21), 25 percent in the third cycle (Job 22–31), 35 percent in the speech of Elihu (Job 32–37), and 16 percent in the speeches of Yahweh (Job 38–42:26); see Samuel R. Driver and George B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job together with a New Translation*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1964), lxxv.

7. Robert Althann, “Reflections on the Text of the Book of Job,” in *Söfer Mahir. Essays in Honour of A. Schenker Offered by the Editors of Biblia Hebraica Quarta*, ed. Yohanan Goldman, Arie van der Kooij, and Richard Weis, VTSup 110 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 7–14; Moses Bittenwieser, *The Book of Job* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), viii–ix; Claude Cox, “Methodological Issues in the Exegesis of LXX Job,” in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Jerusalem, 1986*, ed. Claude Cox, SCS 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 79–89, 80; Hans Debel, “Greek ‘Variant Literary Editions’ to the Hebrew Bible?,” *JSJ* 41 (2010): 161–90 (174–75), and 189–90; August Dillmann, “Textkritisches zum Buche Ijob,” *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 53 (1890): 1345–73; Driver and Gray, *Book of Job*, lxxiv–lxxvi; Natalio Fernández Marcos, “The Septuagint Reading of the Book of Job,” in *The Book of Job*, ed. Willem A.M. Beuken, BETL 114 (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), 251–66 (252); Donald H. Gard, *The Exegetical Method of the Greek Translator of the Book of Job*, SBLMS 8 (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1952), 93; Gilles Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint I: The Book of Job* (Lund: Gleerup, 1946), 23; John Gray, “The Massoretic Text of the Book of Job, the Targum and the Septuagint Version in Light of the Qumran Targum (11QtargJob),” *ZAW* 86 (1974): 331–50 (339–45); Homer Heater, *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job*, CBQMS 11 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1982), 5; Karl V. Kutz, “Characterization in the Old Greek of Job,” in *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor M. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Kevin G. Friebel, Dennis R. Magary, and Ronald L. Troxel (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 345–55, 345–46; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011), 138.

8. Some of the oldest sources include Zacharias Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1841), 239; Henry St. J. Thackeray, *Introduction, Orthography and Accidence*, vol. 1 of *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: University Press, 1909), 13. In the past decades,

characterize the Greek of LXX Job as both highly Atticized and stylized.<sup>9</sup> The particular aspects of the translator's "freedom" have yet to be studied in an in-depth and systematic manner. In this paper, I will focus on one aspect of that "freedom" pertaining to the stylization, namely the use of literary features.

Poetics are manifold and related to the linguistic structure of a language. Parallelism, defined as the dynamic correspondence of one line or verse with another on a phonological, morphological, grammatical, syntactical and/or semantic level,<sup>10</sup> is one of the main constituents of Hebrew poetry. Greek poetry, however, is structurally defined primarily on the basis of meter. As such, we encounter a difference in the formal characteristics of both languages. One is confronted with these differences when translating, such as in the case of the Greek translation of Hebrew book of Job, especially when one claims a certain translational "freedom." Now what does this freedom mean with regard to the poetic character of a book? Some scholars have addressed this issue in the past. S. Driver and G. Gray, for example, have noted that the LXX translator of Job often destroys the poetical structure of the Hebrew text by depriving one parallel line of its fellow.<sup>11</sup> The majority of parallel lines, however, are in fact rendered. Hence, we are invited to look at how the translator's "freedom" works when he does render the parallelisms. R. Althann did so in an article on Job 3, a chapter with basically no omitted lines. He has stated that "the verses of Job 3 ... show that while the MT presents the characteristics of Hebrew poetry including parallelism, chiasmus, merismus, the OG is prosaic."<sup>12</sup> This statement raises a number of issues pertinent to the discussion:

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a large number of authors have made similar statements. To name a few: Johann Cook, "The Septuagint of Job," in *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom: On the Provenance of Translators and Their Books in the Septuagint Version*, ed. Johann Cook and Arie van der Kooij, CBET 68 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 175–219 (177); Dhorme, *Job*, cxcvi–cxcix; Driver and Gray, *Job*, lxxvi; Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint I*, 5; Max L. Margolis, *The Story of Bible Translations* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917), 36; Kutz, "Characterization," 345; Harry M. Orlinsky, "Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job, Chapter II: The Character of the Septuagint Translation of the Book of Job," *HUCA* 29 (1958): 229–71; Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed., JBS 8 (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 18.

9. See, e.g., Claude Cox, "The Historical, Social and Literary Context of Old Greek Job," in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Leiden, 2004*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 54 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 105–16 (111); Gammie, "Septuagint of Job," 13–31; Gerleman, *Book of Job*, 14; Fernández Marcos, "Septuagint Reading," 256.

10. Adele Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, rev. and exp. ed., Biblical Resource Series (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 8; 25.

11. Driver and Gray, *Job*, lxxv.

12. Robert Althann, "Job 3 in the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint," *Orientalia* 78 (2009): 337–57 (355).

(1) Defining a translation as poetry according to the rules of the source language seems to be a pitfall, since each language is structured differently.

(2) Hence, if we define Greek poetry according to the rules of Greek language, namely in terms of meter and observe that no meter can be found in the LXX translation,<sup>13</sup> then evidently, the Greek is prosaic.

(3) Yet, I do not think one should characterize the LXX in terms of poetry or prose. Rather, as a translation of Hebrew poetry, it will contain literary features found in the source text, but as a literary composition in its own right, it can also contain autonomously used elements that lend the text a certain *ornatus*, especially since features such as chiasmus are not only characteristic of Hebrew poetry but also of Greek poetry.

Against this background, I want to look at the use of literary features in LXX Job. Given the limited framework of this contribution, I focus on specific types of repetition within parallel lines<sup>14</sup> on the microlevel, that is, within units of consecutive verses,<sup>15</sup> that can be seen as literary features, in particular word-order (symmetry and chiasmus) and lexical patterns (especially anaphora and epiphora).<sup>16</sup> I limit my corpus to Job 3–14, the first cycle of speeches and those chapters with the least number of untranslated lines.<sup>17</sup> In the presentation of the examples, I will not discuss translational aspects that have no bearing on the literary features found in the (Greek and/or Hebrew) text.

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13. See Cook, "Septuagint of Job," 178.

14. Here considered to be those lines that are related on the basis of a semantic correspondence.

15. It is not unlikely that repetition in larger units of verses also constitutes a literary figure, but because of the limited scope of this paper and because of the aim to take features as unambiguous as possible as point of departure, I limit this research to literary figures occurring in consecutive verses. A verse can consist of several cola; hence, repetition within nonconsecutive cola of consecutive verses are taken into consideration.

16. There are many more patterns of repetition, such as anadiplosis, complexio, parenthesis, and so on, but it would lead us too far to discuss all literary features. Anaphora and epiphora are said to be the most common feature in biblical rhetoric (see Roland Meynet, *Rhetorical Analysis: An Introduction to Biblical Rhetoric*, JSOTSup 256 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998], 136) but are also "idiomatic" or "autonomous" Greek features.

17. The editions used are, for the Greek, Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Iob*, Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum 11.4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982) (English translation: NETS), and for the Hebrew, Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph, eds. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1990) (English translation: NRSV). I sometimes propose an alteration in the translations, indicated with square brackets. As to reference works, HR, TLG, LSJ, *HALOT*, and Accordance have been used.

## 2. A "LITERAL" MODE OF TRANSLATING

Even though LXX Job is a "free" translation, the translator frequently translates in a "literal mode."<sup>18</sup> The structure of both languages allows patterns of word-order such as a symmetry (AB/A'B') or a chiasmus (AB/B'A')<sup>19</sup> to be rendered rather easily.

## 2.1 SYMMETRY

I first present the text of Job 3:1 and 4:9.

Job 3:1

אחרי כן פתח איוב את פיהו ויקלל את יומו

After this Job opened his mouth

and cursed the day of his birth [literally: his day].

Μετὰ τοῦτο ἤνοιξεν Ἰωβ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ

καὶ κατηράσατο τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ.

After this, Job opened his mouth

And cursed his day.

Job 4:9

מנשמת אלוה יאבדו ומרוח אפו יכלו

By the breath of God they perish,

and by the blast of his anger they are consumed.

ἀπὸ προστάγματος κυρίου ἀπολοῦνται,

ἀπὸ δὲ πνεύματος ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ ἀφανισθήσονται.

By the command of the Lord they will perish,

and by the breath of his anger they will disappear.

In both examples, each element in the Hebrew text has a corresponding equivalent in the Greek translation that reflects the same meaning. The word order of the translation follows that of the Hebrew.<sup>20</sup> As such, the symmetrical

18. See, e.g., Althann, "Reflections," 7; Gard, *Exegetical Method*, 3; Fernández Marcos, "Septuagint Reading," 254; Kutz, "Characterization," 345–55; Harry M. Orlinsky, "Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job, Chapter III: On the Matter of Anthropomorphisms, Anthropopathisms, and Euphemisms," *HUCA* 30 (1959): 153–67; Harry M. Orlinsky, "Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job, Chapter III (continued)," *HUCA* 32 (1961): 239–68.

19. This includes partially parallel or partially chiasmic structures, such as ABC/B'C', ABC/A'C', ABC/C'B', ABC/AC'B', and so on.

20. I do not go into the translator's use of particles. Although they are an important aspect of LXX Job, the translator's choice for καί or δέ to render the Hebrew copula ו

word order of the cola in 3:1 as well as in 4:9 is retained. Note also the fact that in 4:9 both cola in the Hebrew text start with the preposition *מן*, an anaphora which is retained in the Greek translation by using *ἀπό* twice.

## 2.2 CHIASMUS

The first example of a “literal” rendering of a chiasmus is 3:17.

Job 3:17

שם רשעים חדלו רגו ושם ינוחו יגיעי כח

There the wicked cease from troubling,  
and there the weary [*of strength*] are at rest.

ἐκεῖ ἄσεβεῖς ἐξέκαυσαν θυμὸν ὀργῆς,

ἐκεῖ ἀνεπαύσαντο κατάκοποι τῷ σώματι.

There the impious have kindled a terrible wrath;  
there the very weary have found rest for the body

[*my suggestion: there the weary of body have found rest*].<sup>21</sup>

In this verse, the Hebrew contains two features: an anaphora of שם, as well as a chiasmic word order (רשעים corresponds to יגיעי כח and חדלו רגו to ינוחו). In the Greek, both elements have been retained.

Yet, even in the process of translating “literally,” there are indications that the translator of LXX Job did have a (conscious or subconscious) eye for detail. I present the following example.

Job 7:14

וחתתני בחלמות ומחוינות תבעתני

Then you scare me with dreams  
and terrify me with visions.

ἐκφοβεῖς με ἐνυπνίοις

καὶ ἐν ὁράμασιν με καταπλήσσεις.

You scare me with dreams  
and terrify me with visions.

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does not have an effect on the word order in the examples given in this paper. A good study of the use of particles in LXX Job is offered by Claude Cox, “Tying It All Together: The Use of Particles in Old Greek Job,” *BIOSCS* 38 (2005): 41–54.

21. According to the TLG, *κατάκοπος* does not occur in Greek literature before the LXX. Hence, we cannot prove that this adjective can have a complement in the dative. The verb *ἀναπαύω*, however, according to the LSJ, occurs only with an accusative and/or a genitive, not with a dative. The dative is thus, in my opinion, more likely to belong to *κατάκοποι* than to *ἀνεπαύσαντο*, either as an indirect dative or as the dative of respect.

The Greek translation follows the Hebrew closely. The word order is retained, but a notable aspect of the translation pertains to the variation in the position of the personal pronoun indicating the object. In Hebrew, the direct object is indicated by a suffix. In Greek, however, verb and object are two distinct words, which can be put in different order (verb-object or object-verb).<sup>22</sup> The translator takes advantage of this possibility to add variation. When we look at all instances in chapters 3–14 in which the Greek has a similar construction, that is, a parallel construction with two verbs with an identical object expressed by using a personal pronoun, we observe that the translator varies the position of the pronoun. In eight cases, the personal pronoun stands behind the verb in both cola.<sup>23</sup> In two cases, the personal pronoun stands before the verb.<sup>24</sup> The variation we encounter in 7:14 occurs five more times in LXX Job 3–14.<sup>25</sup> In some cases,

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22. In noninterrogative sentences with a verb and an object expressed by a pronoun, the most common word order is object-verb (I include the genitive or dative with verbs that do not have an accusative as their complement and/or take a genitive or dative as their indirect object); see the study of Kenneth J. Dover, *Greek Word Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), in particular pages 26–28.

23. 3:25 φόβος γάρ, ὃν ἐφρόντισα, ἤλθεν μοι (ויאחזי)  
καὶ ὃν ἐδεδοίκειν, συνήνησέν μοι (יבא י')
- 5:20 ἐν λιμῷ ῥύσεται σε (ἴψ) ἐκ θανάτου  
ἐν πολέμῳ δὲ ἐκ χειρὸς σιδήρου λύσει σε (-)
- 6:14 ἀπείπατό με (-) ἔλεος  
ἐπισκοπῇ δὲ κυρίου ὑπερεῖδέν με (יעזוב)
- 6:23 ὥστε σῶσαί με (וימלכני) ἐξ ἐχθρῶν  
ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς δυναστῶν ῥύσασθαι με (יפדוני)
- 6:24 διδάξατέ με (ויוני), ἐγὼ δὲ κωφεύσω  
εἴ τι πεπλάνημαι, φράσατέ μοι (יביני)
- 7:19 ἕως τίνος οὐκ ἔξ με (תעשמי)  
οὐδὲ προῖη με (תרפי), ἕως ἂν καταπίω τὸν πτύελόν μου ἐν ὀδύνῃ
- 9:11 ἐὰν ὑπερβῇ με (יעבר עלי), οὐ μὴ ἴδω  
καὶ ἐὰν παρέλθῃ με (יחלי), οὐδ' ὥς ἔγνω
- 10:8a αἱ χεῖρές σου ἔπλασαν με (עצבוני) καὶ ἐποίησάν με (יעשוני)
24. 10:9 μνησθήτι ὅτι πηλὸν με ἔπλασας (עשיתי)  
εἰς δὲ γῆν με πάλιν ἀποστρέφεις (ביניתי)
- 10:11 δέρμα καὶ κρέας με ἐνέδυσας (נישניתי)  
ὀστέοις δὲ καὶ νεύροις με ἐνείρας (ניסככני)
25. 6:9 ἀρξάμενος ὁ κύριος τρῶσάτω με (ידכאני)  
εἰς τέλος δὲ μὴ με ἀνελέτω (יבצעני)
- 9:31 ἱκανῶς ἐν ῥύπῳ με ἔβαψας (יבטלני)  
ἐβδελύξατο δὲ με (עבונתי) ἡ στολή.
- 10:8 αἱ χεῖρές σου ἔπλασαν με καὶ ἐποίησάν με (עשוני ועצבוני).  
μετὰ ταῦτα μεταβαλὼν με ἔπαισας (עבולני)
- 10:10 ἢ οὐχ ὥσπερ γάλα με ἤμελξας (ניכניתי)  
ἐτύρωσας δὲ με (ניאקרקתי) ἴσα τυρῶ;



this alternation might add to the chiasmic structure, as is the case in this example: ἐκφοβεῖς με versus με καταπλήσσεις.<sup>26</sup>

In cases like the ones presented above, the question posed by R. Gauthier, “whether poetic devices such as parallelism are intentional in the translated Greek of [a LXX book] is questionable,”<sup>27</sup> cannot be answered. There are, however, examples in LXX Job which indicate otherwise—namely, those in which the translator departs from a “literal” mode and demonstrates a certain “freedom” with respect to the use of literary features.

### 3. “FREE” MODES OF TRANSLATING

#### 3.1 ADDING REPETITIONS

When looking at the “free” renderings in chapters 3–14, our translator often seems to make the elements of a symmetry or a chiasmus correspond more strictly. In these cases, a word-order repetition or inversion in the Greek text has its basis in the Hebrew text, but certain deviations can be explained on the basis of the literary context.

In Job 7:4, for example, a clear eye for stylistic details can be noticed. A rather strict symmetrical parallelism in word order was added in the translation of a verse which was only semantically parallel in Hebrew.<sup>28</sup>

Job 7:4

אם שכבתי ואמרתי מתי אקום ומדד ערב ושבעתי נדדים עד י נשי

When I lie down I say, ‘When shall I rise?’

But the night is long,

and I am full of tossing until dawn.

ἐὰν κοιμηθῶ, λέγω Πότε ἡμέρα;

ὥς δ’ ἂν ἀναστῶ, πάλιν Πότε ἐσπέρα;

πλήρης δὲ γίνομαι ὁδυνῶν ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας ἕως πρωί.

If I lie down, I say, ‘when will it be day?’

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14:13 εἰ γὰρ ὄφελον ἐν ἄδη με ἐφύλαξας (נצחני),  
ἐκρυψας δέ με (נריתי), ἕως ἂν παύσηταί σου ἡ ὀργή καὶ τάξη μοι  
χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ μνεῖαν μου ποιήσῃ.

26. See also 10:10.

27. Randall X. Gauthier, “Examining the ‘Pluses’ in the Greek Psalter: A Study of the Septuagint Translation *qua* Communication,” in *Septuagint and Reception: Essays Prepared for the Association for the Study of the Septuagint in South Africa*, ed. Johann Cook, VTSup 127 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 45–76 (61 n. 58).

28. Commentators sometimes suggest conjectural emendation of the MT on the basis of the LXX; for an overview, see David J. Clines, *Job 1–20*, WBC 17 (Texas: Word, 1989), 198.

But when I get up, again I say, ‘when will it be evening?’  
And I am full of pain from evening until morning.

Often the translator will also employ other elements of repetition within parallel lines, such as anaphora or epiphora.<sup>29</sup> The first example is Job 3:12.

Job 3:12

מדוע קדמוני ברכים ומה שדים כי אינק  
Why were there knees to receive me,  
or breasts for me to suck?

ἵνα τί δὲ συνήντησάν μοι γόνατα;  
ἵνα τί δὲ μαστοὺς ἐθήλασα;  
Why then did the knees meet me?  
Why then did I such breasts?

In the Hebrew text, both cola start with an interrogative, first מדוע, then מה. The translator, however, opts to use the same interrogative particle twice, introducing both questions with ἵνα τί δέ,<sup>30</sup> introducing an anaphora. Moreover, the Hebrew text is partially chiasmically structured (ABC/A'C'B'), with ברכים corresponding to שדים and קדמוני to כי אינק. This structure is rendered identically in Greek, but by slightly altering the construction of 12b (ἐθήλασα for כי אינק), the chiasmus is made more strictly chiasmatic. As such, the rendering shows less variation than the Hebrew text does.

A comparable example can be found in Job 9:20.

Job 9:20

אם אצדק פי ירשיעני תם אני ויעקשני  
Though I am innocent, my own mouth would condemn me;  
though I am blameless, he would prove me perverse.

ἐάν γὰρ ὧς δίκαιος, τὸ στόμα μου ἀσεβήσῃ·  
ἐάν τε ὧς ἄμειπτος, σκολιὸς ἀποβήσομαι.  
For if I should be right, my mouth will be impious,  
And if I should be blameless, I will turn out perverse.

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29. In order to demonstrate that the occurrence of such a feature is not merely due to the relationship between two different Hebrew words being rendered by one and the same Greek word in other instances in LXX Job and the lexical repetition hence introduced “coincidentally,” one needs to pay attention to the translator’s word choices—and hence use concordances intensively. I will do so mostly in the footnotes.

30. The Greek interrogative ἵνα τί occurs more often in LXX Job (namely, in 3:20; 10:18; 30:2), but each time as a translation of למה. The Hebrew interrogative מדוע occurs five more times in Job (18:3; 21:4, 7; 24:1; 33:13), each time rendered as διὰ τί. Hence, the double use of ἵνα τί here might be considered indicative.

The LXX has a strict structural repetition: *ἐάν* + *εἰμί* in the subjunctive mood + adjective. The Hebrew is less “strict.” First, the particle *תם* is gapped in the second colon. Second, the first colon has a verb (*אצדק*) and the second a nominal clause (*תם אני*).<sup>31</sup>

Aside from using anaphorae, the translator of LXX Job also sometimes employs an epiphora. Job 4:7 presents us with an example.

Job 4:7

זכר נא מי הוא נקי אבד ואיפה ישרים נכחדו

Think now, who that was innocent ever perished?

Or where were the upright cut off?

μνήσθητι οὖν τίς καθαρὸς ὦν ἀπώλετο

ἢ πότε ἀληθινοὶ ὁλόρριζοι ἀπώλοντο.

Think now, who, being pure, perished,

or when did the true perish root and all?

The cola in Hebrew end with two different words, *אבד* and *נכחד*. In LXX Job, *ἀπόλλυμι* is more often used to render *אבד*,<sup>32</sup> but *נכחד* is usually translated differently.<sup>33</sup> Hence, the choice to use *ἀπόλλυμι* twice in this verse has been influenced by the literary context: the translator introduces an epiphora.

Another illustration of the same “technique” can be found in Job 5:6-7.

Job 5:6-7

כי לא יצא מעפר און ומאדמה לא יצמח עמל

כי אדם לעמל יולד ובני רשף יגביהו עוף

For misery does not come from the earth,

nor does trouble sprout from the ground;

but human beings are born to trouble

just as sparks fly upward.

οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἐκ τῆς γῆς κόπος,

οὐδὲ ἐξ ὀρέων ἀναβλαστήσει πόνος

ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος γεννᾶται κόπῳ,

νεοσσοὶ δὲ γυπὸς τὰ ὑψηλὰ πέτονται.

For hardship shall not come from the earth,

nor will trouble sprout from mountains,

31. Both *δίκαιος* for the verb *צדק* and *ἀμεμπτος* for *תם* occur more frequently in LXX Job (respectively 9x and 2x or possibly 3x or even 4x).

32. More specifically, in eleven out of fifteen cases; see Job 3:3; 4:7, 9, 20; 6:18; 8:13; 12:23; 18:17; 20:7; 29:13; 31:19. See also *ὀλλυμι* in 4:11. Twice *אבד* occurs in a line that is in the LXX part of the so-called asterisked material.

33. Namely, *ψεύδομαι* in 6:10; *κρύπτω* in 15:18 and 27:11; *ἐρημος* in 15:28; *ἀφανίζω* in 22:20.

but a human being is born to hardship,  
whereas the vulture's young soar on high.

The Greek translator introduces an epiphora (κόπος—κόπω) in an instance where the Hebrew text does not have a lexical repetition. The Hebrew does present its own features, which were not retained in the translation. First, עמל is repeated, occurring at the end of 6b and mid-colon in 7a. The Greek translator renders the first instance as πόνος and the second as κόπω.<sup>34</sup> Second, the Hebrew features an anaphora of כִּי, which is eliminated in the translation.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.2 ELIMINATING REPETITIONS

When comparing Job 3:17 to 5:6-7, both discussed *supra*, one can observe a different translation technique. In 3:17, the translator renders the repetition of שׁ by ἐκεί. In 5:6-7, however, the repetition is avoided. Another example of this process of elimination can be found in Job 8:3.

Job 8:3

האל יעות משפט ואם שדי יעות צדק

Does God pervert justice?

Or does the Almighty pervert the right?

ἢ ὁ κύριος ἀδικήσῃ κρίνων

ἢ ὁ τὰ πάντα ποιήσας ταραξέῃ τὸ δίκαιον.

Will the Lord act unjustly when he judges,

or will the maker of all things pervert what is right?

In this verse, the Hebrew employs the exact same form of יעות twice, while the Greek translator opts for two different renderings (ἀδικήσῃ and ταραξέῃ). Job 8:3 is the only instance in LXX Job in which יעות is rendered as ἀδικέω; in the other three instances,<sup>36</sup> the rendering is consistent. We may not disregard the possibility that this “deviation” might be due to the semantic requirements of the context. Nonetheless, it might have been a matter of avoiding repetition, as in

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34. The Hebrew word עמל occurs ten times in Job, rendered as πόνος (Job 3:10; 5:6); πικρία (Job 3:20); ὀδύνη (Job 4:8; 7:3; 15:35; though possibly also in 3:20 if one accepts a transposition of elements in the LXX); κόπος (Job 5:7; 11:16); κακός (Job 16:2); ἀνάγκη (?) (Job 20:22).

35. The elimination of the repetition of כִּי is an intricate matter, since כִּי has a very wide semantic range in the Hebrew, which could be reflected by a wide range of possible renderings in the LXX, especially since the Greek language has more particles to express relations between lines.

36. Job 8:3b; 19:6; 34:12.

Job 5:6-7.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the construction of both cola in Hebrew is identical (subject-verb-object), whereas the Greek renders the noun **משפט** as a participle, **κρίνων**. This example indicates that the LXX's tendency to avoid repetition present in the Hebrew text can result in a translation which is less strictly parallel in form.

A similar example is found in 9:19, in which the translation does not render the anaphora of the Hebrew (**אם ל-אם**).

Job 9:19

**אם לכה אמיץ הנה ואם למשפט מי יועידי**

If it is a contest of strength, he is the strong one!

If it is a matter of justice, who can summon him?

**ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἰσχύι κρατεῖ**

**τίς οὖν κρίματι αὐτοῦ ἀντιστήσεται;**

Because, for one thing, he prevails by force;

who then can withstand his judgment?

It is striking that lexical repetitions occur regularly in both the Hebrew text as well as in the Greek translation but that cases of repetition in the Hebrew text are often eliminated in the translation.<sup>38</sup> So as to give a general idea, if we do not take particles, prepositions, proper names,<sup>39</sup> or paronomastic constructions into account and disregard whether or not the repetition occurs within the context of literary features such as anaphora, but merely focus on repetition of the same word,<sup>40</sup> Job 3–14 displays the following tendencies. There are sixteen instances

37. See Gordis, *Job*, 508–551; Clines, *Job 1–20*, 198.

38. Robert Gordis has already noted that the LXX tends to eliminate repetition found in the Hebrew text. He presented an incomplete list of forty-three rather random instances of repetition in the Hebrew text; see Robert Gordis, *The Book of Job. Commentary, New Translation and Special Studies*, Moreshet 2 (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1978), 509.

39. Except for the name attributed to God, since the translator actually had a choice, for example, **κύριος**, **θεός**, or **παντοκράτωρ**.

40. With this specification, I carefully touch upon the issue of the polyptoton. So as to avoid terminological confusion, especially since a polyptoton is generally defined differently in inflected languages (Greek) than in noninflected languages (Hebrew) and since Greek is more capable of forming *composita* than Hebrew, I will refrain from including words that are derived from the same root (e.g., **ושגה** **שגג** in MT Job 12:16 and **ὥσπερ βροτὸς ὁρᾷ καθορᾷς** in LXX Job 10:4) and focus on repetition of the same word albeit possibly in another form. Nonetheless, I am of the opinion that if one attempts at a systematic study of literary features in the LXX, this type of repetition should also be included, as I do in my doctoral dissertation. The same thing goes for repetition of particles and pronouns.

in which a repetition in the Hebrew text is rendered in Greek,<sup>41</sup> seventeen instances in which the Greek eliminates a repetition present in the Hebrew text,<sup>42</sup> and nineteen instances in which the Greek adds a repetition which has no direct basis in the Hebrew text.<sup>43</sup>

The LXX's tendency to eliminate repetition does not only occur in cases of lexical repetition. The following example of Job 6:4 demonstrates how the parallelism of the first and the third cola in the Hebrew text is eliminated in the translation without attention to *ornatus* of the Greek. E. Dhorme, as one of the very few commentators paying attention to this deviation, has noted that it is difficult to understand where *ὅταν ἄρξωμαι λαλεῖν* for *בעותי אלוה* comes from.<sup>44</sup> There does not seem to be any sign of *ornatus* in the Greek text.

Job 6:4

כי חצי שדי עמדי אשר חמתם שתה רוחי בעותי אלוה יערכוני  
For the arrows of the Almighty are in me;  
my spirit drinks their poison;  
the terrors of God are arrayed against me.

βέλη γὰρ κυρίου ἐν τῷ σώματί μου ἐστίν,  
ὣν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτῶν ἐκπίνει μου τὸ αἷμα·  
ὅταν ἄρξωμαι λαλεῖν, κεντοῦσί με.  
For the arrows of the Lord are in my body,  
their wrath drinks my blood.  
When I begin to speak, they pierce me.

### 3.3 POSSIBLE COMPENSATION?

Sometimes, in those instances in which literary features seem to get lost in translation, other literary features can be used. One can speculate that this is a way of “compensating” on behalf of the translator. An example can be found in Job 3:24-25.

Job 3:24-25

כי לפני לחמי אנחתי תבא ויתכו כמים שאגתי  
כי פחד פחדתי ויאתיני ואשר יגרת יבא לי

41. Job 3:2-3, 3-4, 4-5, 6-7, 17; 5:23-24, 24-25; 6:8, 11-12; 9:9-10; 10:1, 8-9, 21-22; 11:5-7; 12:12-13, 24-25.

42. Job 3:25-26; 5:6-7, 15-16, 23; 6:15, 23, 25-26; 8:3; 9:20-21; 10:4-5, 5, 7-8, 19, 20, 22; 13:7; 14:5-6.

43. Job 3:8, 9, 17, 24-25, 25-26; 4:7, 13; 5:2-3, 6-7, 8, 23-24; 6:17-18, 25-26; 10:8-9; 12:12; 13:6, 17, 22; 14:3.

44. Dhorme, *Job*, 76. Clines, for example, does not mention anything about this deviation.

For my sighing comes like my bread,  
and my groanings are poured out like water.  
Truly the thing that I fear comes upon me,  
and what I dread befalls me.

πρὸ γὰρ τῶν σίτων μου στεναγμός μοι ἔκει,  
δακρύω δὲ ἐγὼ συνεχόμενος φόβῳ·  
φόβος γάρ, ὃν ἐφρόντισα, ἦλθεν μοι,  
καὶ ὃν ἐδεδοίκειν, συνήντησέν μοι.  
For sighing comes before my food,  
and I cry, gripped by fear.  
For fear, about which I worried, came to me,  
and that which I was scared about, befell me.

The Greek translation demonstrates quite some “artistic license” with regard to the rendering and use of literary features. (1) The anaphora of כִּי at the beginning of verses 24 and 25 in the Hebrew text has not been rendered in Greek. (2) Moreover, the parallelism of verse 24a–b was basically destroyed. Verse 24b was rendered paraphrastically in Greek, anticipating 25a.<sup>45</sup> (3) The LXX, however, features an anadiplosis: φόβῳ at the end of verse 24 and φόβος at the very beginning of verse 25. The anadiplosis could perhaps be a compensation for the elimination of the repetition of the root פחד in 25a. (4) Additionally, verse 25 was rendered more parallel in the LXX. First, the Greek interprets פחדתי in 25a as an asyndetic relative clause, rendering it as a relative clause ὃν ἐφρόντισα, thus rendering it strictly parallel to ὃν ἐδεδοίκειν, which translates the relative clause אשר יגרת. Second, by rendering פחדתי as a relative clause, the translator was able to eliminate the paratactical element of ויאחזיני. This way, the rendering of ἦλθεν μοι strictly parallels συνήντησέν μοι, which translates לי יבא.<sup>46</sup>

Though compensation for the loss of the repetition in the Hebrew text might be a “technique,” I do not think one can distinguish for every case whether or not one can call a specific instance a matter of compensation.

### 3.4 EXCHANGING SYMMETRY FOR CHIASMUS AND VICE VERSA

I have thus far shown that the occurrence of symmetrical word order in the Greek text can be due to the presence of a symmetry in the Hebrew text (see *supra*, for example 3:1; 4:7; 4:9). The use of a symmetrical pattern in the Greek text can, however, also go back to a chiasmus. We sometimes come across instances in which a chiasmus in the Hebrew has been eliminated and replaced by a symmetrical parallelism.

45. Dhorme, *Job*, 40.

46. See also *supra* on the order of verb and pronoun indicating the object.

Job 3:6b

יבא אל ירחים במספר שנה בימי יחד אל

Let it not rejoice among the days of the year;  
let it not come into the number of the months.

μὴ εἴη εἰς ἡμέρας ἐνιαυτοῦ

μηδὲ ἀριθμηθεῖη εἰς ἡμέρας μηνῶν.

May it not exist among the days of the year  
or be numbered among the days of the months.

Whereas the Hebrew has a clear chiasmic structure, the Greek translation renders it as a symmetrical pattern. Moreover, where the Hebrew has *בימי* and *במספר*, the translation reads *ἡμέρας* twice. The variation of the Hebrew text is eliminated, and the Greek introduces a repetition.

The same holds true for chiasmus. A chiasmus in Greek can have its basis in a chiasmus in the Hebrew (see *supra*, for example, 3:12; 3:14; 7:14) or occur in lines where the Hebrew is symmetrical.

Job 10:10

הלא כחלב תתיכני וכגבנה תקפיאני

Did you not pour me out like milk  
and curdle me like cheese?

ἢ οὐχ ὥσπερ γάλα με ἤμελξας,

ἐτύρωσας δέ με ἴσα τυρῶ;

Did you not pour me out like milk  
and curdle me like cheese?

With regard to the meaning of the verse, the Greek translation stays very close to the source text. It does, however, change the word order. The structure of the verse is chiasmic, and some elements of variation are added. First, the position of the direct object expressed by the personal pronoun *με* varies (see *supra*). Second, the way in which the *secundum comparatum* is represented also varies. In Hebrew we have twice an identical construction, *כחלב* and *וכגבנה*, whereas in Greek, we have *ὥσπερ γάλα* and *ἴσα τυρῶ*.

Job 5:20

ברעב פדך ממות ובמלחמה מידי חרב

In famine he will redeem you from death,  
and in war from the power of the sword.

ἐν λιμῶ ῥύσεται σε ἐκ θανάτου,

ἐν πολέμῳ δὲ ἐκ χειρὸς σιδήρου λύσει σε.

In famine he will rescue you from death,  
and in war he will free you from a blade's power.



In Hebrew, we encounter a symmetrical structure, whereby the verb  $\text{פָּדָה}$  is gapped. The translation seems to follow the Hebrew text quite closely. The lexical choices do not require additional explanation, and the word order is retained. The Greek text does, however, add  $\lambdaύσει\ \sigma\epsilon$  on the end of the verse, resulting in a partial chiasmus.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

On the basis of the abovementioned examples, I present the following conclusions.

(1) The fact that we encounter some “literal” renderings might be an aspect of the so-called “easy technique.”<sup>47</sup> Yet the Greek translation of Job has not been made on automatic pilot. The fact that we encounter stylistic features in the Greek text that seem to have no “identical” equivalent in the Hebrew points to sensitivities on behalf of the translator with regard to stylistic features.

(2) The stylistic context does not always dictate the rendering but can be a possible explanation in a number of instances. This illustrates that the particular sensitivities of the translator of Job towards stylistic features are interesting to study, since they provide us with insight in aspects of translational “freedom” of LXX Job.

(3) What motivates the translator to render or autonomously use a specific feature in a specific instance is difficult to say. For example:

- Formal patterns such AB/A'B' or AB/B'A' are sometimes rendered identically in Greek, in some instances even more “strictly” but also sometimes oppositely.
- Lexical repetition present in the Hebrew text is often avoided in the Greek, but not always. In addition, repetitions are sometimes added autonomously in the Greek translation, possibly but not necessarily as a compensation for losing a feature of the Hebrew in the process of translation.

The translator does not seem to be consistent at all. One can therefore only describe the different ways in which the LXX translator renders or autonomously uses features in the LXX and should refrain from saying anything about the translator’s intentions.

(4) The examples I discussed above give rise to more questions. Why did the translator use these features autonomously, and what is their effect? Should we see “the literary” as their only function, or are they also performative or ideological? The LXX translation would as such also be an interesting topic to study from a more pragmatic or discourse-oriented approach.

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47. See James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, MSU 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 279–325, 300, which inspired Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Translation Technique and the Intention of the Translator,” in Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the of the Septuagint Translators*, 59–70.

(5) In any case, the use of literary features in the LXX provides us with a topic of research within the framework of the study of the translation technique of the LXX as a translation but can also be a new element in characterizing the LXX itself as a literary creation.

# Translation Technique in the Minor Prophets

*W. Edward Glenny*

**Abstract:** It is generally held that one translator or group of translators translated the LXX Minor Prophets (LXX-MP), and there is no comprehensive study of the translation technique employed by this translator or group. The purpose of this paper is to survey important studies related to the translation technique employed in various sections of the LXX-MP in order to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the translation technique employed in these books. The studies of translation technique in the LXX-MP are organized in nine different groupings.

There is no comprehensive study of the translation technique employed in LXX Minor Prophets (LXX-MP).<sup>1</sup> However, there are many articles, dissertations, and books that address different aspects of the translation of the Minor Prophets and of the translation technique in individual books. The purpose of this paper is to survey several important studies related to the translation technique employed in LXX-MP and to compare the findings and summarize the discussion. I have tried to comment on the most important contributions to this topic, but no doubt

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1. Translation technique has to do “with the ways in which the Greek scribes translated the Hebrew Scriptures” (R. Timothy McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003], 39.). Anneli Aejmelaesus defines it as “the relationship between the text of the translation and its *Vorlage*” (“What We Talk about When We Talk about Translation Technique,” in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Oslo, 1998*, ed. Bernard Taylor; SCS 51 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2001], 532). For other representative works on translation technique see: Anneli Aejmelaesus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993); Raija Sollamo and Seppo Sipilä eds., *Helsinki Perspectives: On the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001); and Emanuel Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 129–270 (section on “Translation Technique and Exegesis”).

I have missed some, and for various reasons, I have not given some works a separate section in this survey.<sup>2</sup>

The study of the translation technique employed in LXX-MP usually focuses on the many important differences between the LXX and its Hebrew *Vorlage*, the exact causes of which are debated. Some of the differences between LXX-MP and the MT can be explained by a Hebrew *Vorlage* differing from the MT or perhaps by changes in the texts in the process of their transmission, but most differences were probably created by “inner-translational factors,

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2. For example, I have not included in this paper a section on the discussion of translation technique in the volumes on the Twelve Prophets in La Bible d’Alexandrie series. The ten introductions to the commentaries on the Twelve Prophets that have been published all have sections comparing the Greek text and the Hebrew (Amos and Micah have not been published), and although the headings do not describe these sections as a discussion of translation technique, they do contribute to this topic. The sections in these introductions that compare the Greek translation with the Hebrew are very helpful, because they contain excellent examples of things like the pluses, minuses, and inversions in order in the LXX translation, but the authors do not usually suggest more specific overall characteristics of the translation of these prophetic books. Other works that address translation technique in LXX-MP but have not been included in the following survey are Sherman E. Johnson, “The Septuagint Translators of Amos” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1936), who does offer some helpful observations concerning some aspects of the translation of Amos but does not systematically summarize the translation technique and offers few, if any, important insights into it; James A. Arietti, “A Study in the Septuagint of the Book of Amos” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1972) does not deal specifically with the topic of translation technique; Jan de Waard, “Translation Techniques Used by the Greek Translators of Amos,” *Bib* 59 (1978): 339–50, and “A Greek Translation-Technique Treatment of Amos 1:15,” in *On Language, Culture and Religion: In Honour of Eugene A. Nida*, ed. M. Black and W. A. Smalley, *Approaches to Semiotics* 56 (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 111–18, uses the Minor Prophets primarily to show the value of translation technique for explaining the differences between LXX-MP and its Hebrew *Vorlage*; although he does list nine categories in his discussion of translation technique in his article on “Translation Techniques,” he discusses the techniques of translators of various manuscripts and does not move toward an overall summary of the technique of the translator of LXX-MP; George E. Howard also has a discussion of “Translation Profile in the Greek” in the introduction to “The Twelve Prophets” in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 777–81; although Howard lists and gives examples of several characteristics of the translation of LXX-MP, his summary of the translation technique of LXX-MP is general; he summarizes that it “is typical translation Greek” and if the MT is used as the Hebrew base text, “the Greek is sometimes distant from the base text and sometimes close to it” (777).

especially in the area of exegesis.”<sup>3</sup> Because the *Vorlage* of LXX-MP is generally regarded as similar to the MT, the study of translation technique in the Greek Minor Prophets usually uses the MT as a representative *Vorlage*. Since it is generally assumed that one translator, or group of translators, was responsible for the collection, the results of the study of different parts of the collection have relevance for each individual book and for the collection as a whole.<sup>4</sup>

### 1. GREAT RESPECT FOR HIS SOURCE TEXT

The conclusion of Jan Joosten’s article on “Exegesis in the Septuagint Version of Hosea” is that the translator of LXX-MP had great respect for his source text; furthermore, Joosten contends that the translator’s main concern was to bring out the sense of his *Vorlage*, not to promote his theological agenda. The translation involves interpretation, as all translations do, but the divergences involve misreading or errors in analyzing the Hebrew, contextual exegesis, and occasionally the decoding of figures of speech.<sup>5</sup> The translator obviously struggles with some of the Hebrew in his *Vorlage*, but his ideology, “trust in the inspired text,” comes through more in the form of his translation than in the content of the message.<sup>6</sup> The translator’s trust in and reverence for the inspired text is clear from the coherence of word order and component parts of the Hebrew and the Greek in the translation. However, I wonder after reading Joosten if it is as simple as he implies to separate the translator from his theology, and if his theology and worldview could in any way be suspended in his attempts to be objective in his translation of the text. In a later article (“A Septuagintal Translation Technique in the Minor Prophets”), Joosten summarizes that the translation of the Twelve is “creatively faithful,” but he then focuses on the translator’s pattern of eliminating verbal repetitions found in the Hebrew in his rendering of the Twelve. He suggests this is done to avoid tautology and also to conform to good Greek style. Thus, in some instances his concern for style is

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3. See Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3d ed (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 117; he notes that only a fraction of the divergences between the MT and LXX were created by a difference between the MT and the *Vorlage* of the LXX.

4. See my introduction to the translation technique of the Twelve in the article “Introduction to the Septuagint Minor Prophets” in *The Hebrew Bible*, ed. Emanuel Tov, vol. 1 of *The Textual History of the Bible*, ed. Armin Lange (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

5. Jan Joosten, “Exegesis in the Septuagint Version of Hosea,” in *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel*, ed. Johannes C. De Moor (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 85.

6. *Ibid.*, 83.

stronger than his trust in the text. Perhaps the translator felt that the removal of verbal repetition would not change the meaning of the text very much, if at all.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. DIFFERENCES CAUSED BY OBSCURITIES IN THE HEBREW *VORLAGE*

Anthony Gelston has argued that the best explanation for some differences between LXX-MP and its Hebrew *Vorlage* is obscurities in the text of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. He allows that other factors may have contributed to the differences between the Hebrew and Greek, but in a 2002 article he argued that in twenty-three so-called “misreadings” in LXX-Amos the translator was “impaired by obscurities in the *Vorlage*” caused by indistinct handwriting in the inscription of the *Vorlage* or subsequent damage to the manuscript.<sup>8</sup> An important support for his argument is the frequent confusion of individual letters, like *daleth* and *resh*. In four instances where the “misreading” extends to two adjacent letters, he suggests it is better explained by damage to the *Vorlage*. In response to Gelston, Glenny argued that a better explanation of Gelston’s twenty-three proposed “misreadings” was that they were imprecise translations or paraphrases of the *Vorlage*, manipulation or maneuvering of difficult texts in an attempt to make sense of them, double translations, or theologically motivated translations.<sup>9</sup> Gelston’s thesis deserves to be tested more broadly in LXX-MP; recently respondents to a paper I presented on the translation technique in Mic 1:10–16 questioned my thesis that the many differences between the Hebrew and Greek in that passage were actually the result of the inner-translational factors I suggested, and they proposed that obscurities in the *Vorlage* were a better explanation for the differences.<sup>10</sup> Such questions can only be addressed by a case-by-case study of differences, especially in contexts with many divergences, and then a consideration of the cumulative evidence.

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7. Jan Joosten, “A Septuagintal Translation Technique in the Minor Prophets: The Elimination of Verbal Repetitions,” in *Collected Studies on the Septuagint*, ed. J. Joosten; (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 15–21.

8. Anthony Gelston, “Some Hebrew Misreadings in the Septuagint of Amos,” *VT* 52 (2002): 493, 500.

9. W. Edward Glenny, “Hebrew Misreadings or Free Translation in the Septuagint of Amos?” *VT* 57:4 (2007): 524–47.

10. W. Edward Glenny, “Translation Technique in LXX Micah 1:10–16” (paper presented at the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, St. Andrews, Scotland, 8 July 2013). The questioners especially mentioned the translator’s confusion in 1:10 rendering the verb בכה (“weep”) as בנה (“build”).

## 3. THE LXX REFLECTS THE MILIEU OF THE TRANSLATOR

Arie Van der Kooij contends that the translators of the LXX were “scholar-scribes,” and thus they were familiar with the text they were translating and had knowledge of a reading tradition of it. Therefore, it is possible Greek translations that differ from the way we read the Hebrew may reflect the readings and interpretations of the text current in the milieu of the translator rather than misunderstandings or errors.<sup>11</sup> Van der Kooij suggests we have an example of such a reading of the text in LXX-Zech 9:9–10 where he argues that the translator was influenced by his cultural background and theology and understood this text to be a prediction of Simon, the Maccabean leader. In his interaction with van der Kooij, James Palmer agrees that many passages in the LXX may reflect the cultural context of the translator, but he argues it is more likely that the translator relied on conjectures or manipulated the text when he encountered an obscurity in the text. Of course, such conjectures and manipulations will often reflect the milieu of the translator.<sup>12</sup>

## 4. LINGUISTIC, TEXTUAL, AND THEOLOGICAL FACTORS

Part of W. Edward Glenny’s goal in his study of the translation technique in Amos was to compare Palmer’s findings in his dissertation on the translation technique of Zechariah with the translation technique in Amos.<sup>13</sup> These two related studies agree that linguistic, textual, and theological-cultural factors may account for the differences between LXX-MP and its Hebrew *Vorlage*. In their study of different aspects of literalism, like word order, quantitative representation, representation of constituent elements, and stereotyping, they both found the translator to be generally literal; however, he occasionally varied word order, added or removed elements, varied the Greek equivalents for Hebrew elements in the *Vorlage*, and paraphrased or varied from stereotyped renderings.

Palmer and Glenny also studied the translation of unknown and difficult parts of the text, like Hebrew *hapax legomena*, and tested six techniques Emanuel Tov suggested translators might employ in translating such texts (untranslated words [transliteration], contextual guesses, contextual manipulation,

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11. Arie van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of Zechariah as Witness to an Early Interpretation of the Book,” in *The Book of Zechariah and its Influence*, ed. C. Tuckett (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 55.

12. James K. Palmer, “‘Not Made with Tracing Paper:’ Studies in the Septuagint of Zechariah” (Ph.D. Diss., Cambridge University, 2004), esp. 67, 176–77; on p. 177 he calls the translation of LXX-Zech “an act of critical interpretation.”

13. Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text: Translation Technique and Theology in the Septuagint of Amos*, VTSup 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Palmer, “Not Made with Tracing Paper.”

reliance on parallelism, employment of general words, and etymological renderings);<sup>14</sup> they found examples of all six categories in both books. Both also studied the rendering of visually ambiguous phenomena, like word divisions, homonyms, and homographs, in these books. Their examination of this material suggests the translator did not know a reading tradition of all of the text and had a general knowledge of Hebrew; thus, when he came to uncommon terms and constructions, he was forced to make decisions that determined his vocalization of the Hebrew text. In such passages, he would employ the visually ambiguous phenomena in the text to try to make sense of it. He also employed context, both near and far, including parallel passages, to make sense out of ambiguous passages, and his theology or worldview also influenced his reading of such ambiguous elements in his source text. Although the translator had a theological agenda that can be discerned from his translation, his theological agenda was ad hoc, and he did not have a “unified, worked out” theological system.<sup>15</sup> For example, in Amos he evidences an anti-Syrian (Seleucid?) and anti-Samaritan bias, while in Zechariah he emphasizes the centrality of Jerusalem, the return of the exiles to Jerusalem, the nations joining Israel to worship the Lord in Jerusalem, the exclusion of Canaanites, and the expansion of the influence of Israel. In LXX-Hosea, Stephen Pisano has demonstrated an emphasis on the fact that Israel has already returned to Egypt.<sup>16</sup> Thus, although there are common theological emphases, like eschatology, in LXX-Amos and LXX-Zech,<sup>17</sup> recent studies in LXX-MP suggest that different aspects of the translator’s theology and worldview come to light in different books and that he probably did not have a complete, worked-out, theological system he was trying to apply systematically to the text. Many of his different theological emphases seem to be related to and to develop from related emphases and themes in the book he is

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14. Emanuel Tov, “Did the Septuagint Translators Always Understand Their Hebrew Text?” in *De Septuaginta, Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. A. Pietersma and C. Cox (Mississauga: Benben Press, 1984), 53–70. Revised edition: *Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 203–18.

15. Palmer, “Not Made with Tracing Paper,” 176, 123.

16. Stephen Pisano, “‘Egypt’ in the Septuagint of Hosea,” in *Tradition of the Text*, ed. G. J. Norton and S. Pisano, OBO 109 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 301–08, demonstrates the translator’s emphasis on the fact that Israel has already returned to Egypt in LXX Hosea.

17. Another well-known characteristic of LXX-MP is the rendering of צבאות by παντοκράτωρ, which also points to the unity of the translator’s thinking; see Cécile Dogniez, “Le Dieu des armées dans le Dodekapropheton: Quelques remarques sur une initiative de traduction,” in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, ed. Bernard E. Taylor, SCS 45 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 19–36, and Emanuel Tov, “Theologically Motivated Exegesis Embedded in the Septuagint” in Tov, *Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 263.



translating, and he tends to employ and develop those themes at various points in his translation.<sup>18</sup>

Takamitsu Muraoka's conclusions in his article "Hebrew Hapax Legomena and Septuagint Vocabulary" seem to fit best in this category also. His study of twenty-four *hapax legomena* in LXX-MP is interested in lexicography, and he concludes: (1) that in all but one case he examines, "the LXX *Vorlage* can be assumed to have been identical with the MT"; (2) that the translator often deals with the difficulty of rendering Hebrew *hapax legomena* "by manipulating the Hebrew text or relying on conjecture, usually by having regard to the general context"; (3) that "in most cases [with obscure Hebrew *hapax legomena*], recourse to the Hebrew has little implication or offers negligible assistance for the elucidation of Greek words"; and "what a given Greek word or phrase means can mostly be worked out, or should be able to be worked out, from within the Greek."<sup>19</sup>

##### 5. MIXED TEXT: DEMONSTRATING THE TRANSLATOR'S RESPECT FOR THE *VORLAGE* AND DESIRE TO COMMUNICATE TO THE READERS

Cécile Dogniez has been a major contributor to the commentaries on the Twelve Prophets in La Bible d'Alexandrie series. In this paper, I will focus on three important articles she has written on translation technique in LXX-MP. Her 1997 article, "Le Dieu des armées dans le Dodekapropheton," is an important contribution to the TT of the Twelve.<sup>20</sup> Of 180 occurrences of the Greek word *παντοκράτωρ* in the LXX, 110 are in the Twelve where it systematically corresponds to the Hebrew term *צבאות*. The correspondence is so close in the Twelve that it indicates they are a translation unit with a common translator.<sup>21</sup> The em-

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18. The theological and cultural understanding of the translator, which is revealed in his translation, does not necessarily reflect a conscious *Tendenz* on his part.

19. Takamitsu Muraoka, "Hebrew *Hapax Legomena* and Septuagint Lexicography," in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Leuven 1989*, ed. Claude E. Cox, SCS 31 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991): 205–22. Muraoka also has three articles that are commentaries on LXX-Hosea, which are helpful for studying translation technique in LXX-MP: "Hosea IV in the Septuagint Version," *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* IX (1983): 24–64, "Hosea V in the Septuagint Version," *Abr-Nahrain* XXIV (1986): 120–38; and "Hosea III in the Septuagint Version," in *Words Remembered, Texts Renewed: Essays in Honour of John F. A. Sawyer*, ed. Jon Davies, Graham Harvey, and Wilfred G. E. Watson, JSOT 195 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 242–52.

20. Dogniez, "Dieu des armées dans le Dodekapropheton."

21. The Greek word is unattested before the LXX, and it may have originated in the Hellenistic-Jewish environment of the translator in Alexandria or else possibly in Classical usage. The LXX's use of *παντοκράτωρ* is consistent with its decreased emphasis

ployment of the Greek term also emphasizes God's work of creation and the fact that he is a universal sovereign and thus not only the national God of Israel.<sup>22</sup> Dogniez agrees with Tov, who calls the rendering of צבאות by παντοκράτωρ in the Twelve "theologically motivated exegesis."<sup>23</sup> She concludes that the translator of the Twelve used παντοκράτωρ, because he was embarrassed by the expression "God of the armies," and he wanted a more balanced description of God that contained all of his attributes, a concentration of the divine force or power.<sup>24</sup> The term παντοκράτωρ describes a God who is no longer the God of the distant past, who fought for Israel, but he has become as well the God of the future and the one who is sovereign over all. The employment of this term provides what seems to be incontrovertible evidence of theological exegesis in the Twelve.

In her 2001 article on translation technique in the Twelve, "Fautes de traduction ou bonnes traductions," Dogniez attempts to steer a middle road.<sup>25</sup> On one side, she attempts to avoid the extreme of those who revere the Hebrew source text, which is understood to conform closely to the MT, and who thus consider every divergence between the Hebrew and the LXX a deliberate alteration on the part of the translator or a failure in the act of translation. On the other side, she attempts to avoid the extreme of those who view the LXX as essentially an autonomous work and do not think it is necessary to consider its relationship to the original Hebrew.<sup>26</sup> She seeks a *via media* between these extremes that considers and compares the meaning of the source text and the meaning of the translation and that also considers the manner in which each text communicates its meaning.<sup>27</sup> The main part of her article is a study of five

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on God manifesting himself in war, an emphasis that is more common in the Hebrew, to a greater emphasis on him manifesting himself as all-powerful and sovereign.

22. See Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text*, 186–89, for a summary.

23. Tov writes, "The translator(s) of the Latter Prophets who rendered the phrase יהוה צבאות (literally: the Lord of armies) consistently with κύριος παντοκράτωρ (the Lord omnipotent) must have had a certain view of the nature of the Hebrew phrase. For him (them) צבאות included not just a body of 'angels' or 'armies' but it encompassed everything" (Tov, "Theologically Motivated Exegesis Embedded in the Septuagint," 263).

24. Dogniez, "Dieu des armées dans le Dodekapropheton," 29–30.

25. Cécile Dogniez, "Fautes de traduction, ou bonnes traductions: Quelques exemples pris dans la LXX des Douze Petits Prophètes," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998*, ed. Bernard E. Taylor, SCS 51 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 241–62.

26. This approach limits the consideration of the TT and the long and rich history of the texts transmission (Dogniez, "Fautes de traduction," 242).

27. Dogniez, "Fautes de traduction," 242. She feels the student of LXX translation technique must especially be aware of three different fields of study: the history of the Hebrew text, the modern reflections on the problems of translation, and the language employed by the LXX translators, Koine Greek. She employs the Twelve to demonstrate her thesis.

readings in the LXX that are often catalogued among the mistakes of the translator. She argues that by paying close attention to differences between the Greek and the Hebrew in view of not only the Hebrew text but also the Greek language in the LXX passage, we could considerably decrease the number of suggested mistakes of the translator and increase our appreciation of the quality of the translation choices he made.<sup>28</sup> She summarizes that the translation of the Twelve is a “mixed” translation that is neither literal nor free; it often follows closely the Hebrew, but at times the translator takes liberties, especially in difficult sections of his *Vorlage*, and in those sections the translation becomes inevitably another text.<sup>29</sup> She also summarizes that it is not often necessary to posit that a difference between the MT and the LXX in the Twelve is the result of a textual variant (a different *Vorlage*),<sup>30</sup> nor should readings in the LXX often be used to reconstitute the Hebrew text.

In a 2008 article entitled “Lost in Translation: La désignation des chefs dans le Dodekapropheton,” Dogniez examines the differences between the Hebrew and the LXX in LXX-MP in the renderings of words in the semantic field of chiefs or elites.<sup>31</sup> She found that the LXX, following its normal pattern in the Twelve, is generally a close and reliable translation of the Hebrew designations for leaders, but it does not always hold to a fixed correspondence between the Hebrew words for leaders and the Greek terms used to translate them. More importantly, in places in the Twelve the LXX text eliminates designations for political, military, or religious authorities found in the Hebrew (nine times) and occasionally it adds references to them (five times). Where the LXX omits a designation for a leader that is found in the Hebrew, it often adds significations that are not based on the lexical meaning of the words in the Hebrew but instead accent one of the interpretative threads of the passage. Where the translator adds designations for leadership, one can normally justify the addition by either a different *Vorlage* than the MT, a confusion of the Hebrew consonants or words, the translator’s desire to compensate for information lost to the time of the translation, a harmonization with other passages, or an expression of the exegesis or theology of the translator. When the translator eliminates a designation for a ruler or chief from his text, it is not because of his incompetence. Instead the evidence suggests that when the translator of the Twelve encountered a rare or archaic designation for a leader he was willing to change it, but when he did so he always made an effort to find a translation that did not modify the overall sense of the passage and that was in keeping as far as possible with the more

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28. She contends that the Greek language should be studied in light of its immediate and larger literary context and in view of the translation technique of the translator,

29. Dogniez, “Fautes de traduction,” 243–45.

30. An exception might be Hos 13:4.

31. Cécile Dogniez, “Lost in Translation: La désignation des chefs dans le Dodekapropheton,” *JSJ* 39 (2008): 192–210.

immediate or near context. In this regard, his translation is not “free” in the sense the translation of Isaiah is; he never proposes a version independent of his source text.<sup>32</sup> The translator always tries to conform as far as possible to the source text, while at the same time communicating a clear meaning of the biblical text to his Greek readers. In this regard, he demonstrates a scrupulous respect for the sacred text he is translating, but at the same time he seems to demonstrate a conviction that the text should be understandable, and he is willing to make minor changes to further that principle. Thus, Dogniez concludes that we see the creativity of the Greek translator in his rendering of this lexical field.

#### 6. GENERALLY FAITHFUL RENDERING WITH CREATIVITY AND STYLISTIC IMPROVEMENTS

Jennifer Dines is best known for her book *The Septuagint* in T&T Clark’s Understanding the Bible and Its World series.<sup>33</sup> However, she has also written an important 1991 dissertation on LXX Amos. In her dissertation, she studies LXX-Amos in order, providing an annotated translation of the whole and a commentary in places, especially where the LXX differs from the MT.<sup>34</sup> Her study of the exegetical character of the translation leads to the conclusion that while the translator of Amos attempted a faithful rendering of his Hebrew text, he “deals creatively with perplexing words and phrases in such a way as to reveal something of the theological, cultural, and partisan leanings of himself and his community.”<sup>35</sup> Also, she concludes that in Amos there is “bias for Jerusalem and against Samaritans, Seleucids, their Jewish supporters, and possibly Essenes.”<sup>36</sup> She also tentatively suggests that the most plausible setting for the translation is in Egypt in the decades following the Maccabean Revolt.

Among the many articles Dines has written, two recent ones address important stylistic features, especially attempted stylistic improvements, in LXX Twelve. In a 2011 article, she finds evidence of “variation,” that is, “the use of synonyms to render close recurrences of the same Hebrew word,” and the “arrangement of words or phrases in alternating, chiasmic, or circular patterns” in LXX Twelve. The presence of such stylistic features where the LXX diverges from the MT suggests the translator has deliberately “introduced features not

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32. This statement conflicts with her argument in the previously summarized article that in some sections “the translation becomes inevitably another text.” Apparently she understands that there is a difference between a different text and version.

33. Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint*, UBW series (New York: T&T Clark, 2004).

34. Jennifer M. Dines, “The Septuagint of Amos: A Study in Interpretation” (PhD diss., London, 1991).

35. *Ibid.*, 2.

36. *Ibid.*, 2.

strictly necessary for an adequate rendering of the Hebrew.”<sup>37</sup> Variation was a common feature in Greek literature, and the examples Dines gives of variation, as well as repetition following the Hebrew, indicate the translator was “trying to reproduce stylistic features in both source and target languages.”<sup>38</sup> Dines also demonstrates the same combination of stylistic features from the source and target languages in the verbal patterns in Amos 1:3–2:6, and she finds evidence of more elaborate patterning and other rhetorical features throughout the Twelve to indicate that variation and patterning are “significant translational practices” in the Twelve.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the evidence leads Dines to jettison the theory that the purpose of LXX Twelve was to serve as a quasi “interlinear” guide to “bring the reader to the original.”<sup>40</sup> Rather the stylistic interventions of the translator indicate the translation had “an independent character from the start, with literary features that other Greek speaking Jews would have recognized.”<sup>41</sup> With his erratic stylistic improvements, the translator made at least a pretension of literary merit. Dines feels this points to a pedagogic and parenetic purpose for the Twelve. The style of LXX Twelve suggests the translator was pulled in two directions: he was trying to bring the message of God found in the Twelve to his audience, and he employed stylistic and rhetorical features to create the desired persuasive effect.

Dines further develops the stylistic features in LXX Twelve in a 2012 article.<sup>42</sup> Here she argues that the use of “grand-sounding words” (which are often compounds) and future passive verb forms in LXX Twelve is consistent with the style employed by the Ptolemaic bureaucracy in their authoritative official documents and with the “grand style” that was thought to be proper for great literature in the Greek world. Thus, these stylistic features, which were widespread in other Koine writings may indicate the influence of Greek literature on the translators as writers and may have been one way the translators tried to express their sense of the importance of the books they were translating. Furthermore, this style may be due to the influence of their education and may

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37. The quotations in this paragraph come from Jennifer M. Dines, “Stylistic Invention and Rhetorical Purpose in the Book of the Twelve,” in *Et sapienter et eloquenter*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus, FRLANT 241 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 23.

38. *Ibid.*, 34.

39. *Ibid.*, 42.

40. *Ibid.*, 45.

41. *Ibid.*, 45.

42. Jennifer M. Dines, “Grand Words for Grand Subjects: Bureaucratic and Literary Influences in the Style of the Septuagint,” *Semitica et Classica* 5 (2012): 69–81. See also Dines’s article, “Was LXX Pentateuch a Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets?” in *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 59 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 397–412.

be how they thought great writers should express themselves. The limits of the stylistic achievements of the LXX may be due to the pull of the Hebrew originals and the translators' erratic abilities.

## 7. GENERALLY FAITHFUL BUT INFLUENCED BY THE CONTEXT

Eberhard Bons has contributed to the commentary on Hosea in the *La Bible d'Alexandrie* series, and he has also written some articles related to the translation technique in the Twelve. He has written an important article, published in 2008, on some of the rare words in LXX Amos 3:5 and 15, and he concluded that the translator of the Twelve does not mechanically plug in equivalents for the words in his *Vorlage*; at times the context influences him to employ words that are not his normal translations.<sup>43</sup> He also argues for the importance of studying the background of difficult Greek words employed by the translator in order to better understand what the translator is trying to say with such words. He has also written a 2012 article on Amos 5:26, pointing out the translator's disregard for the order of the words in the Hebrew, as they are found in the MT, in his rendering of that verse; such divergence from the order of the words in the *Vorlage* is seldom found in LXX Twelve.<sup>44</sup>

## 8. INTERTEXTUAL CONNECTIONS AND CONTEMPORARY EXEGETICAL METHODS

Myrto Theocharous's recently published dissertation (2012), *Lexical Dependence and Intertextual Allusion in the Septuagint of the Twelve Prophets: Studies in Hosea, Amos and Micah*, also makes an important contribution to the discussion of the translation technique of the translator of the Twelve.<sup>45</sup> The focus of her study is on the translator and his intertextual matrix in order for her to draw conclusions concerning the interpretation of the biblical text in the circles of the translator. Her aim is "to cover the broad intertextual spectrum, examining all manifestations of [intertextual] influence on the Septuagint of the TP, ranging from lexical sourcing to intertextual allusions" (20). Concerning

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43. Eberhard Bons, "Seltene Wörter in der Septuaginta des Amosbuches (Am 3,5.15): ἵξεντης, σχαζομαι, θερινός, περίπτερος," in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer, WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 404–15.

44. Eberhard Bons, "Amos 5:26: Überlegungen zur Textkritik, Textgeschichte und Übersetzung eines schwierigen Bibelverses," in *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*, ed. Johann Cook and Hermann-Josef Stipp, VTSup 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 297–308.

45. Myrto Theocharous, *Lexical Dependence and Intertextual Allusion in the Septuagint of the Twelve Prophets: Studies in Hosea, Amos, and Micah*, LHBOT 570 (New York: T&T Clark, 2012).

lexical sourcing, especially from the Greek Pentateuch, she concluded that similarities in the Greek of the Pentateuch and TP can generally be explained by the access translators of both corpora had to readily available equivalents in their common Hellenistic milieu, and thus the translator of LXX TP probably adopted this vocabulary from oral traditions, not from the written translations. Secondly, she also considers “standard translations,” which are “pre-existing, familiar, formulaic expressions which have become part of the religious jargon of the Greek translator and have their origin in a text other than the one being translated” (67). In such translations, the translator deviates from his Hebrew *Vorlage* and uses an expression known from other biblical passages. She has three examples: Hos 4:13, Hos 5:11, and a similar expression in Mic 1:6 and 3:12, describing Samaria and Jerusalem. She argues that in such cases the translator was familiar with the Greek expressions in question and may not have borrowed them from the original text containing the expression. Instead, he may have taken these common expressions from a secondary source or from common oral usage. Thirdly, she demonstrates that the Greek translator of the Twelve sometimes employed catchwords and their related biblical passages to understand his source text. However, in some other cases his renderings of the source text can be explained as arising from his employment of other tools, such as “contextual exegesis, appeal to Post-Biblical Hebrew/Aramaic nuances for Classical Hebrew words, appropriation of imagery to Greek literary conventions, or from the existence of a different Hebrew *Vorlage*” (109). Theocharous also addresses allusions to specific biblical stories, events, and characters, which were not triggered by shared catchwords. In these cases, the influence of the intertext is strong enough for the translator to “manipulate” his Hebrew source text in order to “import” traces of the intertext into his translation (242). Theocharous concludes that the translator of LXX TP worked from a text that belonged to the same family as the MT. Also, the translator was not tied to the consonantal text and the word order in his source text, but neither did he ignore it. His normal practice was somewhere in the middle, which gave him a degree of freedom. His ingenuity, which is observed where he deviates from his source, does not mean he took the source text lightly; rather such deviation indicates his “concern that the full sense of the text be understood by his audience” (242). Also she concludes that the translator had a broad knowledge of the Hebrew text and various interpretations of it. Furthermore, the majority of new forms of intertextuality he introduced can be explained solely on the basis of his familiarity with the Hebrew text, and clear influence from the Greek versions is rarely detectable. Finally, some of the techniques and methods the translator employed are similar to the techniques attested at Alexandria and Qumran and later employed by the rabbis. Thus, the context in which he interpreted was the entire Bible.

## 9. STYLISTIC, UNDERSTANDABLE GREEK

The so-called Barberini text of Hab 3 (The Prayer of Habakkuk) is found in a small group of manuscripts that differ substantially from the text in the majority of manuscripts. Joshua L. Harper addresses the “Translation Characteristics of Barberini” in an important chapter in his dissertation on this text. He feels the translator’s primary concern was “with producing stylistic, understandable Greek rather than with conforming closely to the Hebrew source text.” The Barberini text is “Greek-oriented” in the sense that the translator was willing to differ from his *Vorlage* to produce a translation that was “aesthetically pleasing and rhetorically elegant”; it is “quite close in effect and overall impression” to the text of Symmachus, although he sees no need for the two texts to be dependent on each other. He concludes that the Barberini text was an independent translation of Hab 3, by a translator who “was either Jewish or heavily influenced by Jewish exegetical methods.” Furthermore, the translator’s good knowledge of Hebrew as well as his good Greek suggest he “came from a Hellenistic context, where he had access to both Greek and Hebrew scholarship.”<sup>46</sup>

## 10. SUMMARY

The translator of LXX Twelve is difficult to summarize. He is generally very “literal” or faithful to the Hebrew; he normally follows the word order of his *Vorlage* and matches elements in his translation with corresponding elements in his *Vorlage*. However, at times he differs substantially from his Hebrew source. We can say that he evidences great respect for his *Vorlage*, which he apparently considers to be the word of God. But he also has a conviction that the text he is translating has a message and meaning for his Greek readers, and he labors to communicate that message to them. He employs the context (near and far), his theological understanding, and other contemporary exegetical techniques when the meaning of his source text is obscure or sometimes when it does not correspond to his worldview and theology. Furthermore, his stylistic improvements and the Greek vocabulary he employs indicate he is attempting to teach and persuade his readers with the words he is writing. In conclusion, I quote Palmer concerning the translator of Zechariah: “while fidelity was surely the highest aim of the translator, his translation was not made with tracing paper. It was an act of critical interpretation.”<sup>47</sup>

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46. Joshua L. Harper, “Responding to a Puzzled Scribe: The Barberini Version of Habakkuk 3 Analyzed in the Light of the Other Greek Versions” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Cambridge, 2013), 66–67, 117, 23–24.

47. Palmer, “Not Made with Tracing Paper,” 177.



# What Does the Noun ἀγνόημα Mean in Judith 5:20?\*

*Daniela Scialabba*

**Abstract:** One of the key words of the conclusion of Achior's discourse in Jdt 5:20 is the noun ἀγνόημα: if Israel were guilty of an ἀγνόημα, God would stop protecting his people. The translations of the word in recent commentaries and translations diverge considerably. Is the ἀγνόημα an oversight or a serious sin committed before God? If it were an oversight, why would God punish his people so severely? If it were a serious sin, what does it consist in? In order to answer these questions, some occurrences of the noun ἀγνόημα in the Septuagint and in nonbiblical Greek literature will be examined. Against this background, it is possible to highlight the common features shared by Jdt 5:20 and the other LXX occurrences in order to define the sense of ἀγνόημα in this verse.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In Jdt 5:20, the Ammonite official Achior concludes his discourse to Holofernes as follows: "If there is any ἀγνόημα in this people and they sin against their God ... then we can go up and defeat them." The modern translations of the Septuagint render the word ἀγνόημα in different ways: "error" (Brenton and "Biblia Griega Septuaginta"), "oversight" (NRSV), "negligence" (NETS), "colpa" (Bibbia di Gerusalemme, 2008), and "Unachtsamkeit" (Septuaginta Deutsch). No doubt these translations diverge considerably. Therefore, the question arises which criteria enable us to determine the sense or the senses of the ἀγνόημα in this quotation. If the basic meaning of this word is "ignorance" or "fault of ignorance" (see the Greek-English lexicons, e.g., LSJ), what are the Israelites supposed to not know or not to be aware of? The purpose of this paper is to shed more light on this issue against the background of Jdt 5 and other biblical and nonbiblical texts.

In the commentaries on the book of Judith of the last decades, there is not a real debate about the word and its possible meanings. Some commentators

defend the translation “fault of ignorance,” for instance, Morton S. Enslin.<sup>1</sup> However, Enslin leaves open the question whether the author of Judith alludes to cultic or legal issues. Carey A. Moore renders the word in question by “oversight,”<sup>2</sup> specifying in a note that the term has to be qualified as “sin of omission.”<sup>3</sup> However, he does not give any more explanations on the nature of this sin. Other commentators do not stress the idea of ignorance or of oversight. The Italian scholar Giuseppe Priero translates the phrase as “Se in questo popolo c’è qualche colpa” (= “if in this people there is any fault”), supposing that the ἀγνόημα has to be understood either as an ignorance of the consequences of guilt or as “culpability before God.”<sup>4</sup> Thus he admits the possibility of understanding ἀγνόημα as “wickedness, iniquity.” The Spanish commentator José Vilchez Líndez renders the term in question with “falta” (= fault), which implies a sinful action against the Lord who will no longer protect his people.<sup>5</sup> Finally, if we consult the recent lexicons of biblical Greek, we can observe that the following translations of ἀγνόημα are proposed: “fault of ignorance” or “sinful ignorance,”<sup>6</sup> “error made through ignorance with moral nuance,”<sup>7</sup> or simply “sin of ignorance.”<sup>8</sup>

Two questions remain open at this point: (1) If Israel is only guilty of an oversight, why does God stop protecting his people so that their enemies will be able to occupy the country? (2) Granted that Israel’s sin is much more than a mere oversight, what does it really consist in?

At first glance, the immediate context of Jdt 5:20 does not allow clear-cut answers. Does the word ἀγνόημα convey the idea of ignorance? Why would God then punish his people so severely? In order to answer these questions, it will prove useful to examine some occurrences of the noun ἀγνόημα in the Septuagint and in nonbiblical Greek literature, paying attention to their respective contexts. Against this background, I will try to highlight the common features shared by Jdt 5:20 and the other LXX occurrences in order to define the sense of ἀγνόημα in this verse.

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\* I wish to express my sincere thanks to Jennifer Dines (Cambridge) for reading and commenting on a first draft of this paper.

1. Morton S. Enslin, *The Book of Judith: Greek Text with English Translation, Commentary and Critical Notes* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 91–92 (footnote).

2. Carey A. Moore, *Judith. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AncB 40 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1985), 157.

3. Ibid., 161.

4. Giuseppe Priero, *Giuditta*, La Sacra Bibbia (Torino, Roma: Marietti, 1959), 56.

5. José Vilchez Líndez, *Tobías y Judit*, Nueva Biblia Española (Estella: Editorial Verbo Divino, 2000), 310.

6. LEH 6.

7. GELS 6.

8. “Pecado de ignorancia”; see Amador Ángel García Santos, *Diccionario del Griego Bíblico: Setenta y Nuevo Testamento* (Estella: Verbo Divino, 2011), 26.

## 2. THE USE OF ἀγνόημα IN THE LXX

The noun ἀγνόημα is scarcely attested in the LXX where it appears only six times. Its sense varies according to the respective context. Without any doubt, Gen 43:12 is an isolated case, ἀγνόημα meaning “error” in the sense of “oversight, inattention.”<sup>9</sup> In this verse, the noun is referring to the money that was found in the mouth of the sacks when Jacob’s sons returned the first time from Egypt. In Jacob’s view, this was probably an oversight (Gen 43:12: μήποτε ἀγνόημά ἐστιν). For this reason, and in order to avoid difficulties, Jacob recommends to his sons—who are about to leave for Egypt once more—to take double the money with them.

While in Gen 43:12 the noun ἀγνόημα refers to an unwitting, accidental omission, elsewhere in the LXX it is used in a more strictly moral sense, each time in the plural. The word appears three times, in Tob 3:3 [G I]; Sir 23:2; 1 Macc 13:39.

In the book of Tobit, the protagonist of the narrative, after having become blind, raises a heartfelt prayer invoking the mercy of God: “Do not punish me for my sins and for my errors and those of my ancestors who sinned before you” (Tob 3:3 [G I]: μή με ἐκδικήσης ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις μου καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοήμασίν μου καὶ τῶν πατέρων μου ἃ ἤμαρτον ἐνώπιόν σου). In this text, ἀγνόημα appears together with the noun ἀμαρτία and with its corresponding verb ἀμαρτάνω. Both of them, the noun ἀγνόημα and ἀμαρτάνω/ἀμαρτία, refer to the faults that Tobit or his ancestors would have committed before God and that would explain Tobit’s punishment. Hence, ἀγνόημα no doubt has a moral sense and is associated with a personal guilt. The use of ἀγνόημα in the two remaining texts is along the same lines as in Tob 3:3.

In Sir 23:2, the noun ἀγνόημα occurs once again with the parallel word ἀμάρτημα. Both nouns refer obviously to moral errors that are supposed to be committed by an individual. In a prayer addressed to God, the individual is aware of his errors, expressing the wish that his sins and errors should not be overlooked: τίς ἐπιστήσει ἐπὶ τοῦ διανοήματός μου μάστιγας καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς καρδίας μου παιδείαν σοφίας ἵνα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγνοήμασίν μου μὴ φείσωνται καὶ οὐ μὴ παρῇ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα αὐτῶν, “Who will set whips over my thoughts and discipline of wisdom over my heart so that they [= the whips] might not spare my faults and that it [= discipline] might pass not by their sins [= the sins caused by the faults].”<sup>10</sup>

9. See Marguerite Harl, *La Genèse*, La Bible d’Alexandrie 1 (Paris: Cerf, 2010), 283; Peter Prestel, Stefan Schorch, *Septuaginta Deutsch. Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, vol. I (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 47: “ein Versehen”; Natalio Fernández Marcos and María Victoria Spottorno Díaz-Caro, *El Pentateuco*, vol. 1 of *La Biblia Griega Septuaginta* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 2008), 124: “un error.”

10. Admittedly, the translation of this verse is controversial, because it is not obvious which subject corresponds to the verb παρῇ, if this form derives from παρήμι or from πάρεμι, and which is the antecedent of the final αὐτῶν. See, e.g., Johannes

From these two texts, Tob 3:3 and Sir 23:2, it follows that the noun *ἀγνόημα* might designate serious transgressions, perhaps a serious sin committed before God. In both cases, the parallel word is *ἁμαρτία* or *ἁμαρτήμα*. Moreover, the texts have in common another idea: the sinner provokes the abandonment by God (Tob 3:4) or the failure before the enemies (Sir 23:4). In other words, this kind of *ἀγνόημα* does not consist in unwitting errors, for example, in the field of cult, which would only require a sacrifice of restitution (Lev 5:18; 22:14). Rather, in these texts, *ἀγνόημα* obviously implies a real guilt. As such, it calls for forgiveness and change of conduct in order to obtain God's favor.

In a collective sense, the noun *ἀγνόημα*, in parallel with *ἁμαρτήμα*, occurs in 1 Macc 13:39, in a letter written by the Seleucid King Demetrius II Nikator to Simon, the Jewish high priest. Demetrius declares that he is willing to pardon errors and offenses committed by the Jewish people to this very day (1 Macc 13:39: *ἀφίμεν δὲ ἀγνοήματα καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας*, "we also excuse oversights and violations up to this very day").<sup>11</sup> Despite the different literary genre, 1 Macc 13:39 has at least one point in common with the concept of *ἀγνόημα* in Achior's speech in Jdt 5:20: in both quotations *ἀγνόημα* has a collective value. This is obvious in the formulation *εἰ μὲν ἔστιν ἀγνόημα ἐν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ*.

However, as is evident from the context, in Jdt 5:20 the *ἀγνόημα*, if it is really committed, would be a serious sin before God (*καὶ ἁμαρτάνουσιν εἰς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν*), even a *σκάνδαλον* (= literally: "obstacle"), which the enemies would have found out (*καὶ ἐπισκεψόμεθα ὅτι ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς σκάνδαλον τοῦτο*).<sup>12</sup> As for Israel, this sin would be able to compromise the protection by their God. For this reason, the Assyrians would take advantage of this situation and go up and make war on the Israelites (*καὶ ἀναβησόμεθα καὶ ἐκπολεμήσομεν αὐτούς*). Thus, in the description of the Jewish people that Achior gives to Holofernes, the *ἀγνόημα* of Israel is quoted as possible cause of the final victory of the Assyrians.

In conclusion, the presence of the verb *ἁμαρτάνω* as well as of the nouns *σκάνδαλον* and *ἀνομία* in the following verse Jdt 5:21 confirm that, as in the other texts quoted above, in Jdt 5:20 the term *ἀγνόημα* also designates a serious culpability before God. In order to better understand the meaning of the word, it

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Marböck, *Jesus Sirach 1–23*, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2010), 265. However, it seems clear that the verse is dealing with sins and not with unwitting oversights.

11. The expression *ἀφίμηι + ἀγνόημα + ἁμαρτήμα* reflects the technical formula of amnesty already present in documents of the Ptolemaic epoch. For this question, see Anna Passoni dell'Acqua, "La terminologia dei reati nei *προστάγματα* dei Tolemei e nella versione dei LXX," in *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology, Athens 25–31 May 1986*, vol. 2 (Athens: Greek Papyrological Society, 1988), 335–50 (348).

12. For this quotation and the meaning of *σκάνδαλον* in Jdt 5:20, see the article by Eberhard Bons in the present volume.

will be necessary to take into consideration some nonbiblical Greek texts of the Hellenistic and Roman era.

### 3. WHAT DOES ἀγνόημα MEAN IN GREEK LITERATURE AND IN THE PAPYRI?

In Classical Greek literature, the noun ἀγνόημα is not frequently attested. In Theophrastus's *Historia Plantarum*, it designates an "error" on a scientific level, in particular in the field of botany.<sup>13</sup> In the Greek of the *koiné*, some other examples of this scientific use of ἀγνόημα can be found. In short, the noun ἀγνόημα refers to factual errors, without any moral connotation. This emerges, for example, from the literary works of Plutarch. In *Superst.* 165 A 5, he considers it to be a serious error to think that vice and virtue are corporal (πάλιν οἴονται τινες εἶναι σῶμα τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν κακίαν· αἰσχροὺν ἴσως τὸ ἀγνόημα, "again some people think that virtue and vice are corporal. This piece of ignorance is disgraceful"). In the *Sermones Conviviales* 698 AB, the physician Nicias of Nicopolis raises serious objections to a certain Alcaeus who thinks that drink passes through the lungs (ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος οὕτωςι σαφῶς [ἔφη] 'γράφας διεξιέναι τὰ ποτὰ διὰ τοῦ πλεύμονος ... τὸ γὰρ ἀγνόημα μέγα, "The philosopher however wrote so plainly that what is drunk passes through the lungs.... His error is a blatant one").

In Ptolemaic Egypt, the noun ἀγνόημα belongs to legal language and indicates a crime whose nature is not specified. In particular, it appears with ἀμάρτημα in the proclamations of amnesty. This combination ἀγνόημα + ἀμάρτημα has created some problems of translation for scholars who opt for making a clear distinction between the two terms. The criterion is the degree of intentionality of the act. In this sense, ἀγνόημα would consist in a transgression committed through ignorance, while ἀμάρτημα would designate the act as wilful or intentional.<sup>14</sup>

In the first century BCE, Diodorus Siculus, designates by ἀγνόημα crimes on a historical and political level. In his *Hist.* 31.8.1, he is dealing with crimes committed by the Macedonians. Having obtained the forgiveness for their earlier errors against Rome (τετυχηκότες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον ἀγνοήμασι συγγνώμης), the Macedonians are supposed to have no more available argument for being excused for their later shortcomings (τοῖς ὕστερον ἀμαρτήμασιν).

This brief overview shows that in nonbiblical Greek ἀγνόημα can express: (1) factual errors as well as (2) serious crimes that require an official declaration

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13. See Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 9.4.8: πλὴν οὗτοί γε μείζον ἕτερον ἀγνόημα προσηγνόουν ὦντο γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δένδρου τὸν τε λιβανωτὸν γίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν σμύρναν, "However these informants were guilty of a further more important piece of ignorance; for they believed that the frankincense and the myrrh were produced by the same tree" (LCL 79, 239.241).

14. For details, see Passoni Dell'Acqua, "Terminologia dei reati," 337.

in order to be forgiven. In the light of this evidence, it is possible to emphasize the similarities between the use of *ἀγνόημα* in Jdt 5:20, the proclamations of amnesty of the Ptolemaic era, and, more specifically, the quotation by Diodorus Siculus. In fact, regardless of the question of ignorance or wilfulness, in all of these texts the noun *ἀγνόημα* refers to transgressions committed before an authority. In particular, in Diodorus Siculus, as well as in 1 Macc 13:39 and Jdt 5:20, the *ἀγνόημα* or the *ἀγνόηματα* are committed by a people. Besides the collective nature of the *ἀγνόημα*, these texts have another point in common, that is, the gravity of the offense. This might entail a severe punishment, unless the partner who suffers from the *ἀγνόημα* forgives and refrains from punishment.

In the case of Jdt 5:20, the question is not whether the Jewish people is guilty or not before a human authority, but whether it is guilty before God. Interestingly, except for 1 Macc 13:39, in the Septuagint, this element of juridical and political terminology is quite exclusively employed in religious contexts: it is not a human ruler who remits the offence and cancels its consequences, but it is God.

#### 4. THE NOUN *ἀγνόημα* IN JUDITH 5:20

In the light of the texts analyzed above, it is possible to draw some conclusions: First of all, it is beyond doubt that the use of *ἀγνόημα* in Jdt 5:20 differs from the biblical and nonbiblical texts where the noun means “oversight” or “factual error.” Such an *ἀγνόημα* has neither political consequences nor a significant importance in relationship with God. In Jdt 5:20, however, Achior probably alludes to a serious fault that would require an appropriate punishment by God: the abandonment of his people and the resulting defeat by the Assyrians. Therefore, the meaning of *ἀγνόημα* in Jdt 5:20 lies halfway between two sorts of texts: theological texts like Tob 3:3 and Sir 23:2, where the noun means “fault, guilt” toward God, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, historical texts like 1 Macc 39:51 and Diodorus Siculus, *Hist.* 31.8.1, where *ἀγνόημα* refers to transgressions or crimes committed against another people. In both of the cases, the *ἀγνόημα* would require either a severe punishment or an act of forgiveness.

One question still remains open: to which kind of crime or fault does the noun *ἀγνόημα* in Jdt 5:20 allude?<sup>15</sup> In order to answer to this question, it is useful to take into account the context, that is, Achior’s discourse. Its point of departure is Holofernes’s question who wishes to get detailed information as to the identity of the Jewish people (Jdt 5:3–4). Achior relates to the general of the Assyrian army the history of Israel from its very beginnings. According to this

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15. See also Barbara Schmitz, *Gedeutete Geschichte: Die Funktion der Reden und Gebete im Buch Judit*, HBS 40 (Freiburg: Herder, 2004), 115, who interprets the noun as “Fehler aus Unwissenheit.” However, she does not deal with the question of the nature of the *ἀγνόημα*.

description, Israel is said to have separated himself from his ancestors by adoring “the God of heaven,” the God who “they knew” (Jdt 5:8: ἐξέβησαν ἐξ ὁδοῦ τῶν γονέων αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θεῷ ᾧ ἐπέγνωσαν, “they left the way of their ancestors, and worshipped the God of heaven, the God they had come to acknowledge”). Jdt 5:8 reveals that the “knowledge” (verb ἐπιγινώσκω) of the Israelites is not at all of an intellectual or theoretical nature. It is rather a knowledge that consists in a choice of faith. This idea is corroborated by another occurrence of ἐπιγινώσκω in Jdt 9:14. In her prayer, Judith invokes the God of Israel to make all nations know that he is the only protector of Israel: καὶ ποιήσον ἐπὶ παντὸς ἔθνους σου καὶ πάσης φυλῆς ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ εἰδῆσαι ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς θεὸς πάσης δυνάμεως καὶ κράτους καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος ὑπερασπίζων τοῦ γένους Ἰσραὴλ εἰ μὴ σὺ, “and among every nation and every tribe bring about the knowledge to realize that you are God, God of power and strength, and that there is no one other than you shielding the race of Israel.” As emerges from this prayer, the faith in the god of Israel arises through an ἐπίγνωσις, a knowledge or a recognition that God himself has to bring about to the other nations by the manifestation of his power.

It is interesting to note that the words ἐπιγινώσκω and ἐπίγνωσις are used by the LXX as a kind of technical terms which designate the relationship between humans and God.<sup>16</sup> For example, in Prov 2:5 (ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ εὐρήσεις, “you will find the knowledge of God”) and in Hos 6:6 (διότι ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ ἢ ὀλοκαυτώματα, “for I want mercy and not sacrifice, and knowledge of God rather than whole burnt offerings” [NETS]), the term ἐπίγνωσις expresses the idea of acknowledgment of God or adhesion in faith to him. This concept is also present in texts where the verb appears, for example, Joel 4:16–17: ὁ δὲ κύριος φείσεται τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνισχύσει κύριος τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπιγνώσεσθε διότι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, “the Lord will spare his people, and the Lord will strengthen the children of Israel. And you shall know that I am the Lord your God” [= NETS]). Moreover, in the book of Ezekiel the verb, ἐπιγινώσκω occurs several times in a stereotyped refrain in order to denote the idea of adhesion in faith to God: ἐπιγνώσεσθε διότι ἐγὼ κύριος, “you will know that I am the Lord” (Ezek 6:14; 11:10; 11:12; 12:20; 13:14; 13:21; 14:8; 14:23; etc.).

In the light of these texts, it is evident that in Jdt 5:8 the verb ἐπιγινώσκω is used to express the relationship between Israel and his God. This appears even clearer, because in the same verse the verb προσκυνέω qualifies the conversion of Israel to the “God of heaven they had come to acknowledge.” Nevertheless, if Jdt 5:8 uses the verb ἐπιγινώσκω to express the idea of the origin of Israel’s history with his god, does ἀγνόημα in Jdt 5:20 allude to the opposite of the ἐπίγνωσις, that is, a possible unfaithfulness toward God? Is this the kind of transgression that is implied by ἀγνόημα? In order to answer to these questions, two levels of the text should be distinguished: a literal and a narrative level.

16. See the lexicons of the LXX, e.g., *GELS* 269–70.

(1) On the literal level it is evident that Achior, a pagan—or probably a “God fearer” who later will convert to Judaism (Jdt 14:10)<sup>17</sup>—, does not use technical language. As a non-Israelite, he is not expected to employ a specifically Israelite theological vocabulary, for example, ideas belonging to the Deuteronomical or prophetic traditions. Therefore, Achior neither speaks of the covenant that Israel would have forgotten (see, e.g., Deut 4:23: ἐπιλανθάνομαι + διαθήκη), nor of the divine commandments that Israel would have rejected (see, e.g., Ezek 20:13, 24) nor of idolatry that is elsewhere in the Old Testament considered to be the cause of Israel’s ruin and the victory of its enemies (e.g., Deut 4:26; 28:15). Moreover, one has to bear in mind that Achior’s speech is addressed to another pagan, Holofernes. The Assyrian general surely would not understand the real extent of Israel’s possible transgressions against God. For this reason, Achior employs a vocabulary that is understandable on the political level as well. If an ἀγνόημα is a crime or a transgression which requires an amnesty or an act of forgiveness, it is up to God to decide if he will punish Israel for a possibly serious fault.

(2) On the narrative level the Israelite reader, who already knows the texts and the vocabulary of the LXX, is able to conclude that the fault of Israel is a serious infidelity against its initial choice: the people does not worship anymore the God of heaven, the God they had come to acknowledge (Jdt 5:8). In this sense, the ἀγνόημα in Jdt 5:20 could allude to an act of “non-recognition.” Of course, Achior does not explicitly speak of idolatry or of any act of infidelity of Israel toward God. Nevertheless, the consequences of a possible ἀγνόημα and of idolatry would not be very different. Be this as it may, it should be underlined that the LXX uses a cognate word, ἄγνοια, in order to express the idea of ignorance in an absolute sense: the ignorance of the true God, characteristic of the pagan world (see, e.g., Wis 14:22; 15:11; 2 Macc 4:40; 4 Macc 1:5; 2:24).<sup>18</sup> If Israel were guilty of an ἀγνόημα with respect to its initial choice, ἐπίγνωσις, his knowledge of God would come close to the pagan ἄγνοια.

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17. On his role as a “righteous pagan” in the narrative, see Adolfo Roitman, “No One Spoke Ill of Her”: *Essays on Judith*, ed. James C. VanderKam, EJL 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 31–45, on p. 39.

18. See Rudolf Bultmann, “ἀγνοέω, ἀγνόημα, ἄγνοια,” *ThWNT* 1:116–122, esp. 119. In this sense, in the novel *Joseph and Aseneth*, the sin of ignorance (ἄγνοια) does not deal exclusively with the individual actions or with the single error, but rather, it is the root of idolatry, namely, the misrecognition of the only true God (see, e.g., Jos. Asen. 12:5; 13:11–13; 17:10; 21:15).



# On the Use of ἀλλόφυλος in the Septuagint

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**Abstract:** With the exception of the Pentateuch and Joshua, in the Septuagint the term ἀλλόφυλος is used as rendering of “the Philistines” or “Philistea.” Scholars have advanced various theories in order to explain this phenomenon, the most well-known being the one proposed by De Vaux. In his view, the use of the term “foreigners” is related to the inhabitants of Greek cities in the coastal area, foreigners who due to historical circumstances were also regarded as people representing and propagating “Hellenism.” Particular attention is paid in this essay to the way the term functions in 1 and 2 Maccabees, the result being that the notion of Hellenism is apparent in 2 Maccabees but not in 1 Maccabees. It is argued that the usage attested in the latter is of help for understanding the occurrence of ἀλλόφυλος in the LXX, except for in the Greek version of Isaiah. Notes on the Greek literature as well as on Philo and Josephus serve to underscore the fact that in LXX ἀλλόφυλος is employed in a way different from other literature, both Greek and Jewish, in Antiquity.

In the Septuagint (LXX), the term ἀλλόφυλος is used in a way different from Greek literature in general. Excepting the Pentateuch and Joshua, as well as the Greek Sirach, it functions, in nearly all instances, as rendering of “the Philistines” or “Philistia.” In this essay, I want to deal with the question of how to explain this phenomenon, which seems to be typical of the LXX because it is not attested in Jewish writings of a later date, such as those of Philo and Josephus.

## 1. GREEK LITERATURE

Though not frequently used, the term ἀλλόφυλος, conveying the meaning of “foreign, of another tribe or race, alien,” is attested in Greek literature as early as Thucydides and Aeschylus. It is mainly used to allude to men, among other things, in the context of war (Thucydides 4.92.1; 6.9.1, 23.2), but it can also

refer to a place (Aeschylus, *Eum.* l. 851: ἐς ἀλλόφυλον ... χθόνα). Its opposite is ὁμόφυλος, “of the same race or stock, akin” (e.g., Hippocrates, *De aëre* 12.31). An interesting passage in this regard is Polybius, 9.37.7: it is stated here that in the past Achaeans and Macedonians, “peoples of your own race (ὁμοφύλους),” were the rivals of Greece in the struggle for supremacy, but that Greece is now threatened with a war against “men of a foreign race” (ἀλλοφύλους ἀνθρώπους), that is, the Romans. Although in a number of cases the “foreigner” is depicted as invader and enemy, the term can also refer to foreigners in general, for example, Polybius, 23.13.2: “men of different nations and languages” (ἀνδράσιν ἀλλοφύλοις καὶ ἑτερογλώττοις). The same usage, ἀλλόφυλος in the general sense of foreigner, is also found in the Decree of Antiochus III concerning the temple and Jerusalem, as quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* 12.145): “It is unlawful for any foreigner [ἀλλοφύλῳ] to enter the enclosure of the temple.”

Foreigners are not only men of different nations and languages but also of different customs and laws (see Livius 31.29.12: *alienigenae homines plus lingua ... et legibus quam maris ... spatio discreti*). In describing the Jewish nation, Hecataeus of Abdera (ca. 300 BCE) states that, when the Jews became subject to the rule of the Persians and afterwards to that of the Macedonians, many of the traditional practices of the Jews were disturbed “as a result of their mingling with men of other nations” (ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἐπιμειξίας).<sup>1</sup>

## 2. PAPYRI AND INSCRIPTIONS

The term is attested a number of times in papyri, most of them dating to the Byzantine era. In general, it conveys the meaning of someone who is a foreigner, having a different origin and not being one of the local people (Preisigke: “ortsfremd,” “fremdstämmig”). See, for example, BGU I 34, ii, 8, 11; BGU II 411, 2; BGU II 419, 2; BGU III 858, 2, 5; P.Ant. I 33, 12; P.Mert. III 106, 1—papyri all dating to the third or fourth century.<sup>2</sup>

An early and most interesting text is P.Polit.Iud. 1 (P.Heid. Inv. G 4927), dating to 135 BCE. This papyrus refers to the Jewish community of Herakleopolis distinguishing between members of the πολίτευμα and aliens, in the sense of non-Jews: τινῶν καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ ἀλλοφύλων.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Menahem Stern, ed., *From Herodotus to Plutarchi*, vol. 1 of *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974), 27, 29.

2. For a more specific connotation in later documentary papyri (“grave-digger”), see Jean Gascou, “Les ΑΛΛΟΦΥΛΟΙ,” *REG* 110 (1997): 285–94.

3. James M. S. Cowey and Klaus Maresch, *Urkunden des Polituma der Juden von Herakleopolis (144/3-133/2 v.Chr.)(P.Polit.Iud.)*, Papyrologica Coloniensia 29 (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2001), 36.

## 3. SEPTUAGINT

The term ἀλλόφυλος does not occur in the Pentateuch<sup>4</sup> or in Joshua, but it is found in most of the remaining books of the Septuagint (LXX): Judges (MS A), 1–4 Kingdoms, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Twelve Prophets, Epistle of Jeremiah, Judith, and 1–4 Maccabees. Notably, 2 and 4 Maccabees each attest a cognate word that is not found elsewhere in LXX, nor in Greek literature in general: ἀλλοφυλέω (4 Macc 18:5) and ἀλλοφυλισμός (2 Macc 4:13; 6:24).<sup>5</sup>

In the translated books where ἀλλόφυλος occurs, it is the equivalent of “the Philistines” or “Philistia.”<sup>6</sup> LXX Isaiah is a special case, because beside instances where the reference to “Philistines” or “Philistia” is translated as ἀλλόφυλοι (2:6; 11:14; 14:29, 31), the term is also employed here as rendering of Hebrew words that are not the name of a particular people: נַכְרִים in Isa 2:6 and בְּנֵי נֹכַר in 61:5. In addition, as may be well-known, in one instance the Old Greek of Isaiah has “the Greeks (τοὺς Ἑλλήνας)” for “the Philistines” (9:12 [11]).

## 3.1. LXX USE

In places where the Philistines (or Philistia) are mentioned in the Pentateuch and Joshua, the Old Greek version offers a transcription: Φυλιστιιμ (or Φυλιστιειμ). The same is true of 1 Chron 1:12 and the Greek version of Sirach (46:18; 47:7, and 50:26).

As noted above, other LXX books offer forms of ἀλλόφυλος instead. How to explain this phenomenon? More than a century ago, Henry Redpath suggested that the translators wanted to show that the Philistines were not Semites,<sup>7</sup> but this does not explain why at some time the term ἀλλόφυλος was introduced. Isaac Seeligmann, basing himself on (the gloss in) Exod 34:15 and the use of the term in 1 and 2 Maccabees, argued that ἀλλόφυλοι refers to “the pagan populations in and around Palestine,” “who, during the religious persecution by

4. As to the gloss in LXX Exod 34:15, see John William Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Exodus*, MSU XXI (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 250.

5. The situation of the Hexaplaric versions is complex: ἀλλόφυλος seems typical of *Kaige*/Theodotian but not of *Aquila* and *Symmachus*.

6. Exceptions are Judg 8:10 (for *bene qedem*, according to MS B, which however does not represent the original Greek of Judges), and 4 Kgdm 8:28 (for “Aram”). On the complicated text history of LXX Judges, see Natalio Fernández Marcos, *Judges*, BHQ 7 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 6\*-9\*.

7. Henry A. Redpath, “The Geography of the Septuagint,” *AJTh* 7 (1903): 289–307 (301).

Antiochus Epiphanes, were hostile to the Jews.”<sup>8</sup> These pagan populations then were, as he puts it, “compulsorily converted to Judaism by the Maccabean rulers,” and incorporated into the Jewish state, the result being that they were the ones of “foreign” descent, hence the term ἀλλόφυλος. The difficulty of this thesis (“hypothèse fragile,” so Roland De Vaux<sup>9</sup>) is that the idea that foreigners were incorporated into the Jewish nation after 140 BCE is not supported by the sources such as 1 and 2 Maccabees. In a detailed contribution to the issue, including a survey of earlier proposals, De Vaux looks for a more general historical context. In the Hellenistic era, the population in the area of the Philistines, being inhabitants of Greek cities, were “foreigners.” Due to historical circumstances, these foreigners were also “les représentants et les propagateurs de l’hellénisme.”<sup>10</sup> In support of this “nuance particulière,” De Vaux points to 2 Maccabees where the “foreigners” are the ones who have polluted the temple (10:2, 5) and where the term ἀλλοφυλισμός is found parallel to Ἑλληνισμός (4:13). This focus on Hellenism is shared by recent scholarship.<sup>11</sup> Michel Lestienne, for example, considers the time in which the Jews attempted to maintain their “identité raciale et religieuse” against Hellenism in the second century BCE to be the historical background of the term used.<sup>12</sup>

### 3.2. FIRST AND SECOND MACCABEES

As may be clear from the above, 1 and 2 Maccabees are important, because they may shed light on the use of ἀλλόφυλος in relation to events of their time. It therefore seems appropriate to pay attention to the usage of this term in these books in order to see whether the way the term is employed here may help us understand its presence in the LXX. As we will see, although the notion of “Hellenism” is apparent it actually is only part of the picture.

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8. Isaac L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems*, MVEOL (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 87.

9. Roland de Vaux, “Les Philistins dans la Septante,” in *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch: Beiträge zur Septuaginta; Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler*, ed. Josef Schreiner, FB 1 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1972), 185–94 (191).

10. *Ibid.*, 192.

11. Siegfried Kreuzer and Jürgen Kabiersch and Thomas Schmeller, “Kritai / Iudicum / Das Buch der Richter,” in *Genesis bis Makkabäeri*, vol. 1 of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 665; Rodrigo de Sousa, “The Land is Full of Foreign Children: Language and Ideology in LXX Isa 2.6,” in *Studies on the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon*, ed. Geoffrey Khan and Diana Lipton, VTSup 149 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 189.

12. Bernhard Grillet and Michel Lestienne, *Première livre des Règnes*, La Bible d’Alexandrie 9,1 (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 75.

In 1 Maccabees, the term occurs first of all in the phrase γῆ ἀλλοφύλων, which refers to the coastal region where the Philistines once lived (3:41; 4:22; 5:66, 68; but note γῆ Φυλιστιμ in 3:24). It is to be noted, however, that it is also employed in connexion with Galilee (Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων) in 5:15. Beside this geographical usage, the term refers in a number of instances to the large (Seleucid) armies of the enemies of the time: Gorgias's army in 4:12, 26, and Demetrius's in 11:68, 74. As to the battle between Gorgias and Judas (Maccabaeus), an interesting passage is found in 4:30. Before the battle started, Judas prayed thus:

All praise to you, Saviour of Israel, who by the hand of your servant David broke the giant's onslaught and who delivered the army of the ἀλλοφύλων into the hands of Jonathan, Saul's son.... Now let this army be hemmed in by the power of your people Israel.

The enemies of Israel in the Hellenistic period, in the time after 164 BC, are seen here by analogy with the Philistines in the time of Saul and David. Thus, in 1 Maccabees the use of ἀλλόφυλος, being related first of all to the coastal area of the (former) Philistines, is marked by the notion of "foreigners" who, like the former Philistines, acted as enemies. This usage reminds one of passages from Polybius, quoted above.

The picture presented by 2 Maccabees, on the other hand, is different, because the term is related here to the notion of foreign customs that were regarded a threat to Jewish religion and culture. The word is used in connexion with the profanation of the holy temple only: 10:2, 5 (v. 5: ὁ νεὼς ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων ἐβεβηλώθη). This is in line with the two occurrences of the related term ἀλλοφυλισμός, which has to do with the introduction of foreign customs (4:13, see also v. 11) and apostasy (6:24). Significantly, in 4:13 the adoption of foreign customs is referred to as Ἑλληνισμός, "Hellenism."

While a reference to hostile foreigners/nations in 1 Maccabees, the emphasis in 2 Maccabees is on the sensitive matter of adopting foreign customs. According to this writing, the sanctuary was profaned "by foreigners," a view not shared by 1 Macc 1-2 (employing ἀλλότριοι and ἔθνη instead). This difference as to the usage of the term under discussion needs not surprise us since it fits in with a difference between the two books that has been noted by scholars: unlike 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees is characterized by "an ideological conflict between Hellenism and Judaism."<sup>13</sup>

To add a note on 3 and 4 Maccabees, it is interesting to see that the latter contains both usages: about David attacking the "foreigners" (Philistines) in 3:7, on the one hand, and about Antiochus IV as the one who tried to compel the

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13. Malka Zeiger Simkovich, "Greek Influence on the Composition of 2 Maccabees," *JSJ* 42 (2011): 295–310 (300, n. 15).

Israelites “to adopt foreign customs (ἀλλοφυλῆσαι)” in 18:5, on the other. The verb ἀλλοφυλέω and its meaning is clearly based on ἀλλοφυλισμός in 2 Maccabees. Third Maccabees, on the other hand, seems to testify to yet another usage, because in 3:6 the term refers to group of people in Egypt, called “foreigners” (not to be equated with “the Greeks” in Alexandria), who were chattering about the differences in worship and diet, alleging the Jews to be men unsociable and hostile to the king’s interests.

### 3.3. LXX USE AGAIN

Does all this help us understand the presence of ἀλλόφυλος in the translated books of the LXX? Which option might shed light on the books of LXX, the idea of “foreigners” in the sense of enemies (1 Maccabees) or of “foreigners” evoking the notion of foreign customs being regarded a threat to Jewish religion (2 Maccabees)? The former seems to fit with the usage of the term in books such as Judges, 1-4 Kingdoms, 1-2 Chronicles; all contain stories about the “foreigners” (Philistines) presented as enemies of Israel. If so, ἀλλόφυλος was employed to evoke the idea that, in line with 1 Macc 4:30, the stories about the past were of great significance for the struggle for freedom in the present.

The notion of hostile “foreigners” also applies to other books of the LXX. An interesting case is to be found in LXX Twelve Prophets because Joel 3(4):4 refers to Tyre, Sidon, and “Galilee of the foreigners” accusing them for their hostility towards Israel. It is of note that the expression used in this passage—“Galilee of the foreigners”—also occurs in 1 Maccabees (5:15). This parallel is the more interesting since the term ἀλλόφυλος is used here for “foreigners” supposed to live outside the coastal region of the (former) Philistines.

As noted above, the book of Isaiah differs from the other books, because here ἀλλόφυλος is not (yet) employed as equivalent of Philistines/Philistia only. The instances where this is the case (2:6a; 11:14; 14:29, 31) seem to refer to “foreigners” living in the coastal area and having different customs (cf. 2:6). In 61:5 (ἀλλόφυλοι will come and serve Israel as “ploughmen and vinedressers”), however, the term, based on בני נכר in the Hebrew, testifies to a more general and neutral usage (see ἀλλογενής in the same verse) in line with Greek literature of the time. Interestingly, in the only place where the Philistines are depicted as enemies (9:11), LXX offers the rendering “the Greeks.” So this book does not reflect a usage in line with 1 Maccabees. The passage of 2:6, on the other hand, reminds one of the focus typical of 2 Maccabees, but the neutral usage of the term in 61:5 would be unthinkable for the author of that book.

It may well be that the use of ἀλλόφυλος for Philistines/Philistia in LXX Isaiah was due to the fact that at that time the coastal area constituted a region of Hellenistic cities, which from a Jewish perspective were inhabited by “foreigners.” The Philistines were known as people of a different race (see

Gen 10:14; Amos 9:7), but since they had disappeared from the scene (see Eupolemus [ca. 150 BCE], who in his retelling of the wars waged by David does not refer to them!), one can imagine that it was thought appropriate to modernize the reference. The resemblance between φυλιστιμ and αλλοφυλος may have added to the choice made.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps ἀλλόφυλος as rendering of “Philistines/Philistea” started with LXX Isaiah, because unlike the other books its usage is not yet limited to places about Philistines or Philistea, and was then followed by other books. Be that as it may, in these other books the term conveys, mainly, the notion of “enemy,” in line with the overtone that is typical of 1 Maccabees.<sup>15</sup> In being a generic term, it seems to serve, particularly so in the historical books, the analogy between the Philistines in the time of Saul and David, on the one hand, and the “enemies,” the Seleucid armies, on the other (see 1 Macc 4:30).

But what about the issue of “Hellenism”? Second Maccabees, being marked by an ideological conflict between Hellenism and Judaism, is the only book (but see also 4 Maccabees) that clearly reflects the idea that Hellenism, in the sense of the adoption of foreign customs and laws, was regarded as a threat to Jewish religion and culture. Although the term refers in LXX Isaiah to foreigners having different customs (2:6),<sup>16</sup> there is no evidence that would justify the idea that the term is understood in the LXX in an anti-Hellenistic sense, as is the case in 2 Maccabees.

#### 4. PHILO AND JOSEPHUS

At the end of this essay, a note on the occurrence of ἀλλόφυλος in the writings of Philo and Josephus may be in order. The former uses the word a few times only. In a passage about Jamnia (*Legat.* 200), we are told that this city is “inhabited by a mixture of people, the majority being Jews with some others of alien races [ἕτεροι δὲ τινες ἀλλόφυλοι].” The latter are said to be “new settlers,” having made “themselves a pest and a nuisance to those who are in a sense indigenous [αὐθιγενέσιν] by perpetually subverting some part of the institutions of the Jews.” Another passage (*Legat.* 211) records that Jews welcome “those of other races [ἀλλοφύλους] who pay homage to them” as they welcome their own countrymen/members of their own community (πολιτῶν), while hating them “who either break them down or mock at them.”

Josephus employs the term in the general sense of “foreigner” or “alien.” The plural can refer to hostile people (*Ant.* 12.336) but is often used in a more neutral sense, for example, relating to marriages with foreigners (*Ant.* 11.150,

14. For this suggestion, see Emanuel Tov, “Three Dimensions of LXX Words,” *RB* 83 (1976): 529–44 (542, see note)

15. As for LXX Psalms, see also Ps 151:6.

16. Compare also Ep Jer 4.

307), in this and other cases implying the notion of ethnic identity of the Jews. The latter themselves can also be referred to as “foreigners,” so in *J.W.* 1.27 (from a Roman perspective; see *J.W.* 1.16, where Josephus presents himself as “foreigner”). In this last example, the word is used opposite to ὁμόφυλος, whereas in other instances it stands in contrast to ἐπιχώριος (*J.W.* 1.229; 2.64). Although referring to members of another ethnic identity, the term can also denote foreigners or aliens who honour the temple (*J.W.* 4.262) or those who worship in Jerusalem (*J.W.* 4.275).

All in all, these Jewish writings underscore the fact that the use of ἀλλόφυλος in the LXX being a feature typical of most of its books is not in line with its usage as attested in Greek literature or in Jewish literature such as the writings of Philo and Josephus. Notably, in his retelling of the stories about Saul and David found in 1–2 Samuel (1–2 Kingdoms), in referring to the Philistines, Josephus never uses the term ἀλλόφυλος but employs the phrase οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι (cf. ἡ Παλαιστίνη [χώρα]). It is worthwhile to note in this regard that like Josephus (though unlike *Kaige/Theodotion*) the versions of Aquila and Symmachus do not testify to the equivalent under discussion but offer οἱ Φυλιστιαῖοι instead. As far as the LXX is concerned, the use of ἀλλόφυλος seems to be related to the time the Jews in Palestine were under Seleucid rule, more in particular to the period after 164 BCE, which would explain why it is not attested in books produced at an earlier date—the Greek Pentateuch and LXX Joshua.



# A Semantic Investigation of Desire in 4 Maccabees and Its Bearing on Romans 7:7<sup>1</sup>

Andrew Bowden

Abstract: Paul's reference to desire in Rom 7:7 (οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις) is often recognized as bearing striking similarity to 4 Macc 2:5, where the identical phrase appears. Aside from casual, surface remarks from interpreters of Romans, the possible significance of this shared phrase and an examination of ἐπιθυμία in 4 Maccabees have yet to be carried out. This paper, therefore, looks at how ἐπιθυμία functions in the argument and context of 4 Maccabees as a whole. Such an analysis illumines the structure and goals of 4 Maccabees and provides a helpful basis for recognizing unique aspects of Paul's own use of the terminology in Romans.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Scholars are faced with numerous challenges when interpreting Rom 7, including the fact that this chapter contains "the majority of Paul's teaching on the law" and the hotly debated identity of the "Ego."<sup>2</sup> The interpretive spotlight is rightly turned

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1. First presented as a paper entitled "*Ouk epithymēseis*: Examining the Role of Desire in 4 Maccabees and Its Significance for the Interpretation of Romans 7:7" in the summer of 2013, first at the New Testament Kolloquium of the Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät of Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München and then at the International Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. I am thankful for the insightful feedback I received, which has further enhanced this analysis.

2. On the law in Rom 7, see Joseph Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 33 (New York: Doubleday), 455. For a discussion of the Ego, see Werner G. Kümmel, *Römer 7 und das Bild des Menschen im Neuen Testament*, Zwei Studien, TB 53 (Munich: Kaiser, 1974); Stanislas Lyonnet, "'Tu ne convoiteras pas' (Rom VII, 7)" in *Neotestamentica et Patristica: Eine Freundsgabe, Herrn*

towards such looming issues but often at the cost of overlooking details that might be hiding in the shadows. One such detail that has received surprisingly little attention is Paul's abbreviated reference to the Tenth Commandment, *οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις* (Rom 7:7). Most interpreters simply observe that 4 Maccabees also cites this commandment and then refer to Friedrich Büchsel's article on desire.<sup>3</sup> A focused analysis, however, comparing the two authors' views on desire, their shared reference to the Tenth Commandment, or even the role of desire in the overall scheme of 4 Maccabees has yet to be undertaken. In this paper, therefore, we will take a detailed look at *ἐπιθυμία* in 4 Maccabees and then ask what relevance this might have for *ἐπιθυμία* in Paul. We will conclude that despite having different theological views related to desire, the authors display significant semantic parallels in their use of desire. For each author, *ἐπιθυμία* belongs to a semantic field where rule and mastery is in focus. Grasping the parameters of this semantic field within the context of 4 Maccabees has the potential to illumine our understanding of Paul's own discussion of *ἐπιθυμία*.

## 2. A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF SEMANTIC THEORY

A lengthy description of semantic theory is beyond the scope of this paper. A brief overview, however, will help clarify the goals of such a semantic investigation. John Lyons has been instrumental in developing what is known as "descriptive semantics,"<sup>4</sup> a method that aims to describe the use of lexemes and expressions and to portray the web of relations with which they are connected. According to Lyons, this approach "takes the view that the meaning of any linguistic unit is determined by the ... relations which hold between that unit and other linguistic units in a language system. Lexemes and other units that are semantically related ... within a given language-system can be said to belong to, or to be members of, the same (semantic) field."<sup>5</sup> Linguists have shown that lexemes are often encountered in clusters because of the way knowledge is stored in human memory. This knowledge, rather than being stored in isolated,

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*Professor Dr. Oscar Cullmann zu seinem 60 Geburtstag überreicht*, ed. W.C. van Unnik, NovTSup 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1962), 157–65; Jan Lambrecht, *The Wretched "I" and Its Liberation: Paul in Romans 7 and 8* (Louvain: Peeters, 1992), Hermann Lichtenberger, *Das Ich Adams und das Ich der Menschheit: Studien zum Menschenbild in Römer 7*, WUNT 164 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

3. Friedrich Büchsel, "θυμός κτλ.," *TWNT* 3:167–73. See, for example, Jewett's recent discussion of this passage, which relies primarily on Büchsel's article (*Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007], 447–48).

4. John Lyons, *Semantics*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

5. *Ibid.*, 1:268.

fragmented pieces, is stored in the memory as structured units that are organized into subsets termed “schemata,” “frames,” and “scripts.”<sup>6</sup>

This brief overview of semantic theory provides us with a tool for analyzing the term ἐπιθυμία in 4 Maccabees and Paul. We are prepared to identify other related lexemes and the semantic frame that triggers the discussion of these lexemes in the first place.<sup>7</sup>

### 3. THE STRUCTURE OF 4 MACCABEES

A semantic analysis of ἐπιθυμία in 4 Maccabees is faced with several immediate questions. How is ἐπιθυμία related to the concept of passions? Why is ἐπιθυμία so prevalent in first three chapters and then absent from the remainder of the discourse (with the one exception of 5:23)? What is the significance of the citation of the Tenth Commandment forbidding desire? A first step towards answering these questions can be made by grasping the structure of the discourse.<sup>8</sup>

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6. Thus, one might speak of a “bus” schemata that perhaps contains actors (drivers / passengers), goals, consequences, geographic routes, the physical nature of buses, social status, attitudes towards public transit, etc. (T.A. van Dijk and W. Kintsch, *Strategies of Discourse Comprehension* [New York: Academic Press, 1983], 48).

7. It is important to note that this method of semantic analysis examines how lexemes were used within a specific language by a specific culture at a specific time. Thus, comparing the use of ἐπιθυμία in 4 Maccabees and Paul makes the question regarding the dating of 4 Maccabees relevant. Scholars are divided on the date of 4 Maccabees; possible dates range from 63 BCE–135 CE (on the early date, see H. Anderson, “4 Maccabees,” in *OTP*, ed. J. Charlesworth [New York: Doubleday], 2:534; on the late date, see Douglas A. Campbell, *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3:21–26*, JSNTSup 65 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1992], 221–28. Elias Bickerman (“The Date of 4 Maccabees,” in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, 3 vols., AGJU 9 [Leiden: Brill], 276–77) has suggested a date of composition from between 19–54 CE, which has convinced scholars such as Moses Hadas (*The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees* [New York: Harper & Row, 1953]) and David A. deSilva (*4 Maccabees* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998], 18). Several scholars remain skeptical of Bickerman’s thesis and opt instead for a later date—somewhere in the early second century CE. Among these are Jan Willem van Henten (“Datierung und Herkunft des vierten Makkabäerbuches,” in *Tradition and Re-interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of J. C. H. Lebram*, ed. J. W. van Henten et al.; [Leiden: Brill], 137–45), André Dupont-Sommer (*Les Quatrième Livre des Machabées* [Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1939], 75–81), Urs Breitenstein (*Beobachtungen zu Sprache, Stil und Gedankengut des Vierten Makkabäerbuches* [Basel: Schwabe, 1978], 173–75), and John Barclay (*Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan* [323 BCE–117 CE] [Edinburgh: Clark, 1996], 169–80).

8. In the process of this analysis, we hope to offer a partial solution to Hans-Josef Klauck’s observation: “4 Makk wird in der Exegese meist zu inhaltlichen Fragen wie Sühnopfervorstellung, Martyriumstheologie oder individuelle Eschatologie herange-

Two passages in 4 Maccabees prove extremely helpful in deciphering the text's overall structure and flow. The first is the opening exordium (1:1–12). Verses 7–11 are particularly illuminating for the flow of the discourse. Here, the author expresses his<sup>9</sup> wish to focus primarily on the Jewish martyrs' manliness<sup>10</sup> and endurance (*ἀνδρεία καὶ ὑπομονή*). First, however, the author recognizes the need to define terminology (1:13ff.). Thus, 1:1–12 introduces the reader to the thesis that reason masters the passions and tells the reader that the martyr-narrative will be the primary demonstration of this thesis, thereby preparing the reader for the narrative that dominates chapters 4 to the conclusion in 18.

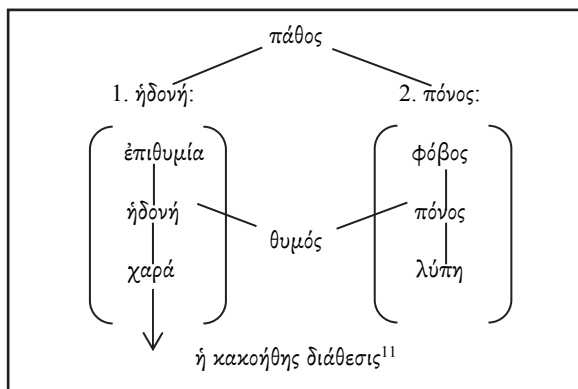


Figure 1: Passions in 1:20–28

zogen. Mindestens ebenso wichtig wäre ein Vergleich der literarischen Techniken: Erzählführung, Personenschilderung, Dialogregie, Neuschöpfung von direkten Reden, bis hin zur Wortwahl und zum Metapherngebrauch.... Aber diese Arbeit bleibt weithin erst noch zu tun" ("Hellenistische Rhetorik im Diasporajudentum: Das Exordium des vierten Makkabäerbuches [4 Makk 1:1–12]," *NTS* 35 [1989]: 464–65).

9. I use the word "his" here cautiously since the author of 4 Maccabees is unknown. Throughout this article, I have consciously sought to refer neutrally to "the author of 4 Maccabees" as much as possible. For a helpful overview of authorship, see Hadas, *Maccabees*, 113–15, who explains, "Considerations of style and of religious outlook put Josephus completely out of the question, though most of our manuscripts bear his name and title" (114).

10. Stephen D. Moore and Janice C. Anderson ("Taking it Like a Man: Masculinity in 4 Maccabees," *JBL* 117 [1998]: 249–73 [250]) note that mastery of oneself and others is to be seen as the "definitive masculine trait" by the ancients. They then explain (253), "It is not too much to suggest that built into the language itself was the notion that to act courageously was to act as befits a man. Thus, courage was conceived of as essentially a masculine virtue.... As much as anything else, 4 Maccabees is about what it means to be a true man."

11. Dupont-Sumner argues that *ἡ κακοήθης διάθεσις* here refers assuredly to the Jewish idea of *יצר הרע* (*Machabées*, 51).

The second clue about the discourse's structure is found in 1:15–30a, where the author defines reason (1:15–19) and then passion (1:20–30). The author hopes to learn how many forms and appearances passion assumes (πόσαι παθῶν ιδέαι) (1:14). Passions, although numerous, can be classified into two major categories: pleasure and pain (ἡδονή τε καὶ πόνος) (1:20).<sup>12</sup> These two overarching categories for the passions contain many subpassions (1:21). Thus, before pleasure comes ἐπιθυμία, and after pleasure comes χαρά (1:23). Similarly, before pain comes φόβος, and after pain comes λύπη (1:24). Common to both pleasure and pain is the passion of θυμός (1:24). Located in pleasure is the passion of a malicious disposition (ἡ κακοήθης διάθεσις) (1:25). Such a description of the passions may be depicted as seen in figure 1 above.<sup>13</sup>

These observations bring clarity to the question of structure in 4 Maccabees. The discourse is structured around ἡδονή and πόνος—passion's two broad categories. First, the various ἡδονή are discussed (1:30b–3:18), so that the author can then focus exclusively on the passion of πόνος in the martyr accounts, which was the goal from the beginning (see 1:8–11).<sup>14</sup> Based on this categorization of passions and the corresponding structure of the discourse, the following outline presents itself:

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12. David A. DeSilva (*4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary on the Greek Text in Codex Sinaiticus*, Septuagint Commentary Series [Leiden: Brill, 2006], 87) notes that Aristotle also categorized the passions in the two broad categories of “pleasure and pain.” See, further, David E. Aune, who clarifies the ways in which 4 Maccabees's classification of passions is unique (“The Mastery of the Passions: Philo, 4 Maccabees and Earliest Christianity,” in *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response Within the Greco-Roman World*, ed. W. Helleman [Lanham: University Press of American, 1994], 135).

13. After constructing this diagram, I discovered that Klauck diagrammed the description of these passions in a very similar manner (*4 Makkabäerbuch*, JSJZ 3.6; [Gütersloh: Mohn, 1989], 691 n. 20).

14. Contra van Henten: “One could consider the first part of the treatise a discourse on the autonomy of devout reason and the second part a eulogy” (*The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviors of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees* [Leiden: Brill], 63). I argue instead that the whole work is a discourse on the autonomy of reason over the passions, first over pleasure, then over pain. The discourse is commonly recognized to consist of two broad sections (1:1–3:18 and 3:19–18:24)—deSilva explains that “scholars are in essential agreement about the structure of the discourse” (*4 Maccabees*, 25). What is unique, however, in the outline above is the identification of how the twofold division of the passions serves as the structuring device for the discourse as a whole. DeSilva (*4 Maccabees*, 25), for example, follows Klauck's lead (*4 Makkabäerbuch*, 652) in labeling the first section “specific examples from Israel's law.” Dupont-Sommer (*Machabées*, 19) and Breitenstein (*Beobachtungen*, 148–51) see little to no connection between the sections.

- I. Exordium (1:1–12) Thesis and intro to reason and passions
- II. Definitions (1:13–30a)
  - a. Definition of reason (1:15–19)
  - b. Definition of passion: (1:20–30a)
    - i. ἡδονή (includes ἐπιθυμία, ἡ κακοήθης διάθεσις, and θυμός)
    - ii. πόνος
- III. ἡδονή: Reason masters the pleasure-passions (1:30b–3:18)
  - A. Reason masters all the pleasure-passions (1:30b–2:23)
    - a. Reason masters ἐπιθυμία (1:30b–2:6a)
    - b. Reason masters κακοηθεία (2:6b–9a)
    - c. Reason masters affection for loved-ones and enemies (2:9b–14)
    - b<sup>1</sup>. Reason masters ἡ κακοήθης διάθεσις (2:15–16a)
    - a<sup>1</sup>. Reason masters θυμός (2:16b–23)
  - B. How reason deals with the pleasure-passions (2:24–3:18)
    - a. Reason does not uproot, but rather opposes the passions (2:24–3:5)
    - b. Example: How reason overcame David's ἐπιθυμία for water (3:6–18)
- IV. πόνος: Reason masters the pain-passions (3:19–18:24)

This outline provides a helpful overview and context for discussing ἐπιθυμία in 4 Maccabees. Such an outline highlights the passages where ἐπιθυμία is central as well as other lexemes that are connected with it. With this in mind, we are now ready to examine the specific passages where ἐπιθυμία is in focus.

#### 4. ANALYSIS OF ἘΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ IN 4 MACCABEES

##### 4.1. ἘΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ IN THE EXORDIUM (1:1–12)

The author's expressed purpose is to examine whether godly reason is master over the passions (εἰ αὐτοδέσποτός ἐστιν τῶν παθῶν ὁ εὐσεβῆς λογισμός) (1:1). The author shows that there are various kinds of passions, including those that hinder self-control (τῶν σωφροσύνης κωλυτικῶν παθῶν) (1:3), those that hinder righteousness (τῶν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐμποδιστικῶν παθῶν) (1:4), and those that hinder manliness (τῶν τῆς ἀνδρείας ἐμποδιστικῶν παθῶν) (1:4). The first category—self-control (σωφροσύνη)—evokes the mention of ἐπιθυμία (as it will throughout). Ἐπιθυμία is the passion hindering self-control, while righteousness is impeded by κακοηθείας (v. 4) and manliness by θυμοῦ τε καὶ φόβου καὶ πόνου (v. 4). These three categories of reason—self-control, righteousness, and manliness—are repeated again in 1:6 and surface as a triad throughout the discourse. Foundational in the author's mind is the way that reason handles the passions that oppose these three categories. Reason does not destroy them, but rather helps one not to give in to them (οὐχ ὥστε αὐτὰ καταλύσαι, ἀλλ' ὥστε αὐτοῖς μὴ εἰῆσαι) (1:6).

The exordium thus shows that reason does indeed rule over the passions that interfere with these three subcategories of virtue (righteousness, manliness, self-control, v. 6). Ἐπιθυμία is one specific passion over which reason rules. It tends to hinder self-control (v. 3), while other passions hinder righteousness and manliness. Finally, these opening verses show the importance of the lexemes for ruling and mastery, which include αὐτοδέσποτος (1:1), ἐπικρατεῖν (1:3), κρατεῖ (1:5, 6), δεσπόζει (1:5), αὐτοκράτωρ (1:7), περικρατεῖ (1:9). Passions in general and ἐπιθυμία in particular must be mastered.

#### 4.2. DEFINITIONS OF REASON AND PASSION (1:13–30A)

We have already looked at this section in discussing the structure. Therefore, our observations at this point can be somewhat brief. Following the description of reason and her subcategories (1:15–18), the passions are defined (1:19) (see figure 1). Several observations can be drawn from these verses that relate to ἐπιθυμία. First, according to the author ἐπιθυμία belongs to the overarching category of pleasure. Ἐπιθυμία precedes the pleasure-passions and is therefore connected with the passions that fall under this category, including the so-called “malicious tendency.” Second, ἐπιθυμία is parallel in a sense to φόβος: whereas ἐπιθυμία precedes pleasure, φόβος precedes pain. Both are preliminary to their respective categories. Finally, the theme of ruling/mastery is quite central to this discussion about ἐπιθυμία. Reason is absolute master of the passions, which include ἐπιθυμία (1:19).

#### 4.3. ἘΠΙΘΥΜΙΑΙ OF THE BODY ARE MASTERED BY REASON (1:30B–35)

At this point in the discourse, passion and reason have been defined and each is seen to consist of specific subcategories. The author now identifies the specific passions that hinder the various branches of reason.

The author begins in 1:30b by identifying the passion that hinders σωφροσύνη (διὰ τῶν κωλυτικῶν τῆς σωφροσύνης ἔργων).<sup>15</sup> The threat to σωφροσύνη is said to be ἐπιθυμία, as was also mentioned in the exordium (1:3). Reason masters the desires (ἐπικράτεια τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν) (1:31), whether they are of the body or soul (αἱ μὲν εἰσιν ψυχικαί, αἱ δὲ σωματικαί) (1:32). Mastery over the physical ἐπιθυμία is demonstrated within the context of food. The author speaks of being drawn towards forbidden foods (κινούμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἀπειρημένας τροφάς), yet nevertheless turning away from their pleasure (ἀποστρεφόμεθα τὰς

15. I side with Hadas (*Maccabees*, 151) in translating v. 30 “through acts that hinder self-control” over the alternative “through the restraining deeds of self-control” (preferred by deSilva, *Introduction and Commentary*, 7, NETS, NRSV, and Anderson, “4 Maccabees,” 545). I prefer Hadas’s translation due to the similar language of 1:3 and 2:6, where the author clearly thinks of passions that hinder soundness of mind.

ἐξ αὐτῶν ἡδονάς) (1:33). Whereas in verse 32 the author explained that reason mastered ἐπιθυμία, in verse 33 he restates this thesis but substitutes ἐπιθυμία with ὀρέξεις.<sup>16</sup> These desires are then described in verse 35 as τὰ τῶν ὀρέξεων πάθη. Self-control keeps these in check (ἀνέχεται, ἀνακοπτόμενα) (1:35) and muzzles all the motions of the body (καὶ φιμοῦται πάντα τὰ τοῦ σώματος κινήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ λογισμοῦ) (1:35). Yet again, reason masters the desires not by uprooting them or destroying them, but rather by not turning aside (ἀποστρέφω) (1:33), by abstaining (ἀπέχω), withholding (ἀνέχω), and pushing back desire (ἀνακόπτω).

#### 4.4. ἘΠΙΘΥΜΙΑΙ OF THE SOUL ARE MASTERED BY REASON (2:1–6A)

Having shown reason's mastery over bodily ἐπιθυμιαί, the discussion then focuses on mastery over the soul's desires (αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμιαί) (2:1). Bodily desires evoked the mention of food; desires of the soul evoke a sexual context.<sup>17</sup> Specifically, ἐπιθυμία towards union with beauty is set aside (ἀκυροῦνται) (2:1), as in the case of σώφρων Joseph, who by means of the mind mastered the pleasurable-passion (περικράτησεν τῆς ἡδυπαθείας) (2:2). Although in his prime, he swatted aside the buzzing gad-fly of the passions (ἡκύρωσε τῷ λογισμῷ τὸν τῶν παθῶν οἴστρον) (2:3). But reason not only masters these pleasurable passions but masters πάσης ἐπιθυμίας (2:4). This complete mastery is accomplished through the law, which commands Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου οὐδὲ ὅσα τῷ πλησίον σου ἐστίν (2:5). Since the law has forbidden ἐπιθυμία, this proves that reason truly is master over desire (2:6a).<sup>18</sup> Yet again, desire is not to be destroyed, but rather rendered powerless and without authority (ἀκυρώω) (2:1, 3).

16. Compare: τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν ... ἐπικρατεῖν ὁ λογισμὸς φαίνεται (1:32) and τῶν ὀρέξεων ἐπικρατεῖν ὁ λογισμὸς (1:33).

17. Unlike Aristotle, who considered sexual desire a desire of the body (*Rhet.* 2.12.3), here the author considers sexual desires to be desires of the soul (DeSilva, *Introduction and Commentary*, 94).

18. DeSilva argues that since this command forbidding desire in 2:5–6 is the only commandment from the Decalogue that the author cites, that this gives the command particular prominence in 4 Maccabees (*Introduction and Commentary*, 95). It should be noted, however, that although in 2:6 the Tenth Commandment is explicitly quoted, this does not mean the law is not referenced regularly. Paul L. Redditt explains that the law is referenced forty times in the discourse ("The Concept of Nomos in Fourth Maccabees," *CBQ* 45 [1983]: 250) and that several prohibitions are "noted in 4 Maccabees, especially the dietary prohibitions (1:34)" (p. 253). Redditt concludes that law functions in five ways in 4 Maccabees: (1) to teach Jewish culture, (2) to enable rational living, (3) to encourage faithful perseverance in persecution, (4) to condemn or justify people for their behavior, and (5) to give commands for right living. Redditt concludes that "nomos is seen as the pedagogue for rational living" (254).



## 4.5. REASON'S MASTERY OVER OTHER PLEASURE-PASSIONS (2:6B–23)

Unfortunately, space forbids a full discussion of these paragraphs. Significantly, however, the author sums up the discussion of the passions. Human passions (and inclinations, τὰ πάθη αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἥθη) were implanted at the time of creation (ὅπηνίκα γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατεσκεύασεν ... περιεφύτευσεν) (2:21). This idea of the implanted passions is alluded to regularly in the discourse.<sup>19</sup> Since passions are implanted by God, they are by no means evil. God not only gave humans their passions but at the same time enthroned the mind as the sacred governor over these passions (ἡνίκα δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων τὸν ἱερόν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητήριων ἐνεθρόνισεν) (2:22). Given the repeated terminology in the discourse for rule and mastery, such language is significant: the mind, not the passions, is the ruling governor, sitting on the throne by God's own decree. The next verse adds to the picture, saying that for this function God equipped the mind with the law so that those committed to it rule a kingdom (καθ' ὃν πολιτευόμενος βασιλεύσει βασιλείαν). To rule wisely, the mind has law as its aid, and those who live by law are rulers over kingdoms—subject to none. The foreshadowing here cannot be missed. The reader is prompted to ask, are such law-abiders really rulers? What about when they are faced with the most powerful tyrant in the land?

## 4.6. HOW REASON HANDLES THE PASSIONS (2:24–3:5)

Given the profound statement that by reason one rules a kingdom, the author then responds to possible objections. The purpose in these next paragraphs is to prove that ruling over passion does not mean excising passion. The argument contains striking parallelism (3:2–4). Once again, ἐπιθυμία, ἡ κακοῦθης διάθεσις (or κακοῦθεια), and θυμός are compared. None of these passions can be uprooted (ἐκκόψαι; note the lexeme's threefold repetition).<sup>20</sup> Of great importance for our

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19. As has been noted, 1:20 used garden terminology by saying that pleasure and pain are “planted” in both body and soul, and 1:28 said that both pleasure and pain are plants that send out many offshoots. 13:19 calls brotherly affection something that the divine foreknowledge wisely planted in the womb. Several authors comment on the author's “elaborate metaphors” (e.g., Hadas, *Maccabees*, 150). Dupont-Sommer attributes the plant metaphors to Aristotelian thought, rather than Stoic (*Machabées*, 50). DeSilva explains, “The image of the passions ‘springing up’ belongs to the larger family of agricultural images that serve the author so well ... (see also 1:28–29, 2:21)” (*Introduction and Commentary*, 87). DeSilva refers to many other moralists who referred to gardening images in their discussion of the passions, such as Plutarch, Philo, who mentions bearing fruit, and Cicero (91).

20. In contrast to those who say that 4 Maccabees rejected early Stoicism in favor of Platonism, Aune (“Mastery,” 136) argues that the views expressed here have much in

investigation of ἐπιθυμία is the statement that reason keeps one from being enslaved (δουλωθῆναι) to ἐπιθυμία. Thus, if mastery over the passions (which include ἐπιθυμία) is the goal, slavery to passions is an ultimate failure. The author then emphasizes that reason does not uproot the passions, but rather opposes them (οὐ γὰρ ἐκριζωτῆς τῶν παθῶν ὁ λογισμός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀνταγωνιστής) (3:5).

#### 4.7 AN ILLUSTRATION OF HOW REASON HANDLES THE PASSIONS (3:6–18)

King David's thirst for water illustrates that reason controls the passions without uprooting them. In short, David had an "illogical desire" (ἄλόγιστος ἐπιθυμία) for water from the enemy's camp (3:11), which "inflamed him as it came" (ἐπιτείνουσα συνέφρυγεν) and "consumed him as it seized him" (λύουσα κατέφλεγεν) (3:11). When the king's assistants brought back the desired drink, he poured it out, having replaced desire with reason (ἀντιθεὶς τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τὸν λογισμὸν) (3:16). The author draws on this to demonstrate the thesis: the king's passions were not uprooted, but rather held in check by reason. The sound mind conquers the necessities of the passions (ὁ σώφρων νοῦς νικῆσαι τὰς τῶν παθῶν ἀνάγκας) and its fiery impulses (τὰς τῶν οἴστρων φλεγμονάς) (or buzzing gadflies, see 2:3). Surely, then, reason and sound mind master all the passions (πάσας τὰς τῶν παθῶν ἐπικρατεῖας) (3:17–18).<sup>21</sup>

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common with the Middle Stoicism of Posidonius, who also encouraged mastery but not extirpation of passions.

21. One further use of ἐπιθυμία is encountered later in the discourse. The tyrant invites Eleazar to bow before his loving benevolence (5:12). In response to the tyrant's mockery of his "un-philosophic" Jewish religion, Eleazar offers a response that sheds light on the concept of ἐπιθυμία (the last appearance of the lexeme in the discourse). Rather than being illogical, Eleazar argues that the Jewish law

thoroughly teaches us self-control [σωφροσύνην τε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐκδιδάσκει],  
 so that we are masters over all pleasures and desires [ὥστε πασῶν τῶν ἡδονῶν  
 καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν κρατεῖν],  
 and thoroughly instructs in manliness [καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐξασκεῖ],  
 so that we willingly endure all pain [ὥστε πάντα πόνον ἐκουσίως ὑπομένειν],  
 and trains us in righteousness [καὶ δικαιοσύνην παιδεύει],  
 so that we remain balanced in all our inclinations [ὥστε διὰ πάντων τῶν ἡθῶν  
 ἰσονομεῖν],  
 and thoroughly teaches us godliness [καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἐκδιδάσκει],  
 so that we revere the only true God with awe [ὥστε μόνον τὸν ὄντα θεὸν σέβειν  
 μεγαλοπρεπῶς].

Here, as elsewhere in the discourse, ἐπιθυμία is seen in direct connection with σωφροσύνη (e.g., 1:3; 1:30–2:6) and is seen in connection with pleasure (e.g., 1:22, 1:32–33). Also emphasized is the universality of reason's domain (πασῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν, πάντα πόνον, πάντων τῶν ἡθῶν).

## 4.8. SUMMARY OF ἘΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ IN 1:1–3:18

Before looking at the martyr-narrative, it will be helpful to summarize our observations thus far. First, we have seen that passions are divided under *ἡδονή* and *πόνος*. The discussion up to this point (with the possible exception of 2:9b–14) has described passions connected with *ἡδονή*. Ἐπιθυμία is the forerunner of the pleasure-passions (1:22) and gets in the way of *σωφροσύνη* (1:3, 31, 5:23). Reason aided by the law masters *πάσης ἐπιθυμίας* and *πάσας τὰς τῶν παθῶν ἐπικρατείας* and *πασῶν τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν* (2:4; 3:18; 5:23). Within 4 Maccabees, *ἐπιθυμία* belongs to a semantic field associated with rule and mastery whose counterpart is slavery (3:2). Also important for the author is that passions in and of themselves are not evil, since they are God-given. They should be harnessed but not annihilated. Such is accomplished by adherence to the law.

Having argued that reason masters all these pleasure-passions (3:18), the author can now focus on *ἀνδρεία* and how it relates to *πόνος*. This is the direction the author has wanted to move all along (see 1:8–11). The previous discussion was simply a necessary preliminary for this, the main point.

## 5. RULE OVER THE PASSIONS IN 3:19–18:24

The author will now show that reason masters the passions associated with pain (3:19–18:24). A look at the narrative quickly reveals the nature of these pain-passions. As 1:4 explained, *πόνος* is the passion that hinders *ἀνδρεία* and is related to *φόβος* and *λύπη* (1:24). The narrative paints a full picture of this passion and its semantic field. Accordingly, Antiochus is the one with the power to inflict *πόνος*<sup>22</sup> by means of force (*ἀνάγκη*).<sup>23</sup> Reason conquers<sup>24</sup> this pain-passion so that the heroes are manly and not fearful.<sup>25</sup> Although charged by the tyrant as being unmanly (*ἄνανδροι*) (6:21), the martyrs prove they are not *δειλανδρῆσαι* (10:14; 13:10). Ironically, the mother is found to be manly—and

22. See 5:23; 6:9; 7:22; 9:31; 11:12, 20; 13:1, 4; 15:16; 16:19, 23; 18:2, 3.

23. E.g., 5:13, 16, 27, 37; 6:9, 24; 8:14, 22, 24; 9:6. Closely related to *ἀνάγκη* is the lexeme *αἰκισμός* (“torture”), see e.g., 6:9 (ὁ δὲ ὑπέμενε τοὺς πόνους καὶ περιεφρόνει τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ διεκαρτέρει τοὺς αἰκισμούς) (cf. also 7:4; 14:1; 15:19). Also related are *βάσανος* (“torment,” e.g., 6:27, 30; 7:2; 10, 16; 8:9, 19; 9:5, 6, 9, 16, 18, etc.) and *ἀλγηδών* (“suffering,” e.g., 6:7, 34, 35; 8:28; 9:28; 13:5; 14:1, 11; 16:17).

24. The protagonists conquer their pain and thereby also conquer and destroy the tyrant: on conquer see *νικάω* (e.g., 6:33; 7:3, 4; 7:11; 8:2; 9:18, 30; 11:20, 21, 27; 13:2, 7, 12, 24); for destroy, see *καταλύω* (e.g., 8:15; 11:24; 14:8; 17:2, 9).

25. There are two primary synonyms for fear used: *δειλία* / *δειλός* / *δειλιάω* (e.g., 6:20, 14:4) / *δειλόψυχοι* (8:16), and *φόβος* / *φοβέω* (e.g., 8:12, 14, 15, 19, 22, 25; 13:14; 14:8; 15:8).

more so than the males (16:14; 15:30).<sup>26</sup> Manliness enables the heroes to endure (ὑπομένω)<sup>27</sup> pain *even to the point of death* (μέχρι θανάτου). This phrase, even unto death, is continually repeated (e.g., 6:21, 30; 7:8, 16; 9:28; 13:1; 15:10; 17:10). Such an overview provides a glimpse of the lexemes connected with the passion πόνος in 4 Maccabees.

Together, these unlikely martyrs become heroes who prove that reason masters the passions. The looming question throughout their encounters with the tyrant is, who is master? Is the tyrant by means of physical torture the real master, or are the heroes masters over their passions in the face of torture? Early in the discourse, the author stated that those who master their passions by means of the “law rule a kingdom” (2:23). This kingdom is seen to be invincible in the face of tyranny, and the martyrs who have mastered their passions are seen to be the real rulers, evidenced by the noble appellations awarded to them. After conquering the tyrant’s tortures, the aged priest is hailed as “great king over the passions!” (παθῶν μέγιστε βασιλεῦ Ελεάζαρ) (7:10). Thus, Eleazar is an athlete-king (6:10), admired by his torturers (6:11, 13), young in spirit, and subservient to none.<sup>28</sup> Subsequently, the lads out-philosophize the tyrant and destroy his tyranny (8:15), proving themselves to be the absolute rulers of their passions (8:28; 13:1). Their reason is victorious and is therefore hailed as “more kingly than kings and more free than the free” (ᾧ βασιλέων λογισμοὶ βασιλικώτεροι καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἐλευθερώτεροι) (14:2). In one of the most stunning passages of the discourse, their reason is even praised as “tyrant over the passions” (ᾧ λογισμὲ τέκνων παθῶν τύραννε) (15:1). Thus, Antiochus can tyrannize, but can never master reason (5:38).

### 5.1. SUMMARY OF PASSIONS IN 4 MACCABEES

This analysis of 4 Maccabees may be summarized as follows: the first half of the discourse (1:1–3:18) discussed passions related to pleasure. The most notable of these pleasure-passions are ἐπιθυμία, which is the beginning of all pleasure-

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26. David A. DeSilva, “Using the Master’s Tools to Shore up Another’s House: A Postcolonial Analysis of 4 Maccabees,” *JBL* 126 (2007): 118: “The mother is the undoubted hero of 4 Maccabees, enduring greater pains than each of the brothers since she had to endure the pains of all, and undergirding each son’s ability to resist with her own strength.”

27. See 5:23; 6:9; 7:22; 9:6, 22; 13:12; 15:31, 32; 16:1, 8, 17, 19, 21; 17:7, 10. Shaw insightfully demonstrates how great an understatement 4 Maccabees makes by including ὑπομονή under ἀνδρεία, as if the conjunction of these terms were ordinary and might escape notice (“Body/Power/Identity: Passions of the Martyrs,” *J ECS* 4 [1996]: 279). This coupling represents a moral revolution of sorts, since the society of that day praised active and aggressive values of manliness.

28. On athletic images in Stoicism, see Moore and Anderson, “Like a Man,” 259; Shaw, “Passions,” 278ff.; Breitenstein, *Beobachtungen*, 188.

passions (1:22), ἡ κακότης διάθεσις, which is the most diverse of the pleasure-passions (1:25), and θυμός, which is unique in that it is common to both pleasure and pain (1:24). Reason is seen to be the master over these pleasure-passions. The second (and larger) half of the discourse treats the passions related to pain, which include fear and sorrow. In this context reason again is the reigning king, subservient to none, tyrant over the tyrant.

On a semantic level, this analysis has demonstrated that within 4 Maccabees ἐπιθυμία and other lexemes in its semantic field belong to the linguistic frame of “passions,” which is a script of the schemata “mastery / rule.” This is depicted structurally in figure 2.

Schemata: Reason’s Mastery over Passion

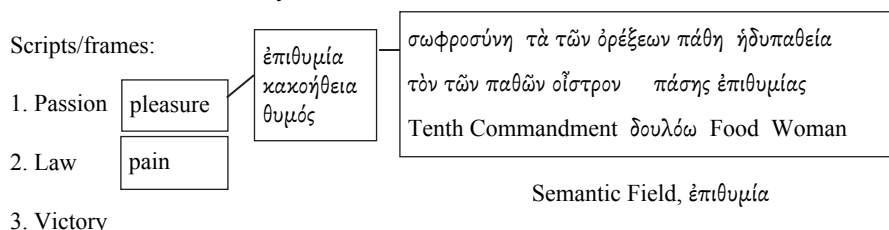


Figure 2: Semantic Analysis of ἐπιθυμία in 4 Maccabees

The goal of our investigation has been to analyze ἐπιθυμία on a semantic level (figure 2, therefore, depicts the details specifically associated with ἐπιθυμία. Such detail, of course, is possible at each level, but the diagram would quickly become cumbersome and unwieldy). In addition to the “passion” script, there are also scripts of “law” and “victory.” “Passion” is what needs to be mastered, “law” is what enables this mastery, and “victory” entails control over passions rather than extirpation or annihilation.

With this in mind, we will now look briefly at Paul’s use of desire, giving particular attention to Rom 7 and its context. After analyzing the semantics of ἐπιθυμία in this passage, we will conclude that Paul, like the author of 4 Maccabees, discusses desire within the context (schemata) of mastery and rule. Paul also incorporates the frames of “law” and “victory” and links ἐπιθυμία with a similar semantic field.

## 6. PASSIONS AND DESIRES IN PAUL

Our analysis of ἐπιθυμία in 4 Maccabees provides us with an important context for understanding the terminology and semantic field connected with desire. With this lexical backdrop, we are prepared to look at how Paul uniquely applied these concepts in his own argument. Despite differing theological convictions, significant semantic overlap related to ἐπιθυμία can be observed.

First, like the author of 4 Maccabees the three frames of “passion,” “law,” and “victory” are noted in Paul’s discussion of desire. Paul often discusses passion and desire together, as is seen in Rom 7:5, 7; Gal 5:24; and 1 Thess 4:5. “Law” is also a frame in Paul’s discussion. The overlap of language between the two authors related to desire and law turns out to be quite extensive. If one listens to Rom 7 with “4 Maccabean ears,” one gets a sense of just how startling Paul’s argument may have been to those with a Jewish background: rather than law coming to the aid of reason to enable mastery of the passions, Paul says that sin’s passions work *through* the law (τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐνηργεῖτο), bringing about awareness of sin and death (7:5, 7). The law is exploited and misused by sin to bring about πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν (7:8). The contrast here is thunderous. Both authors discuss law and ἐπιθυμία with very similar language but to argue contrasting points. For one, the law enables mastery of all desires, for the other sin’s exploitation of the law awakens all desire and offers no solution.

For both authors, “victory” is a frame in the discussion, yet the victory is seen quite differently. Since 4 Maccabees views the passions as implanted by God at the time of creation (2:21), reason deals with them as a gentle gardener, taming the wild growth of the passions (1:29), not uprooting the passions but opposing them (3:5), holding the appetites in check, and helping one turn away when drawn by passion (1:33, 34). The key is not to extirpate or destroy the passions (3:5) but to continually master them through devotion to the law.<sup>29</sup> For Paul, however, the solution is much more radical. To find freedom from passion and desire, one must die (Rom 6:4; 7:3) and then find a new life through identification with Jesus (Rom 8:1ff.).<sup>30</sup> Rather than trusting law or reason as guide, Paul instructs Christians to be led by the Spirit who opposes desire in their lives (Gal 5:18–23). Life in the Spirit and victory over passions means that Christians must crucify the passions and desires of their flesh (Gal 5:24; see also Rom 8:13). Language such as restraining or holding desire in check is far too mild for Paul.

Despite differing theological convictions related to the frames of “passion,” “law,” and “victory,” the authors are alike in discussing these under the schemata of “mastery and rule.” This was quite clear in 4 Maccabees. The same is also true, however, when Paul addresses desire, for which Romans 6 and 7 provide a fitting example.

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29. See Dupont-Sommer, *Machabées*, 53: “Ce texte est assez clair. La raison n’ ‘arrache’ point, n’ ‘extirpe’ point les passions.” For Klauck (“Exordium,” 460), the author’s wish only to control the passions and not extirpate them is “eine Besonderheit in der Affektenlehre des 4 Makk, durch die sich der Autor von der Hauptströmung der Stoa unterscheidet, insofern er die Affekte nicht ausrotten, sondern nur bändigen will.”

30. Aune expresses the contrast as follows: Pleasures and desires are not viewed as “diseased portions of the soul which need to be treated by surgery, ascetic practice or the therapy of right reason. Instead, one’s entire soul needs to be made new through belief in and identification with Jesus Christ” (“Mastery,” 141).

A look at the context surrounding οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις in Rom 7:7—the passage often cited in connection with 4 Maccabees—shows that the verse is intimately connected with the discussion in the previous chapters. Thus, ἐπιθυμία in 7:7 comes on the heels of the discussion about ἐπιθυμία in Rom 6, which continues the argument introduced in 5:21.<sup>31</sup> Paul states in 5:21 that, because of Christ's death, grace now rules (βασιλεύση) where sin once ruled. The implications of this rule are explored in Rom 6. Paul writes, “Do not let sin rule [μὴ οὖν βασιλευέτω ἡ ἁμαρτία] in your mortal body, that you obey its desires [εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ]” (6:12). For Christians, sin no longer rules (ἁμαρτία γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐ κυριεύσει) (6:14). The mention of rule triggers a discussion of freedom and slavery. Whereas Christians were once slaves of sin, they have now been freed and become slaves of righteousness (τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ) (6:18). This theme of rule, slavery, and freedom continues in chapter 7. Here, Paul shows that the law rules over a person only so long as that person is living (ὁ νόμος κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ) (7:1). After describing how law awakens desire, Paul then describes one whose will is bound (7:14–24), who is in a sense slave (7:25). Chapter 8 then describes the freedom that the Spirit brings.

This overview of Rom 6–7 shows that Paul links ἐπιθυμία with the theme of mastery in similar fashion to 4 Maccabees. To be sure, 4 Maccabees uses a broader range of lexemes for mastery, including αὐτοδέσποτος, τύραννε, αὐτοκράτωρ, δεσπότης, ἡγεμών, κρατεῖν, ἐπικρατεῖν, and περικρατεῖν, as well as the Pauline κυριεύω and βασιλεύω (1:4; 2:23). Nevertheless, there are significant semantic parallels between Paul's use of ἐπιθυμία and the author of 4 Maccabees. “Mastery” serves as the overarching schemata, whose frames consist of “passion,” “law,” and “victory,” and the semantic field related to ἐπιθυμία shows significant overlap for both authors. Figure 3 shows that while the semantic fields are not identical, they are nevertheless significant (similarities are marked in bold).<sup>32</sup>

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31. Thus, James D. G. Dunn states that 7:1–6 is a “gathering up of the main thrust of chap. 6, but now with reference to the law” (*Romans*, vol. 1 [Dallas: Word, 1988], 358). See, similarly, Jewett, *Romans*, 428.

32. A clarification from Lyons prove helpful at this point: “Different speakers may hold partly different beliefs about the meaning and applicability of words, so that the set of implications that one speaker will accept as following from a given utterance may differ, to a greater or less degree, from the set of implications that another speaker will accept as following from the same utterance. *But there will commonly be a considerable overlap in these two sets; and the descriptive semanticist may generally limit himself to specifying the intersection of these sets of implications without being disturbed unduly about the indeterminate instances*” (Lyons, *Semantics*, 1:205, emphasis added).

|                          |        |                 |      |           |
|--------------------------|--------|-----------------|------|-----------|
| σωφροσύνη                | τὰ τῶν | δρέξεων         | πάθη | ἡδυπαθεία |
| τὸν τῶν παθῶν οἷστρον    |        | πάσης ἐπιθυμίας |      |           |
| <b>Tenth Commandment</b> |        | δουλόω          | Food | Woman     |

Figure 3: Similarities in the Semantic Field of ἐπιθυμία in Romans and 4 Maccabees

7. CONCLUSION

We have examined ἐπιθυμία in 4 Maccabees with the goal of better understanding the semantics of desire and its relevance for Paul. After highlighting the goals of semantic analysis, we then sought to understand the structure of 4 Maccabees. We observed that the binary categorization of passion into pleasure and pain in 1:20 provided not only an overarching structure for passions, but also for the discourse as a whole. On a semantic level, we noted that passions (which include ἐπιθυμία) were discussed under the schemata of mastery and rule. With this in mind, we then turned our attention to Paul, with the goal of observing possible semantic parallels between the authors’ use of ἐπιθυμία. Such a comparison proved insightful. Both authors discuss ἐπιθυμία under the schemata of mastery and both link ἐπιθυμία with similar lexemes.

4 Maccabees is out to prove who the real boss is. Reason is proven to be the all sovereign king, enthroned by God (2:22), ruling through the guidance of law over all desire and even over a tyrant and his tortures. In Rom 5–7, Paul is also concerned with the theme of mastery. For Paul, like the author of 4 Maccabees, the discussion of mastery provokes a discussion of desire. In this context, sin represents a harsh master that works in conjunction with desire to bring about universal slavery. Subjection to sin’s mastery is overcome by new life in the Spirit, which involves a whole new set of desires (Rom 8; see also Gal 5).

Our analysis, therefore, suggests that by discussing desire within the context of rule and incorporating the motifs of law, freedom, and slavery, Paul situated his discussion within the linguistic frame of his day. Understanding this semantic context makes Paul’s identification of the source of desire and the solution for overcoming this desire all the more unique, both in a Jewish and a Greco-Roman setting.



# The Standardization of Translation Choice for למה within the LXX-Pentateuch: ἵνα τί as a Neolinguistic Phrase\*

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**Abstract:** The earliest translators of the Septuagint creatively chose to translate the two synonymous Hebrew interrogatives למה and מדוע by alternating between the seemingly odd Greek phrases ἵνα τί and τί ὅτι respectively. It seems that they were influenced by a number of factors, such as the contemporaneous development of the Greek language along with their Aramaic background. As a result, later translators borrowed from their creative solutions and implemented the Greek phrases in later works. The linguistic inventions of the Greek translators would likely have had a reasonably high degree of register with the receptor audience, further indicating the advanced linguistic capability of the translators.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The present study explains how and why the LXX translators sought to stereotypically translate the Hebrew interrogative למה (לְמָה לְמָה לְמָה) with the uncommon Greek phrase ἵνα τί. A similar phenomenon also exists in regard to the synonymous word מדוע, which is equally translated by ὅτι or the rare Greek phrase τί ὅτι. As shall be explained, the choice for למה appears to be related to (1) the desire to standardize the translated word selection, and (2) to the linguistic (Aramaic) background of the translators. For the sake of brevity, this study is confined to the Pentateuch, which is then used in comparison to additional evidence from the Twelve.

The Hebrew words למה and מדוע have broadly the same meaning. The former is a combination of the prefix preposition *lāmed* to the common inter-

rogative מַה. It means “for what reason? why?”<sup>1</sup> and is used in a number of different contexts, most often in expostulations, rhetorical questions, and deprecations. It is used less often to make a simple inquiry for information, a point which, per James Barr, is not without problems.<sup>2</sup>

Alternately, מָדוּעַ, an adverbial interrogative, is the prefixing of מַה to the passive participle יָדוּעַ, meaning something like “what is known?,” and can commonly be translated as “wherefore?”<sup>3</sup> HALOT gives it a different meaning to לָמָּה, following, it appears, Alfred Jepsen’s argument.<sup>4</sup> The basic distinction that Jepsen made between the use of these two interrogative markers is that, first, לָמָּה is used in questions of complaint or reproach (*Tadel und Vorwurf*), and second, מָדוּעַ is used for pure information, which often has a response of surprise (*Verwunderung*) and sympathy or compassion (*Teilnahme*).<sup>5</sup> But, as Barr rightly argued, both words have generally the same semantic meaning, being used in similar contexts. In short, Hebrew had two words to mean the *same thing*, and the real difference between them is not lexical; there is a literary preference for either word in certain syntactical and grammatical formulations, that is, certain verbals are attracted to one interrogative or the other, and מָדוּעַ is much more common in negative questions.

The Greek phrase ὥα τι is found thirty-two times in the Pentateuch, and its meaning appears to be most influenced by the presence of the conjunction.<sup>6</sup> It is glossed as “why? for what reason?”<sup>7</sup> and also given a teleological sense with the renderings “for what purpose?”<sup>8</sup> or “to what end.”<sup>9</sup> It is listed under ὥα τι in

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1. BDB s.v. “מַה.”

2. As Barr pointed out, “If people asked ‘Why?’ [in the Bible], it was very usually because something was wrong.” The idea that a questioner is seeking pure information is rare. “They rather seldom asked ‘Why?’ because of joyful news, or because they were simply curious about how things happened; they asked it because they sensed trouble at hand. Any departure from the normal was likely to mean bad news.” See James Barr, “‘Why?’ in Biblical Hebrew,” *JTS* 36 (1985): 8.

3. BDB s.v. “מָדוּעַ.”

4. See HALOT s.v. “מָדוּעַ.”

5. See Barr, “‘Why?’ in Biblical Hebrew,” 2; Alfred Jepsen, “Warum? Eine lexikalische und theologische Studie,” in *Das ferne und Nahe Wort: Festschrift Leonhard Rost*, ed. Fritz Maass, BZAW 105 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1967), 106–7.

6. In the vast majority of its occurrences in the LXX, ὥα τι is used in rhetorical questions. The contexts and rhetorical effects differ, but in each case the speaker is seeking to persuade or influence the hearer or is structuring a defensive argument. In a very few instances, speakers seem to be asking a simple (i.e., not rhetorical) question.

7. BDAG s.v. “ὥα τι.”

8. GELS s.v. “ὥα.”

9. LEH s.v. “ὥα.”

BDAG, which apparently assumes they are synonyms, the former found exclusively in the New Testament.<sup>10</sup> While the phrase ἵνα τί is found 133 times in the Greek Old Testament, it is seldom found in wider Hellenistic literature.

The phrase occurs only fifteen times before LXX.<sup>11</sup> However, the majority of the references are found in Aesop's *Fables*, which is very questionably from the sixth century.<sup>12</sup> It is also found once on its own, which is never true in the Septuagint, making its meaning a little more ambiguous than the standard gloss.<sup>13</sup> Lastly, in one instance it seems that the combination of ἵνα and τί is used elliptically—a phenomenon not uncommon with other parts of speech.<sup>14</sup>

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10. The lexicographers are in agreement with *Novum Testamentum Graece* in this regard, whereas the Robinson-Piermont majority text in each New Testament occurrence (Matt 9:4; 27:46; Luke 13:7; Acts 4:25; 7:26; 1 Cor 10:29) printed the phrase as found in LXX. It is not entirely clear why the word has been compounded by the editors of NA28 (and prior). The pronoun τίς commonly forms phrases with other particles of speech. Also, there appears to be no indication, for example, in a selection of references in א and א, that the phrase should be compounded. Moreover, the reference in Matt 27:46 refers to Jesus speaking Aramaic. Therefore, if ἵνα τί later on in the Koine period of the New Testament should still reflect the invention of the LXX translators, then it should be uncompounded in the New Testament. This would reflect the linguistic stylisation from which the New Testament authors likely borrowed. However, if the purpose of the compounded word in the New Testament is meant to reflect the unity of the Hebrew word למה, then the alternative approach would be to keep it compounded in those instances, i.e., when the Greek (Acts 4:25) quotes the Hebrew (Ps 2:1), and separated when it reflects the Aramaic, i.e., Matt 27:46. But the first suggestion is preferred in light of developmental use of the Greek language instead of using printed editions to mark source critical details and for those instances where such a distinction between Aramaic and Hebrew is not in question (i.e., Luke 13:7; Acts 7:26; 1 Cor 10:29).

11. See Aesop, *Fab.* 23.4; 70.5; 136.4; 192.3; 217.2; 228.6; 247.5; 282.20; Heraclitus Ephesius, (frag.) 127.2; Aristophanes, *Eccl.* 719; Plato, *Apol.* 26d.1; *Symp.* 205a.2; Demosthenes, *Fals. leg.* 257.4, 7; Alcaeus Comic. (frag.) 17.1.

12. My gratitude to James K. Aitken for pointing out that Aesop's work may be from the same period as LXX and that "INA TI" is also found in a Roman inscription. In addition to this, the vast majority of references prior to LXX are then reduced to very few indeed.

13. Vince translated this as "And all for what?" and then later simply as "And why?" See Dem. 19.257.4–7 and also James H. Vince, ed., *Demosthenes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926).

14. In this one example, the conjunction begins a question, which is followed by another question that begins with the pron. τί. See Euripides, *Med.* 200. In addition, there are two kinds of patterns where the interrogative phrase ἵνα τί is split by either: (1) a particle, i.e., ἵνα δὴ τί, which may be translated as "now why?" or "then why?," depending on the context; and (2) once with a pronoun, i.e., ἵνα ἡμῖν τί. None of these interrogative patterns exist within LXX or New Testament (note that the use of ἵνα in Ps 38:5 and Luke 19:15 is substantival). For ἵνα δὴ τί, see Aristophanes, *Nub.* 1192; *Pax*

This evidence suggests the following: first, the phrase ἵνα τί had some semantic fluidity, and second, in the scope of pre- and classical Greek writings, it was hardly ever used. It is unclear why this was so uncommon, compared to other similar constructs that use τίς, for example, διὰ τί. This evidence points out that this phrase is far more common in LXX. It has, in a sense, taken on a life of its own within this Ptolemaic translational activity. It is also noteworthy that the phrase continues to be rare outside of the Septuagint during the Koine period.<sup>15</sup> For the most part, its recurrent use during the Christian era is due to authors quoting the Septuagint.

## 2. USE OF ἵνα τί WITHIN THE PENTATEUCH

In the vast majority of its occurrences in the Pentateuch, ἵνα τί is used in rhetorical questions. Their contexts and rhetorical effect differ, but in each case the speaker is seeking to persuade or influence the hearer or structuring a defensive argument. In a very few instances, speakers seem to be asking a simple (i.e., not rhetorical) question. A handful of examples are offered below to show this point.

In Genesis, the Lord asks a rhetorical question, which is followed up an explanation of consequence.<sup>16</sup>

Gen 4:6

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־קַיִן לָמָּה חָרָה לָךְ וְלָמָּה נָפְלוּ פָנֶיךָ

And the Lord said to Cain, “Why are you angry? And why has your countenance fallen?”

καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Καὶν ἵνα τί περίλυπος ἐγένου καὶ ἵνα τί συνέπεσεν τὸ πρόσωπόν σου

And the Lord God said to Kain, “Why have you become very sad? And why has your countenance fallen?”

Speakers will also use rhetorical questioning to make their case for or against something. It is usually followed up by a structured answer to the question.

Exod 32:11

וַיֹּאמֶר לָמָּה יְהוָה יַחְרֶה אַפֶּךָ בְּעַמֶּךָ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם בְּכָח גָּדוֹל וּבְיָד חֲזָקָה

409; *Eccl.* 791; and for ἵνα pron. τί see Andocides, *On the Peace* 26.8; and also Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 4th rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 678.

15. For example, when it does crop up it has similar usage to its classical one, i.e., as an interjection on its own, see Life of Aesop, *Vita G* 3.32.3.

16. According to data from the classical period, the question could have been structured as follows: the first לָמָּה translated with ἵνα and the second one with τίς (ἵνα ... τί).

And he [Moses] said, “Why, O Lord, does your anger burn against your people whom you brought up from the land of Egypt with great strength and with a mighty hand?”

καὶ εἶπεν ἵνα τί κύριε θυμοὶ ὀργῇ εἰς τὸν λαὸν σου οὕς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν ἰσχύι μεγάλη καὶ ἐν τῷ βραχίονί σου τῷ ὑψηλῷ

And he said, “Why, O Lord, are you so angry with your people whom you brought up out from the land of Egypt with great strength and with your arm uplifted?”

Num 20:4–5a

וְלָמָּה הִבְאֵתָם אֶת־קְהֵל יְהוָה אֶל־הַמִּדְבָּר הַזֶּה לָמוֹת שָׁם אֶנְחָנוּ וּבָעִירָנוּ :  
וְלָמָּה הִעֲלִיתָנוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם לְהִבְיֵא אֶתָּנוּ אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם הַרָּע הַזֶּה

Now why did you bring the assembly of the Lord into this wilderness, to kill us and our cattle here? And why did you bring us up from Egypt to bring us into this wicked place?

καὶ ἵνα τί ἀνηγάγετε τὴν συναγωγὴν κυρίου εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ταύτην ἀποκτεῖναι ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ κτήνη ἡμῶν καὶ ἵνα τί τοῦτο ἀνηγάγετε ἡμᾶς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν πονηρὸν τοῦτον

And why did you lead the congregation of the Lord into this desert, to kill us and our cattle? And why is it that you led us out of Egypt to bring us into this evil place?

Alternately, speakers make internal inquiries that seem to indicate a desire to simply know why, with no rhetorical overtones.

Gen 25:22

וַיִּתְרַצְצוּ הַבָּנִים בְּקִרְבָּהּ וַתֹּאמֶר אִם־כֵּן לָמָּה זֶה אֲנֹכִי וַתֵּלֶךְ לִדְרֹשׁ אֶת־יְהוָה

And the boys leaped within her [Rachel], and she said, “If it is so, why is this to me?” And she went to inquire of the Lord.

ἐσκίρτων δὲ τὰ παιδιά ἐν αὐτῇ εἶπεν δέ ἐι οὕτως μοι μέλλει γίνεσθαι ἵνα τί μοι τοῦτο ἐπορεύθη δὲ πυθέσθαι παρὰ κυρίου

But the babes leapt in her, so she said, “If this is how it is destined to be with me, why is it so with me?” And she went to enquire of the Lord.

Gen 31:30

וַעֲתָה הִלֵּךְ הַלְכָתָּ בִּי־נִכְסֶיךָ נִכְסֵּי־בֵּית אָבִיךָ לָמָּה גָּנַבְתָּ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי

And now, you have surely gone because you earnestly desired to leave for your father’s house, *but* why did you steal my gods?

νῦν οὖν πεπόρευσαι ἐπιθυμία γὰρ ἐπεθύμησας ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρός σου ἵνα τί ἔκλεψας τοὺς θεοὺς μου

Now then, you have gone, for you earnestly desired to leave for your father’s house; *but* why did you steal my gods?

The phrase *ἵνα τί* does not, however, always translate *למה*, but on a small number of occasions translates other parts of speech: *מדוע* (Gen 26:27), *הלווא זה* (Gen 44:5), *ה* (Num 31:15).<sup>17</sup> It is also found in addition to the MT on a number of occasions outside of the Pentateuch and used throughout the Apocrypha and (Second Temple) Pseudepigrapha.<sup>18</sup> In spite of this, the evidence seems to clearly point to the fact that *ἵνα τί* is the phrase of choice for *למה*, being used over seventy-eight per cent of the time.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, *מדוע* is almost always translated in LXX equally by either *διὰ τί* or *τί ὥτι*.<sup>20</sup> This same interchange between the two different phrases also occurs regularly within the Pentateuch.<sup>21</sup> While *διὰ τί* is glossed by “why? for what reason?”<sup>22</sup> or “wherefore?”<sup>23</sup> *τί ὥτι* is glossed quite differently as “what has happened that? why?”<sup>24</sup> or “why is it that?”<sup>25</sup> The variation between these two translation choices appears to be unmotivated.<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, like *ἵνα τί*, *τί ὥτι* does not occur before LXX (so TLG), whereas *διὰ τί* was used quite extensively in the Hellenistic period, as well as being found throughout the LXX, Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha. The only reference

17. Also see: *מדוע* (2 Sam 19:44; Job 3:12; Jer 14:19; 15:18), *מה זאת* (Judg [A] 15:11), *ה* (Hos 10:13), *מה* (Pss 42:6, 12; 43:5; 50:16; Job 3:12) and also Ps 4:3.

18. See Judg (A) 5:15; 2 Sam 11:22; 1 Kgs 2:24; 2 Kgs 18:26; Ps 42:6; Isa 36:11; 58:4; Tob 3:15; Tob (S) 3:15; 1 Macc 2:7, 13; 12:44; Sir 14:3; Pss 3:1; 4:1.

19. This figure includes the emphatic phrase *למה זה*, see Gen 25:32; Exod 5:22; Num 11:20; 14:41; 2 Sam 3:24; 11:21; Prov 17:16; Jer 6:20; 14:8. An analogous example to this study is how *אי* and its cognates were translated by *ποῦ*; see, in particular chapter one from, Frederic C. Putnam, “Representation of the Hebrew Predicators of Existence in the Septuagint” (PhD diss., The Annenberg Research Institute, 1990). See also the essay by James K. Aitken, “The Origins of KAI ΓΕ,” in *Biblical Greek in Context*, ed. James K. Aitken and T. V. Evans (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 21–40.

20. It is translated thirty-two times by *τί ὥτι* (Gen 40:7; Exod 1:18; 2:18; 3:3; Judg [A] 9:28; 11:7, 26; 12:1; Ruth 2:10; 1 Sam 20:2, 27; 3:7; 21:2; 2 Sam 3:7; 11:10, 20; 12:9; 18:11; 19:42; 24:21; 1 Kgs 1:13; 2:43; 2 Kgs 4:23; 8:12; 9:11; 12:8; Isa 50:2; 63:2; Jer 12:1; 46:5; Ezek 18:19; Mal 2:10) and twenty-nine by *διὰ τί* (Exod 5:14; 18:14; Lev 10:17; Num 12:8; 16:3; Josh 17:14; Judg [A] 5:28; 1 Kgs 1:6; 2 Chr 24:6; Neh 2:2, 3; 13:11, 21; Job 18:3; 21:4, 7; 24:1; 33:13; Jer 2:14, 31; 8:5, 19, 22; 13:22; 32:3; 36:29; 46:15; 49:1).

21. In only a very small number of instances does one find *מדוע* translated by *ἵνα τί* (Gen 26:27; 2 Sam 19:44; Job 3:12; Jer 14:19). It is also translated three times by the neuter form *τί* (2 Sam 13:4; 16:10; Esth 3:3), once by *τίς* (1 Kgs 1:41), twice by *ὅτι* (Jer 22:28; 26:9), and *διότι* in Isa 5:4 and Jer 30:6.

22. BAGD s.v. “*διὰ*.”

23. LSJ s.v. “*τίς*.”

24. BAGD s.v. “*τίς*.”

25. LSJ s.v. “*τίς*.”

26. Wevers also makes the same observation, see John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, SCS 30 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 21.

to *τί ὅτι* is from a fragment in the fifth century BCE.<sup>27</sup> Like *ἵνα τί* it is used elsewhere in later writings, having already occurred a number of times in LXX. It also seems that BDAG read the New Testament occurrences back into LXX, seeking to define the meaning of the phrase, where it is glossed as “what has happened that?” along with the note that the phrase is synonymous with *τί γέγονεν ὅτι* (see John 14:22).<sup>28</sup> But, in the thirty-two instances where it is found, that meaning does not really fit (e.g., Exod 1:18; 3:3; 1 Sam 20:2). In those instances, the straightforward meaning, like *διὰ τί*, of “why?” seems best, per J. Lust.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the phrase *τί ὅτι* does not exclusively represent *מדוע*. It also translates a handful of other words and phrases and *מדוע* about sixty per cent of the time. It is also noteworthy that its first few occurrences in Genesis do not translate *מדוע* (Gen 3:1; 18:13; 26:9), even though it might be generally considered the word of choice for *מדוע*. The data is also similar for *διὰ τί*. Nevertheless, with so few examples prior to LXX it begs us to ask the question: What did *τί ὅτι* precisely mean to the translators? Why did they implement it as a translation choice?

### 3. QUESTIONS IN THE TWELVE

Although it is sparsely found, the use of *ἵνα τί* within the Twelve is always used to translate *למה* (Amos 5:18; Mic 4:9; Hab 1:3, 13).<sup>30</sup> The only instance of *מדוע* is also translated by *τί ὅτι* (Mal 2:10). In addition to this, a similar phenomenon is observed in the use of *ἕως τίνας* for the interrogative phrases *עד־אנה* or *עד־מתי*. In each instance, the pronoun *τίς* translates either *אן*, meaning “where?”<sup>31</sup> or *מתי*, meaning “when?” Together with *עד*, these Hebrew constructs respectively mean “how long?” or “until when?”<sup>32</sup> But *ἕως τίνας* is found only twice in

27. See A. Meineke, *Fragmenta comicorum Graecorum*, vol. 2.2 (Berlin: Reimer, 1840), (frag.) 4.1.

28. This is also a particularly New Testament phrase, occurring nowhere else except in John and thereafter. See BAGD s.v. “*τίς*.” Also, Muraoka, similarly, notes that it means “Why is it that?” and references Gen 40:7 and Mal 2:10 where that meaning clearly plays out well. Cf. *GELS* 681–82.

29. See LEH s.v. “*τίς*.”

30. In Joel 2:17, *למה* is translated in the negative but still retains a synonymous conjunction: *ὅπως μὴ*.

31. The final *hē* is directional/accusative.

32. There are thirteen references for *עד־אנה*, twenty-nine for *עד־מתי*, and five for *עד־מה*. They are never syntactically combined and only once found in close proximity to each other: Exod 16:28; Num 14:11, 11; Josh 18:3; Job 18:2; 19:2; Ps 13:2, 3; 62:4; Jer 47:6; Hab 1:2; and Exod 10:3, 7; Num 14:27; 1 Sam 1:14; 16:1; 2 Sam 2:26; 1 Kgs 18:21; Neh 2:6; Pss 6:4; 74:10; 80:5; 82:2; 90:13; 94:3; Prov 1:22; 6:9; Isa 6:11; Jer 4:14, 21; 12:4; 23:26; 31:22; 47:5; Dan 8:13; 12:6; Hos 8:5; Hab 2:6; Zech 1:12; and Num

Hellenistic works, where it also does not appear to introduce a question.<sup>33</sup> It seems that the translators chose the Greek preposition ἕως in order to translate the Hebrew particle עד quite literally. The pronoun τίς then renders the Hebrew pronoun or particle, אַן and מַה respectively.

More often עד-מַה is translated with the adverb πότε, as ἕως πότε.<sup>34</sup> But in the Twelve, מַה is always translated with τίνος. These two Greek phrases appear lexically indistinguishable. The same evidence also exists for עד-אִנָּה.<sup>35</sup> The phrase ἕως πότε is unattested prior to LXX.

It seems that the translators created these constructions by dividing and assigning the respective renderings to the individual parts of the source word or phrase, designing new Greek ways of posing questions, without of course obfuscating the meaning of the text. (It is assumed that the new phrases also made sense to the translators and their audience.) But what about ἵνα τί and τί ὅτι? Can the same explanation be made for these choices?

#### 4. ARAMAIC LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE?

As Jan Joosten recently pointed out, translators thinking in a foreign language(s) may make translational decisions that might be otherwise considered incorrect but in the case of LXX be quite understandable.<sup>36</sup> This point is very helpful in seeking to explain some of the phenomenon presented in this study.

First, it is not clear from all the contexts in which these three Greek phrases (ἵνα τί, τί ὅτι, and διὰ τί) are used that they actually have their own centers of meaning apart from each other—similar to Barr's conclusions in his article regarding לָמָּה and מַדּוּעַ. So, if the Hebrew words basically have the same meaning and so do the Greek phrases, then the translators' choices for alternate words for either Hebrew word, in particular לָמָּה, might then be explained, in part, according to their stylistic predilections.

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24:22; Pss 4:3; 74:9; 79:5; 89:47. The only anomaly is the proximity of both עד-אִנָּה and עד-מַה in Jer 47:5–6). Also see Alexis Léonas, *Recherche sur le langage de la Septante*, OBO 211 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 201ff.

33. See Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1159a.4; Chrysippus (frag.) 298a.9.17. It is also never once found in the New Testament.

34. 1 Sam 1:14; 16:1; 1 Kgs 18:21; Neh 2:6; Pss 6:4; 74:10; 80:5; 82:2; 90:13; 94:3, 3; Isa 6:11; Jer 4:14, 21; 12:4; 23:26; 31:22; Dan [TH] 12:6. Although ἕως τίνος is not found in the New Testament, ἕως πότε is found a handful of times (Matt 17:17, 17; Mark 9:19; Luke 9:41; John 10:24; Rev 6:10).

35. It is translated by ἕως τίνος (Exod 16:28; Num 14:11; Josh 18:3; Job 19:2; Ps 13:3; Jer 47:6; Hab 1:2), ἕως πότε (Pss 13:2, 3; 62:4) and twice in Job by μέχρι τίνος (Job 8:2; 18:2).

36. See Jan Joosten, "A Syntactic Aramaism in the LXX: ἰδοὺ in Temporal Expressions," *JSCS* 45 (2012): 44.



As stereotyping is a feature of Septuagintal literalism, it stands to reason that the translators might have attempted to standardize their choice for למה and partly for מדוע. Furthermore, this would have affected later translators so that greater regularity of this translation choice is found in post-Pentateuchal books. This is what the evidence shows.<sup>37</sup> While there are one-off choices in later books, the lion's share are regularly translated according to the data presented here. Moreover, because ἵνα τί was a kind of neolinguistic construct to mark interrogation, the phrase was carried over into later apocryphal and pseud-epigraphal works, notwithstanding the New Testament.<sup>38</sup>

Second, although the Aramaic consonantal form of למה is identical to its Hebrew cognate, the pronunciation is slightly different. The "reduction of originally pretonic short vowels"<sup>39</sup> meant that an Aramaic speaker might have been inclined to separate conceptually the prefixed preposition *lāmed* from the pronoun (e.g., ל - מה) or (in other words) to have thought of it etymologically, rather than as a single expression. The result might then have yielded the predicable use of the conjunction ἵνα for the *telic lāmed*. The use of the pronoun τίς for מה is then obvious. In this case, it would then have been a literal, logical, and creative solution for translation word choice.

Third, linguistic development in the use of ἵνα during the Koine period may have provided further recourse for the translators' decision. The Koine period saw the broadening use of the conjunction, in particular its universalizing use with infinitives.<sup>40</sup> James Hope Moulton further suggests that, pertaining to the author of the fourth Gospel and Revelation, an Aramaic thinker might have been inclined to make "very free use of ἵνα" for the corresponding Aramaic *lāmed*,

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37. Aside from translation of the emphatic זה למה, textual additions (Judg [A] 5:15; 2 Sam 11:22; 1 Kgs 2:24; 2 Kgs 18:26; Ps 42:6; Isa 36:11; 58:4; Hos 10:13), and references in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Tob 3:15; Tob [S] 3:15; 1 Macc 2:7, 13; 12:44; Sir 14:3; Pss 3:1; 4:1), outside of LXX ἵνα τί translates מדוע four times (2 Sam 19:44; Job 3:12; Jer 14:19; 15:18), and מה and זאת מה nine times (Judg [A] 15:11; Pss 42:6, 12; 43:5; 50:16; Job 3:12). If we ignore the extra-MT translated works, and the textual additions, this represents less than ten per cent.

38. It is found only in the New Testament as a single word, *ἵνατί*, which due to the evidence presented here in this study might indicate that it is made up of two words. This point is further supported, but not necessarily proven, by the fact that τίς is often used with other particles to frame questions in a certain kind of way. Also, διὰ τί is the most common choice after ἵνα τί and is used only thirteen times across a variety of books. Moreover, being a very common Greek form it would be a stylistic and natural selection for questions (see Exod 2:13; 5:22; Num 11:11; 22:37; Josh 9:22; 1 Sam 26:15; Ps 42:10; Job 3:11; 7:20; 13:24; 19:22; Jer 29:27 [36:27]).

39. Frederick E. Greenspahn, *An Introduction to Aramaic*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 8.

40. James Hope Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 205–6; Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*, 20.

which is related to the author's "Semitic habit of speech."<sup>41</sup> Malleable use of the conjunction earlier on, related to the Aramaic vernacular of the translators, offered a sort-of linguistic freedom to remain "creatively faithful" to the text.<sup>42</sup>

Lastly, as a result, the newly coined phrase *ἵνα τί* was then also used to translate other parts of speech. This would have been more experimental than stereotypical. It also means that, once it became a LXX phrase for asking questions, it could be used in other contexts. To a lesser degree, this may parallel the use of *τί ὅτι*, which translates *למה* (Gen 18:13; 44:4; 2 Sam 7:7; 11:10, 20; 19:26; Isa 58:3) and *מה* (1 Sam 11:5; 2 Kgs 1:5; Mal 2:14), among others (Gen 3:1; 26:9; 2 Kgs 1:16).<sup>43</sup>

It is not entirely clear, however, precisely why the translators used *τί ὅτι* for *מדוע*. Aramaic appears to lack an interrogative adverbial cognate to *מדוע*. Perhaps two options, not mutually exclusive, were available. On the one hand, the translators could use a very common form such as *διὰ τί*. This would not be considered unusual in any way, although it would not correspond in the manner of the Hebrew interrogative *למה*. Then, on the other hand, if they also followed the logic similar to that by which they divided up other compound words and constructs, they would have understood that *מה* was prefixed (so to speak) to the word in question. The obvious problem is that *ὅτι* does not semantically correspond to, for example, *ידוע*. But as the inverse phrase *ὅτι τί* already existed in pre-Koine works,<sup>44</sup> the translator(s) likely had no qualms about designing a solution along similar lines. Therefore, *τί ὅτι* means simply "why?," much like *ὅτι τί*.<sup>45</sup>

## 5. CONCLUSION

The choice of *ἵνα τί* for *למה* was determined by multiple causes. The composition of the source word, which likely caused later translators to standardize their choices in step, was a morphological boundary. The result has a stereotypical aspect to it, though is not to be considered a formal stereotypical device. Translators were likely experimenting on what was the best way to translate the word. Furthermore, the meaning of *ἵνα τί* was not determined by the nature of

41. James Hope Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 2 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 484.

42. Jan Joosten, *Collected Studies on the Septuagint. From Language to Interpretation and Beyond*, FAT 83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 15.

43. It is also found in 1 Sam 14:41; 2 Kgs 1:16; Tob (S) 5:18; Sir 51:24; Bar 3:10.

44. LSJ s.v. "ὅτι."

45. In a number of places throughout his notes on the Greek text of the Pentateuch, Wevers calls attention to the fact that *ἵνα τί*, *διὰ τί*, and *τί ὅτι* are synonyms of each other, marking no lexical distinction between them, e.g., Exod 2:1; 5:15; Num 11:11; 20:5. See Wevers, *Notes on Exodus*, 21, 67; John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*, SCS 46 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 165.

the question in context, just like the rare phrase τί ὅτι does not mean anything specifically unique apart from διὰ τί. The choice for each phrase appears to have been determined by a literalism that regarded the source word construct, akin to word-order in syntax.

These choices give us the opportunity to peak into the translators' linguistic background that influenced their decisions. The choices made linguistic sense to the translators, whose first and second languages were Greek and Aramaic. With Classical Hebrew as an academic language and in tandem with an orientation to a certain kind of literalism, the earliest translators seem to have adapted their understanding of these Hebrew interrogatives into their Greek target text.



# The use of *νουθετέω* in the Old Greek of Job and Its Consequences

*Patrick Pouchelle*

**Abstract:** The first aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the Old Greek (OG) of Job has systematically translated the Hebrew root יסר as well as the *hitpolel* stem of בן by a word from the family of *νουθετέω*. By doing this, the OG of Job breaks the systematic relationship between *παιδεύω/παιδεία* and יסר, which comes from the Pentateuch and is found up to the free translation of Proverbs. By analyzing briefly the use of *νουθετέω* in Greek literature as well as in the papyri and inscriptions, this article will show that this Greek lexeme shares the same semantic field as יסר, merging oral and physical reproach, on the contrary to *παιδεύω*, which never conveys the nuance of physical reproach, neither in Greek literature nor in papyri and inscriptions. Assuming that the OG of Job knew at least the Greek Pentateuch, I will argue that the translator has deliberately replaced *παιδεύω* and its cognates by *νουθετέω*. I will therefore conclude that the translator of Job is not the same as the one of Proverbs. As for the relationship between *νουθετέω* and the *hitpolel* stem of בן, I will prudently state that the OG of Job may have referred to Deut 32:10 in which *παιδεύω* renders the *polel* stem of בן.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The diversity of the vocabulary of the OG of Job has already been noticed.<sup>1</sup> Some commentators have noticed that the translator favors Greek words of a high level<sup>2</sup> and refers to the Septuagint as well.<sup>3</sup> Yet, an exhaustive study of the

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1. See, e.g., Gillis Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*, LUÅ N.F. Avd 1 43.2–3, 52.3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1946–1956), 1:14.

2. The OG of Job owns some Greek words that occurs nowhere else in the Septuagint, or very infrequently, such as *βροτός* (17 times in Job), *ἐξάλσιος* (9 times in

lexicographic options of Job needs to be done, so as to better determine the background of the translator of the OG of Job.

The aim of this contribution is to begin such an investigation by studying the occurrence of the lemma *νουθετέω* and its cognates in the Old Greek (OG) of Job. Indeed, these words have not received the attention they deserve. In particular, two questions have not been solved satisfactorily:

1. Why does the OG of Job use *νουθετέω* instead of *παιδεύω* to render *סִר* in Job 4:3?
2. Where does the unusual meaning of the passive voice of *νουθετέω* (“to understand”) come from?<sup>4</sup>

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Job), and *ἄτοπος* (6 times in Job, only in Prov 30:20 and 2 Macc 14:23). Many of them are Homeric words. See Joseph Ziegler, “Homerische Vokabeln im griechischen Iob,” in *Beiträge zum griechischen Iob*, MSU 17 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1985), 110–12, Evangelia G. Dafni, “ΝΟΥΣ in der Septuaginta des Hiobbuches: Zur Frage nach der Rezeption der Homerepik im hellenistischen Judentum,” *JSJ* 37 (2006): 35–54, Ziegler, “*Βροτός*: A Favourite Word of Homer in the Septuagint Version of Job,” *Verbum et Ecclesia* 28 (2007): 35–65. See also Markus Witte, “The Greek Text of Job,” in *Das Buch Hiob und Seine Interpretationen: Beiträge zum Hiob-Symposium auf dem Monte Verità vom 14.–19. August 2005*, ed. T. Krüger et al., ATANT 88 (Zürich: TVZ, 2007), 33–54 (40). About the aim of the translator to produce a good Greek, see, e.g., Claude E. Cox, “The Historical, Social, and Literary Context of Old Greek Job,” in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Leiden, 2004, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 54 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 105–16 (111). Orlinsky also pointed out that OG of Job does not always respect a lexical equivalence. A same Hebrew word could be translated by several Greek words (see Harry M. Orlinsky, “Studies in the Septuagint of Job: Chapter 2. The Character of the Septuagint Translation of the book of Job,” *HUCA* 29 (1958): 229–71, esp. 258–60).

3. The study of Heater, *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job*, CBQMS 11 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1982), aimed to demonstrate that the translator may harmonize his translation with other passages of the book of Job or even of the whole Septuagint. As regard to this thesis, Cox, “The Historical,” 116 reminds the proximity of Job 4:21 with Isa 40:24b, of Job 34:13 with Ps 24:1 and Job 34:15 with Gen 3:19. Cox also stated that OG respected some Septuagint choice concerning the words of wrongdoing, such as *ἀσεβής* or *רשע* or *κακία* and *κακός* for *רע* even if he can also have original approach in this matter, especially by his use of *ἄτοπος* (see Claude E. Cox, “Vocabulary for Wrongdoing and Forgiveness in the Greek Translations of Job,” *Text* 15 [1990]: 119–30).

4. Johannes Behm, “*νουθεσία, νουθετέω*,” *TDNT* 4:1019–22 simply observed that these words shared the classical semantic field; Friedel Selzer, “*νουθετέω*,” *NIDNTT* 1:568–69 stated that it is used mostly in wisdom literature, meaning “warning.” Both noticed the unusual use of the passive form in Job with the meaning “to understand.” Ceslas Spicq, “*νουθεσία, νουθετέω*,” *TLNT*, 2:548–51 mentioned Job 4:3 and explained that *νουθεσία* is part of the education (*παιδεία*).

The aim of this contribution is to go deeper into the examination of these questions and to draw some conclusions about (1) the independence of the OG of Job from the translator of the book of Proverbs and (2) the possibility of the OG having used the Pentateuch as a lexicon.

## 2. THE USE OF νοθετέω IN THE OG OF JOB

In this section, after recalling the Greek and Hellenistic background of νοθετέω,<sup>5</sup> the contribution aims to demonstrate that the OG of Job uses the Greek lexeme as a lexical equivalent to both the root יסר and the *hitpolel* of בן.

### 2.1. THE GREEK AND HELLENISTIC BACKGROUND

The verb νοθετέω is a compound of νοῦς and τίθημι. It literally means “to put something in someone’s mind.” Yet, it does not mean “to teach” or “to instruct.”<sup>6</sup> This verb, and its derivatives,<sup>7</sup> rather belong to the semantic field of advice;<sup>8</sup> admonition, rebuking, and warning;<sup>9</sup> and finally exhortation and consolation.<sup>10</sup> All these nuances share the idea of changing one’s mind,<sup>11</sup> so as

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5. In line with the method used to write contributions to the *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint*, ed. E. Bons and J. Joosten (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming).

6. Neither BDAG nor Selzer, *NIDNTT* 1:568 suggest such a meaning. Spicq, *TLNT* 2:548, speaks about to “instruct, lecture” but give no examples. Behm, *TDNT* 4:1019 suggest a fragment attributed by Stobaeus to Democritus (fr. 52 Diels): τὸν οἰόμενον νοῦν ἔχειν ὁ νοθετέων ματαιοπονεῖ. The use of νοθετέω is there, however, fully compliant with “to reproach”: “the one who gives reproach to someone who believes having intelligence, labors in vain.” This is a proverb about the difficulty to rebuke someone. This interpretation is supported, for instance, by the way Isocrates explains how it is difficult to somebody to accept reproaches (Isocrates, *Demon.* 45; *Bus.* 3; see also Sophocles, *Phil.* 1322).

7. The derivatives that also appears in LXX are νοθεσία (Wis 16:10), νοθέτημα (Job 5:17), and νοθέτησις (Prov 2:2; Jdt 8:27). Even in secular Greek, all these words, belongs to the semantic fields of “reproach” (so as to impel a king to take the will of gods into account, Aeschylus, *Pers.* 830), “admonition” (giving admonition is the function of the poet in the city so as to improve the people, according to Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1009), and “punishment” (see the corrective rod in Plato, *Leg.* 700c).

8. LSJ suggest this specific nuance, to “advise concerning” something. However the difference with “to warn,” “to admonish,” or “to rebuke” is sometime subtle. For example, in Sophocles, *Aj.* 1156, a man who rejoiced over his neighbor’s misfortunes is more rebuked or warned than advised. If Orestes, in Euripides, *Orest.* 299, does not rebuke his sister, he clearly exhorts her to change her mind and her behavior.

9. See for example L&N 33.339 and Selzer, *NIDNTT* 1:568.

10. In Euripides, *Med.* 29, for instance, a desperate Medea does not want to hear the consolation of her friends.

to change one's behavior.<sup>12</sup> The person who should be rebuked is often lacking reason.<sup>13</sup> The duty to perform that task often belongs to the friend<sup>14</sup> or the father.<sup>15</sup> They act through a discourse that could be qualified as one of wisdom.<sup>16</sup>

This verb quickly gained the meaning "to discipline corporally." For instance, Aristophanes expresses the difficulties fathers and sons have communicating with each other:

εἰ νῆ Δί' αὔθις κονδύλοις νουθετήσῃ' ἡμᾶς

If you rebukes again with your fists. (Aristophane, *Vesp.* 254)

Moreover, it is used in association with *ράβδος* ("the rod"), *πληγή* ("the stroke"), or even *κολάζω* ("to chastise").<sup>17</sup> For example, according to Plato,<sup>18</sup> happier is the man chastised than the man who is totally free in his actions as the latter will probably become a criminal.

The middle/passive voice may express the meaning "to be warned" or "to realize" through events so as to be frightened, to change one's mind, and to modify one's behavior.<sup>19</sup>

It should also be noted that *παιδεύω* is sometime used as synonym for *νουθετέω*. In these infrequent occurrences, the meaning of *παιδεύω* is very close to that of *νουθετέω*:

11. For Behm, *TDNT* 4:1019, it "describes an effect on the will and disposition, and it presupposes an opposition which has to be overcome. It seeks to correct the mind." Moreover, for Selter, *NIDNTT* 1:568, it describes "the exertion of influence upon the *nous*, implying that there is a resistance."

12. See, e.g., *BDAG* s.v., "to counsel about avoidance or cessation of an improper course of conduct."

13. E.g., P.Brem. 61.25–32, second century CE, Hermopolis (?). This letter explains how two slaves (or children?) are sent to rebuke (better than to advise) a fool (*ὁ μωρὸς*) and his mother so that their bad comportments could come to an end. See Roger S. Bagnal and Raffaella Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC–AD 800* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 142–43.

14. See, e.g., Euripides, *Med.* 29; Sophocles, *Oed. col.* 1193; Isocrates, *Demon.* 45; Plutarch, *Adul. amic.* 50B. However, the true philosopher is unfairly rebuked by the mob in Plato, *Phaedr.* 249d.

15. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.2.15.

16. Such a discourse states that one should control himself and do not obey to his passion. See, e.g., Herodotus, *Hist.*, 3.36.1.

17. See, e.g., Platon, *Prot.* 323e ; Plutarque, *Lyc.* 17,1 ; Jamblique, *Vit. Pyth.* 197.

18. Plato, *Gorg.* 478e–479a.

19. By misfortune (Polybius, *Hist.* 15.6.6, Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl.* 17.15.1 ; Plutarch, *Luc.* 7.3), by the famous works of Alexander (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl.* 17.7.2), by the seeing of dead soldiers (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl.* 17.45.1). See also Plutarch, *Arat.* 23.6. There, a defeated officer rejects a former beloved proverb.



“ὁ μὲν πατὴρ” ἔφη “μεθέστηκεν, ὃς ἐπαίδευέ τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐνουθετεῖ, λοιπὸς δὲ σὺ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ δῆπου ἐγὼ· εἴτ’ οὖν ἐγὼ τι ἁμαρτάνοιμι, σύμβουλος γίγνου καὶ ἰῶ τάμά, εἴτ’ αὐτός τι ἁμαρτάνοις, ἀνέχου διδάσκοντος.”

“And now,” told he, “as our father is gone, he who was exhorting and correcting us, you alone remain for me and I for you; if I would fault, become my advisor and heal me and if you would fault, take my instruction.” (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 1.13, Olearius p. 15)

The main argument for the synonymy of παιδεύω and νουθετέω is that they are both used in the imperfect tense. If παιδεύω was used to express the formal education of Apollonius and his brother by their father, a perfect tense would have been more appropriate. Another argument is that the father died when Apollonius and his brother are of an age to be adults.<sup>20</sup>

In a nutshell, νουθετέω and its cognates designate an oral reproach or exhortation or a corporal punishment so as to compel a person to change his mind or his behavior.

## 2.2. THE CORRESPONDENCE OF νουθετέω WITH THE ROOT יסר

The root יסר occurs five times in Job. The verb is used only once in Job 4:3. The substantive מוסר is used three times.<sup>21</sup> Finally, the controversial<sup>22</sup> substantive

20. Philostratus explained that when Apollonius’s father died, he was twenty and his brother twenty-three. Apollonius still need tutelage but not his brother. Furthermore, the saying of Apollonius was emitted by him after another stay in Aegae. It is possible that when Apollonius came back so as to exhort his brother, he was also himself an adult.

21. Job 5:17; Job 20:3; Job 36:10. The other occurrences are dubious. In Job 12:18, the reading מוסר is now believed to be erroneous and מוסר, “fetter,” is preferred (e.g., Robert Gordis, *The Book of Job*, Moreshet 11 [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1978], 139). By giving καθίζανω, “to seat, to establish,” the Old Greek seems to have confused the form with the root ישב, “to sit down” (see Édouard Dhorme, *Le livre de Job*, 2nd ed., Ebib 90 [Paris: Gabalda, 1926], 160), as ישב regularly corresponds to καθίζω. The verb καθίζανω, however, is used only in Prov 18:16, corresponding to a form of נחה, believed by the translator to be related to נוח, “to rest,” translated by καθίζω in Gen 8:4. To be complete, one must admit that מוסר is sometimes believed to occur in Job 33:16. However, if מוסר is to be found in Job 33:16, then it has been written defectively (Gordis, *Book of Job*, 375, David J. Clines, *Job 21–37*, WBC 18A [Nashville: Nelson, 2006], 695–96). In fact, with ἐν εἰδῆσιν φόβου τοιούτοις αὐτοὺς ἐξεφόβησεν, the OG does not correspond to this Hebrew text. The translator could have read יבמראים (which Dhorme, *Livre de Job*, 450, believed to be the original Hebrew text). However, it also goes well with the thought of Job 7:14 (Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, ed. *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*, 2 vols. [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011], 2:2112) according to a translation technique promoted by Heater, *Septuagint Translation Technique*, 4–6.

יָסוּר is used in Job 40:2. All these occurrences, but one,<sup>23</sup> correspond to the old Greek of Job.

In Job 4:3, יָסַר clearly corresponds to νουθετέω,<sup>24</sup> and in Job 5:17, מוֹסֵר is translated by νουθέτημα. The two other occurrences are not so easy to determine. Job 36:10<sup>25</sup> belongs to Job 36:5–13. Here, the OG of Job has no clear textual dependence on the MT and seems to be an epitome.<sup>26</sup> Origen sometimes had difficulties in stating to which Hebrew *Vorlage* the OG of Job corresponds.<sup>27</sup> Here, he believed that what is now LXX Job 36:10a corresponds to MT Job 36:10a. However, this is not completely convincing, as the two verses are very different both in structure and in meaning.<sup>28</sup>

However, what is now LXX Job 36:12 has been correctly related to MT Job 36:12 by Origen, though the verse has been greatly reworked:

וְאִם-לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ בְשִׁלַּח יַעֲבְרוּ וְיָגוּעוּ כְּבָלֵי-דָעַת

But if they do not listen, they shall perish by the sword, and die without knowledge. (NRSV)

ἀσεβεῖς δὲ οὐ διασώζει παρὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς τὸν κύριον καὶ διότι νουθετούμενοι ἀνήκοοι ᾗσαν

But the impious he does not deliver, because they do not wish to know the Lord and because, when they were being admonished, they were unreceptive. (NETS)

Three elements are convincing to demonstrate that the translator worked upon verse 12:

22. See, e.g., Merrill, *NIDOTTE* 2:480–81.

23. Job 20:3, as for Job 40:2, see below.

24. Compare הנה יסרת רבים with εἰ γὰρ σὺ ἐνουθέτησας πολλοὺς.

25. See Samuel R. Driver and Georges B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job*, 2nd ed., ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1950), 273–74, Claude E. Cox, “Origen’s Use of Theodotion in the Elihu Speeches,” *SecCent* 3 (1983), 89–98 (esp. 92), Heater, *Septuagint Translation Technique*, 221–25.

26. The OG of Job owns only 3 verses. “It is thus a question of a résumé,” Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*, 1:24. See also Maria Gorea, *Job repensé ou trahi? Omissions et raccourcis de la Septante*, Ebib n.s. 56 (Paris: Gabalda, 2007), 182–89. The relationship with LXX Job 9:15 is possible (Heater, *Septuagint Translation Technique*, 224).

27. Peter J. Gentry, “Old Greek and Later Revisors: Can We Always Distinguish Them?,” 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), 301–27, esp. 319.

28. Compare ויגל אזנם למוסר to “He opens their ears to instruction” (NRSV) with ἀλλὰ τοῦ δικαίου εἰσακούσεται: “but he will listen to the righteous.” The Greek seems to be a reworking of MT Job 36:7: “He does not withdraw his eyes from the righteous” (NRSV).

1. οὐ διασφάζει should be compared to בשלח יעברו. The translator transforms his *Vorlage* so as to express negatively what has been written positively in the MT.<sup>29</sup>
2. Both verses mention knowledge.<sup>30</sup> However, whereas the MT only relates that the one who does not listen God will die without knowledge, the OG of Job states that the rejecting of knowledge is the reason why God does not save him. For that purpose, the translator has probably added παρὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι, which has no Hebrew counterpart.
3. Both verses express the fact that the wicked did not listen to God. The adjective ἀνήκοος corresponds here to אָשָׁמַע, like in Prov 13:1.

These three elements show that the translator should have a *Vorlage* close to the MT. However, he has reorganized his verses to put the divine chastisement at the beginning, probably to connect his verse with LXX Job 36:10a.

Focusing on the expression καὶ διότι νοθετούμενοι ἀνήκοοι ᾗσαν, we could establish that νοθετέω corresponds here to the root יסר. Of course, as the Greek is an epitome, it is improbable that the *Vorlage* has יסר there. In fact, the translator uses νοθετέω to remind this root occurring in verse 10 of the MT. Indeed, the MT explains in this verse that God opens the ears to the correction (מוֹסֵר). Therefore, MT states that everybody is subject to the correction, but the unreceptive person is a wicked one. With a slight nuance,<sup>31</sup> that is precisely what καὶ διότι νοθετούμενοι ἀνήκοοι ᾗσαν means: the impious is not saved, because, being rebuked, he was not receptive.

The last occurrence, Job 40:2, officially corresponds to the asterisked material. As LXX Job 40:3.5 corresponds to MT Job 40:3.5, Origen was impelled to add LXX Job 40:2 as asterisked material so as to have a verse corresponding to MT Job 40:2. This verse better corresponds to LXX Job 40:4, however.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, the OG placed Job 40:2 in the mouth of Job.<sup>33</sup> That could

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29. According to a translation technique already described by Orlinsky, “Studies in the Septuagint,” 231.

30. By תָּעַד in the MT and εἰδέναι in the OG of Job.

31. Here, the theology of the OG of Job is not so far away from the MT. The only decisive difference is the presence of ἀσεβεῖς. In the MT, it is the righteous who may not listen to the correction of God. In the OG of Job, it is the impious who does not listen. In the MT, one could be righteous and fall. In the OG of Job, only the impious could fall.

32. See Dhorme, *Livre de Job*, 561 n.4, but also Donald H. Gard, “The Concept of Job’s Character according to the Greek Translator of the Hebrew Text,” *JBL* 72 (1953): 185 and Karrer and Kraus, *Septuaginta Deutsch*, 2:2120.

33. The doublet corresponding to LXX Job 40:2 and LXX Job 40:4 is due to the difficulty of Origen to determine the real correspondence between the LXX and the Hebrew text. See Gentry, “Old Greek,” 320, and Peter J. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job*, SCS 38 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1995), 517–30.

explain the disappearance of עַם-שָׂדִי and the transformation of יַעֲנֶנָּה (“to reply”) into ἀκούων (“to listen”). Moreover, the structure of the sentence, as well as the other Greek terms, corresponds to the MT:

הַרְבַּע־שָׂדִי יִסֹּר מוֹכִיחַ אֱלֹהִים יַעֲנֶנָּה

Shall a faultfinder contend with the Almighty? Anyone who argues with God must respond.

Τί ἔτι ἐγὼ κρίνομαι νουθετούμενος καὶ ἐλέγχων κύριον ἀκούων τοιαῦτα οὐθὲν ὦν;

Why, being rebuked, hearing such things, being nothing, I am complaining against God?

Here, κρίνομαι corresponds to הַרְבַּע, κύριον to אֱלֹהִים, ἐλέγχων to מוֹכִיחַ. That is why νουθετούμενος clearly corresponds to יִסֹּר.

In a nutshell, all the occurrences of the root יִסֹּר, which have a correspondence in the OG of Job, correspond to νουθετέω and cognates.

### 2.3. JOB 30:1, A SPECIAL CASE

In Job 30:1, the verb has no Hebrew counterpart. It clearly means “to rebuke” in a negative way, since Job is complaining about those who laugh at him.<sup>34</sup> It is probably an ironical reminiscence of the use of יִסֹּר/νουθετέω in Job 4:3. Indeed, Job 29:5–25 describes the former eminent position of Job. He admonished the young person as well as the aged one (v. 8); he helped the poor, the orphan, and the widow (v.12–13). Therefore, using νουθετέω here emphasizes the fall of Job, who is now rebuked by the least (ἐλάχιστοι) of the people.

### 2.4. THE CORRESPONDENCE OF νουθετέω WITH THE *HITPOLEL* OF בִּין

The OG of Job uses νουθετέω to render the *hitpolel* of בִּין.<sup>35</sup> All these occurrences are in the passive voice.<sup>36</sup> However, this correspondence is not evident. Indeed,

34. Such an ironical usage of a reproach expressed by the root יִסֹּר is rare (see, e.g., Jer 2:19).

35. Job 23:15; 34:16 (*qal*, see below); 37:14; 38:18.

36. The only debated presence of an active voice is in Job 37:14. The form νουθετῇ could correspond to the third person of singular subjunctive in the active voice or to the second person of singular of the middle/passive voice. With “But lest he rebukes you,” *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. A. Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: University Press, 2007), hereafter abbreviated NETS, has chosen the first explanation, whereas having translated by “Wenn du dich aber nicht ermahnen lässt,” Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer, *Septuaginta Deutsch*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche

the noun νοῦς never corresponds to the root בִּין.<sup>37</sup> Even if, in other books of the LXX, this root<sup>38</sup> including the *hitpolel* stem, could be rendered by νοέω or one of its compounds,<sup>39</sup> these verbs mean “to understand” and do not share the same semantic field of rebuke as νουθετέω. Furthermore, for the other form of בִּין, the OG of Job uses a verb which shares the semantic field of the Hebrew root, such as φράζω (“to show”),<sup>40</sup> σύνεσις,<sup>41</sup> or γινώσκω.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, the preference of νουθετέω to render the *hitpolel* of בִּין cannot be explained easily.

In regards to Job 23:15, the use of νουθετέω seems to point back to the root יָסַר. Indeed, Job replies to one of his friends that he always has kept the commandment of God (Job 23:11–12). Even when he was rebuked (νουθετούμενος), he took care (φροντίζω) of God. This could echo the discourse of Elihu in Job 36:5–13: Job is such a righteous person.

It is not possible, however, to interpret Job 37:14 and Job 38:18 this way. Both verses deal with the power of God as he has created the world. In Job 36:19–37:24, Elihu makes several references to the mind of Job who has to be converted owing to the consideration of the works of God. He begins with μή σε ἐκκλινάτω ἐκὼν ὁ νοῦς: “Do not consciously turn away your mind” (Job 36:19), he continues with ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν οὐκ ἐξίσταται σου ἡ διάνοια: “Is your mind not amazed by all these things?” (Job 36:28b). Finally he concludes by στῆθι νουθετοῦ δύναμιν κυρίου: “Stand still, be shocked by the power of God.” According to the meaning that νουθετέω in passive voice could have in classical

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Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), hereafter abbreviated LXX.D, prefers the second. The choice of LXX.D is to be preferred, because the meaning given by NETS does not completely comply with the thought of the OG of Job: “But lest he rebukes you, hear these things” is a threat: if you do not hear, God will rebuke you. However, LXX Job 36:10 shows that God precisely rebukes so that the believer may hear. Therefore, it is preferable to interpret the form as a passive voice. Elihu suggests to Job to be aware of the Almighty (see below). Another discussion could briefly be given for Job 37:14, where one manuscript gives νουθετῶν (542, it has been revised later). In fact, there is two main variants: νουθετοῦ (codex Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus) and νουθετούμενος (codex Vaticanus and Venetus), both are in the passive voice. Although it better corresponds to the MT, νουθετοῦ probably is to be preferred: if it would have been a revision towards the MT, then καί should have been added in respect to the 1. Moreover, νουθετούμενος, by avoiding the succession of two imperatives, makes the reading easier. Therefore, νουθετῶν is probably a secondary variant. It is either an erroneous reading of νουθετοῦ, either an attempt to avoid the two imperatives.

37. See also Dafni, “ΝΟΥΣ,” 41–45, 48–54

38. Which is more often rendered by συνίημι, “to understand.”

39. See, corresponding to the *hitpolel* of בִּין, νοέω Jer 2:10; 23:20, διανοέομαι (Sir 3:22), or κατανοέω (3 Kgdms [1 Kgs] 3:21, Job\* 30:20).

40. Job 6:24, corresponding to a *hiphil* of בִּין.

41. Job 6:30, corresponding to a *qal* of בִּין.

42. Job 9:11, corresponding to a *qal* of בִּין.

Greek,<sup>43</sup> it designates here the awareness of something, leading to the modification of one's behavior.

In Job 38:18, it is God himself who argues with Job. An argument similar to that of Elihu is given: Job is not the Creator; he cannot measure the will and intelligence of God. LXX.D and NETS translates according to an assumed specific meaning of *νουθετέω*, "to learn" or "to advise."<sup>44</sup> They assumed an inexistent third agent who would have advised or taught Job so that he could answer God.<sup>45</sup> However, as in Job 37:14, God could also ask Job if he is shocked by, or aware of, the vastness of creation.

Although in Job 34:16, the verb *νουθετέω* does not correspond to *hitpolel* of *בן* but to the *gal*, the idea developed is similar to that of Job 37:14. Elihu argues that God could not have created the world and thus acts unfairly. He urges Job to realize that. Therefore, *εἰ δὲ μὴ νουθετῇ, ἄκουε ταῦτα* should mean "unless you are realizing<sup>46</sup> that, listen to that." As the MT is controversial here,<sup>47</sup> we could ask whether the OG of Job saw another *Vorlage* with a *hitpolel* of *בן* or if he has interpreted the text he read.<sup>48</sup>

### 3. TWO IMPLICATIONS REGARDING SEPTUAGINT RESEARCH

The analysis of the use of *νουθετέω* by the OG of Job shows that he uses this lexeme to render both the root *יסר* and to the *hitpolel* of *בן*. This could shed light on two issues concerning research on the Septuagint: (1) the question of the

43. See above.

44. "Again, have you been advised of the breadth of what is under heaven?" (NETS) and "Und bist du über die Breite des (Gefildes) unter dem Himmel belehrt?" (LXX.D).

45. The rhetorical questions of God ask Job if he was with God when he created the world. If NETS and LXX.D are right, by whom God thinks Job could have been advised or taught? God's argument assumes that Job was present as a spectator when God was creating the world. Therefore the *passivum divinum*, in an ironical way, is also possible. Job 38:18 could then be paraphrased like this: "did someone [that is to say me, God] put in your mind the breadth of the Creation?" However, this meaning is hardly attested in secular Greek, see n. 6.

46. For the analysis of the form *νουθετῇ*, see n. 36.

47. With *וְאַם בִּינָה*. The problem is the presence of the substantive *בִּינָה*. According to Dhorme, *Livre de Job*, 470, n. 16, and Gordis, *Book of Job*, 388, the form *בִּינָה* could not be confounded with the noun *בִּינָה* owing to the stress on the first syllable. It is therefore an imperative form with a cohortative *ה*. In this case *אם* means "indeed" instead of "if." However others suggest altering the MT with *בִּינֹת* or *בִּנֹת*, or *בִּינְתָה* so as to make appear the second person of the singular, see Clines, *Job 21–37*, 750.

48. This hypothesis is realistic as the Peshita, as well as the Targum (not that of Qumran, unfortunately damaged in this verse) owns here a medium/passive stem: *חֲבַח* and *תַּחְבִּיחַ*. It is safe, however, to stay cautious.

identity of the translator of Proverbs and Job and (2) the question of the Pentateuch used as a lexicon.

### 3.1. IS THE TRANSLATOR OF JOB THE SAME AS THE ONE OF PROVERBS?

It was on the basis of a common use of specific Greek words, especially πράσσω and βιόω by Proverbs and Job instead of the usual choice of the LXX, that Gillis Gerleman explained that their translators were one and the same.<sup>49</sup> The contradiction of this thesis<sup>50</sup> is confirmed by the use by the OG of Job of νουθετέω instead of παιδεύω.

Indeed, the choice of νουθετέω is a good one to give the Greek speaker the actual meaning of the root יסר. Although it is debated whether this root basically means “to chastise” or “to instruct,”<sup>51</sup> the whole semantic field contains corporal and oral reproach as well as admonition given by someone having authority (father, king, god or wisdom teacher) to someone having none (son, people, Israel, or pupils) so that he could change his behavior.

In that respect, νουθετέω and its cognates share the same semantic field. For instance, the fact that a king admonishes people has parallel in classical literature.<sup>52</sup> The duty to reproach belongs to a father in secular Greek as well as in the Bible.<sup>53</sup> Both cultures noticed the difficulties to admonish someone who is not willing to accept this reproach.<sup>54</sup> Contrary to παιδεύω,<sup>55</sup> νουθετέω mixes oral

49. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*, 1:15.

50. See John G. Gammie, “The Septuagint of Job: Its Poetic Style and Relationship to the Septuagint of Proverbs,” *CBQ* 49 (1987): 14–31 and more recently by Johan Cook, “Contextuality in Wisdom Literature: The Provenance of LXX Proverbs and Job as Case Studies,” in *Texts, Contexts and Readings in Postexilic Literature: Explorations into Historiography and Identity Negotiation in Hebrew Bible and Related Texts*, ed. L. Junker, FAT 2/53 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 149–68; Cook, “The Relationship Between the LXX Versions of Proverbs and Job,” in *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*, ed. J. Cook and H.-J. Stipp, SVT 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 145–55; and Jan Joosten, “Elaborate Similes—Hebrew and Greek: A Study in Septuagint Translation Technique,” *Bib* 77 (1996), 227–36 repr. in *Collected Studies on the Septuagint: From Language to Interpretation and Beyond*, FAT 83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 3–14 (esp. 13–14). They have analyzed both the content and aspects of form of the Old Greek of Job and have noticed some significant differences with the Septuagint of Proverbs.

51. See the difference between Sæbø, *TLOT* 2:549, and Branson, *TDOT* 6:127–128.

52. Compare Job 4:3 or 1 Kgs 12:11.14 with, e.g., Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1009.

53. Compare Prov 1:8 to Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.2.15.

54. Compare Prov 9:7–8 to the examples given in n. 6.

55. By no means was the Greek education exempt of violence, as the sentence of Menander clearly attested: Ὁ μὴ δαρείς ἄνθρωπος οὐ παιδεύεται (Menander, *Sent.* 573). See also Alan D. Booth, “Punishment, Discipline and Riot in the Schools of Antiquity,”

reproach and corporal correction.<sup>56</sup> Even the nuance given in the passive voice<sup>57</sup> could find a parallel in the Bible. Indeed, in Ezek 23:48, יסר is found in a specific *nitpael* stem. The putting to death of Oholah and Oholibah is the event that allows all the women of the land to be warned.

In short, when the OG of Job has chosen *νουθετέω* to render יסר, he did not shift the meaning of the Greek word and used it in the limit of what a native Greek speaker could understand. The same cannot be said of the use of *παιδεύω* owing to the association of this verb with the wrath or the whip in the LXX,<sup>58</sup> whereas this association does not exist in secular Greek contrary to *νουθετέω*.<sup>59</sup> It is therefore logical that *παιδεύω* and its cognates and *νουθετέω* and its cognates became synonymous in Jewish and Christian texts, as it sometimes is in secular Greek.<sup>60</sup>

The unique occurrence of *νουθετέω* in books outside Job, corresponding to the MT, is in 1 Kgdms 3:13. It corresponds to כהה. This Hebrew verb usually means “to be colorless” or “to be disheartened.” However, it means here “to reproach.”<sup>61</sup> This meaning is clearly needed by the context: God is accusing Eli for not having reproached his sons.<sup>62</sup> The translator may have used *νουθετέω* here, as he has correctly interpreted כהה as a synonym of יסר/παιδεύω.

Furthermore, Wis 11:9–10 compares the fate of the wandering people and that of the Egyptians. The two verses are structured like a *parallelismus membrorum*. As for Israel, it is written:

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EMC 17 (1973): 107–14, Ceslas Spicq, “παιδαγωγός,” *TLNT* 3:1–3, David D.J. Lull, “‘The Law as Our Pedagogue’: A Study in Galatians 3:19–25,” *JBL* 105 (1986): 481–98, Rafaella Cribiore, *Gymnastic of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 65–73, John T. Fitzgerald, “Proverbs 3:11–12, Hebrews 12:5–6, and the Tradition of Corporal Punishment,” in *Scripture and Traditions: Essays on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Carl R. Holladay*, ed. Patrick Gray and Gail R. O’Day, *NovTSup* 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 291–317, and Bernard Legras, “Violence ou douceur: Les normes éducatives dans les sociétés grecque et romaine,” *Histoire de l’Éducation* 108 (2008): 11–34. The verb *παιδεύω*, however, hardly means “to beat” outside the cultural background of Jewish or Christian literature (very few late exceptions: *Vit. Aes.* G.61 or Libanius *Or.* 26.10).

56. See §2, above.

57. See §2, above.

58. See n. 55.

59. For the wrath, compare Ps 6:1 with Plato, *Prot.* 323e. For the rod, compare Prov 23:13 with Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 283F.

60. See §2, above.

61. See Motosuke Ogushi, *Der Tadel im Alten Testament: Eine formgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, *Publications Chercheurs Européennes* 23/115 (Frankfurt [Main]: Peter Lang, 1978), 33, Sæbø, *TLOT* 2:550 or John E. Hartley, “כָּהָה (kāhâ II),” *NIDOTTE* 2:599.

62. See Deut 21:18.



ὅτε γὰρ ἐπειράσθησαν, καίπερ ἐν ἐλέει παιδευόμενοι.... τούτους μὲν γὰρ ὡς πατὴρ  
νουθετῶν ἐδοκίμασας

For when they were tried, though they were being disciplined in mercy.... For  
you tested them as a parent does in warning. (NRSV)

The first stance is in passive voice, whereas the second is in active voice. The two verbs δοκιμάζω and πειράζω, both here in aorist, share the same semantic field and are used synonymously in the LXX.<sup>63</sup> Accordingly, Wis 11:9–10 synonymously employs παιδεύω and its cognates and νουθετέω, here in the present participle, alluding to Deut 8:5.

The unique usage of νουθετέω in the Psalms of Solomon<sup>64</sup> also occurs in a parallelism alluding to Deut 8:5.

ὅτι νουθετήσῃ δίκαιον ὡς υἱὸν ἀγαπήσεως, καὶ ἡ παιδεία αὐτοῦ ὡς πρωτοτόκου.

For he will admonish the righteous as a beloved son, and his discipline is as that of a firstborn. (NETS)

In the Letter to Ephesians 6:4, Paul warned parents: they have to educate their children, ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ κυρίου. The commentaries hardly find any difference between the two words.<sup>65</sup>

They can be characterized as synonyms.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, νουθετέω is sometimes found in nontranslated books where we would expect παιδεύω. For example, ἄλλ' εἰς νουθέτησιν μαστιγοῖ κύριος τοὺς ἐγγίζοντας αὐτῷ (Jdt 8:27): “but the Lord

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63. Ps 25[26]:2; Ps 94[95]:9.

64. Ps. Sol. 13.9–10. This corpus composed of eighteen psalms, dating from the beginning of the roman era appreciates the words παιδεία and παιδεύω a lot. See, for instance, Rod A. Werline, “The Experience of God’s Paideia in the Psalms of Solomon,” in *Linking Text and Experience*, vol. 2 of *Experientia*, ed. Colleen Schantz and Rodney A. Werline, ETL 35 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 17–44 or Kenneth Atkinson, “Enduring the Lord’s Discipline: Soteriology in the Psalms of Solomon,” in *This World and the World to Come: Soteriology in Early Judaism*, ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, LSTS 74 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 145–63.

65. Ernest Best, *Ephesians*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 569, Harold W. Hoehner, *Ephesians: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 798. See, however, Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, WBC 42 (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 407–8, and Jean-Noël Aletti, *Saint Paul Épître aux Éphésiens*, EBib n.s. 42 (Paris: Gabalda, 2001), 295–96, for whom νουθεσία is a precision of παιδεία.

66. Therefore we cannot consider that νουθετέω is an oral reproach and παιδεύω a chastisement, on the contrary to Selter, *NIDNTT* 1:568–569 and Richard C. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1880), 113.

scourges those who are close to him in order to admonish them” (NRSV) probably points back to Prov 3:12.<sup>67</sup>

When Josephus quotes or paraphrases the Old Testament, he systematically used *νουθετέω* instead of *παιδεύω*.<sup>68</sup> For example, in paraphrasing Deut 21:18:

πρῶτον μὲν λόγοις αὐτοὺς νουθετεῖτωσαν οἱ πατέρες =

The parents first of all warn them with words.<sup>69</sup> (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.260)

Or 1 Kgdms 12:11,

καὶ εἰ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς νουθέτει, σκορπίοις τοῦτο ποιήσιν αὐτὸν προσδοκᾶν

If he [Solomon] had disciplined them with whips, they should expect that he would do the same with scorpions.<sup>70</sup> (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.217)

Although he faithfully quotes the LXX, Philo eschews using *παιδεύω* with the meaning of “to reproach.” A clear case can be found in *Congr.* 177 where he quotes Prov 3:12 but interprets it with *νουθετέω*.

It could be assumed that Josephus and Philo have chosen *νουθετέω*, because they believed that this word would be more easily understood than *παιδεύω*, which only means “to educate” for a well-trained Greek. The same is probably true of the OG of Job who likes using such words.<sup>71</sup>

The book of Proverbs, however, uses *παιδεύω* to translate רָם. It is therefore improbable that the translators of Job and Proverbs are the same.<sup>72</sup> However, that the substantive *νουθέτησις* appears in Prov 2:2c should also be taken into

67. ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται: “for the Lord reproves the one he loves, as a father the son in whom he delights” (NRSV). This allusion is confirmed by the use in both sentence of the form *μαστιγοῖ*, “he scourges,” and by the relationship between *παραδέχομαι* and *ἐγγίζω*: one would accept a person who are coming closer (see, in military context Polybius, *Hist.* 15.13.9).

68. Josephus seems to know the Septuagint as he has referred to it in *Ant.* 1.10–13; however, the way he used it is still debated, see Lawrence R. Lincoln, “The Use of Names as Evidence of the Septuagint as a Source for Josephus’ *Antiquities* in Book 1 to 5,” in *Septuagint and Reception*, ed. J. Cook, SVT 127 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 179–80.

69. Translation of Louis H. Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1–4*, vol. 3 of *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, ed. S. Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

70. Translation of Christopher T. Begg and Paul Spilsbury, *Judean Antiquities 8–10*, vol. 5 of *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, ed. S. Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

71. See, n. 2.

72. Of course, the translator could have deliberately chosen *παιδεύω* owing to the fact that Proverbs was dedicated to a Jewish audience and Job to a non-Jewish one. However, the many words shared only by Job and Proverbs and not by the LXX weaken this hypothesis.

account. The stich, παραβαλεῖς δὲ αὐτήν ἐπὶ νοθέτησιν τῷ υἱῷ σου, is absent from codex Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. It sounds like a doublet of Prov 2:2b, παραβαλεῖς καρδίαν σου εἰς σύνεσιν. They both correspond to the MT: תטה לבך הבהנה, assuming לבנך instead of לבך. Therefore, the translator of Prov 2:2c considered νοθέτησις as a good lexical choice for a form similar to תבנה, as that of the OG of Job.<sup>73</sup>

### 3.2. DOES THE OG OF JOB USE THE PENTATEUCH AS A LEXICON?

The possibility that the Septuagint (LXX) of the Pentateuch could have been used as a lexicon was expressed more than a century ago.<sup>74</sup> More recently, Emmanuel Tov dedicated a whole article to it.<sup>75</sup> But, despite the attractiveness of this idea, it has been debated, notably by Johann Lust<sup>76</sup>, James Barr,<sup>77</sup> and few others.<sup>78</sup>

In fact, Barr did not totally refute the idea that the Greek Pentateuch was used as a lexicon but found it hard to prove.<sup>79</sup> Accordingly, he made a plea for “numerous ... investigations, each directed to a limited area and each open to quite contrary possibilities,” and he added that it “remains possible ... that new arguments or new approaches, working from another angle, may succeed in confirming the validity of that approach.”<sup>80</sup>

The originality of the approach suggested by this contribution is that νοθετέω and cognates does not occur at all in the Pentateuch! One might think that the presence in a given book of a lexeme absent from the Greek Pentateuch leads to the

73. Hopefully, the forthcoming edition of Göttingen will shed light to this issue.

74. Francis W. Mozley, *The Psalter of the Church: The Septuagint Psalms Compared with the Hebrew* (Cambridge: University Press), xiii.

75. Emmanuel Tov, “The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the Other Books,” in *Mélanges D. Barthelemy: Études bibliques offertes à l’occasion de son 60e anniversaire*, OBO 38 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 577–92.

76. Johann Lust, “The Vocabulary of LXX Ezekiel and Its Dependence upon the Pentateuch,” in *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic Literature: Festschrift C. H. W. Brekelmans*, ed. M. Vervenne and J. Lust, BETL 133 (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 529–46.

77. James Barr, “Did the Greek Pentateuch Really Serve as a Dictionary for the Translation of the Later Books?,” in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, OLA 118 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 523–543.

78. Like James Karol Palmer, “‘Not Made with Tracing Paper:’ Studies in the Septuagint of Zechariah,” *TynBul* 57 (2006): 318.

79. This is why the conclusion of Barr, “Did the Greek Pentateuch,” 542–43 is so careful.

80. *Ibid.*, 542.

independence of this book from the Pentateuch.<sup>81</sup> A systematic use of this argument could be misleading, however. Each book of the LXX should be specifically studied before one is able to state that it used the Pentateuch as a lexicon.<sup>82</sup>

In that respect, the correspondence in Job of ἐλέγχω and ἔλεγχος with the root יכח is striking and may be a witness for the dependence of this book on the LXX.<sup>83</sup> It is therefore very interesting that the OG of Job does not follow the LXX in his choice of παιδεύω and its cognates to translate the root יסר,<sup>84</sup> since ἐλέγχω and παιδεύω are often found together in the LXX owing to the proximity of יכח and יסר. It should be noticed that the asterisked material<sup>85</sup> of Job 20:3, renders מוֹסֵר by παιδεία exactly, as it is usually the case in the Septuagint.

Similarly, the OG of Job is also the only book where νοθετέω corresponds to the root בין and especially the *hitpolel* stem.<sup>86</sup> This correspondence is surprising as בין does not mean “to reproach” but “to understand.”<sup>87</sup> In fact, one should remember that the Pentateuch used παιδεύω once to correspond to the sole occurrence of בין *polel* (Deut 32:10). Indeed, in the so-called song of Moses, the LXX translates the *polel* of בין by παιδεύω:

יסבבנהו יבוננהו יצרנהו כאישון עינו

He shielded him, cared for him, guarded him as the apple of his eye. (NRSV)

81. See, concerning LXX Isaiah, Theo A.W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*, CBET 47 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 236–237.

82. Barr, “Did the Greek Pentateuch,” 542.

83. All the occurrences of ἔλεγχος and all of ἐλέγχω correspond to this Hebrew root, except in Job where ἐλέγχω also corresponds to רשע, “to condemn as guilty,” which could be one of his classical meaning. See esp. Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots*, 4 vols. (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968–1980; repr. with a supplement, 1999; new ed 2009), s.v. The substantive ἐλεγχίς is a special case. It always corresponds to שיח (Job 21:3; 23:2). Therefore, whereas the complaint of Job in MT reminds those of the psalmist (see A. R. Pete Diamond, “שִׁיחַ [śīaḥ III],” *NIDOTTE* 3:1235), those of OG of Job is nearer of someone who want to refute God (see, e.g., LXX Job 40:4). We have to remind, however, that there is also the possibility that the correspondence between יכח and the word ἐλέγχω and cognates was so strong that the OG of Job had no other choice; even if he did not want to follow the other books of the Septuagint (see Barr, “Did the Greek Pentateuch,” 540–41).

84. See HRCS or Eugen H. Merrill, “יָסַר (yāsār I),” *NIDOTTE* 2:481 Magne Sæbø, “יָסַר,” *TLOT* 2:548–51, and Robert D. Branson, “יָסַר,” *TDOT* 6:127–34.

85. The OG of Job is shorter than the Hebrew Job. Therefore, Origen filled the gap with another translation, the so-called “asterisked material.”

86. Job 23:15; 34:16 (*qal*); 37:14; 38:18. One should also notice Job 30:1, where νοθετέω has no clear Hebrew counterpart, see 2.3.

87. According to *HALOT*, the *hitpolel* of בין means “to behave intelligently” or “to direct one’s attention” or “to examine closely.”

ἐκύκλωσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν αὐτὸν καὶ διεφύλαξεν αὐτὸν ὡς κόραν ὀφθαλμοῦ

he encircled him and educated him and guarded him as the apple of his eye.  
(NETS)

The Samaritan Pentateuch reads here the root בִּן instead of בִּי.<sup>88</sup> If we accept this reading, the translator has read a form of בִּן and missed the *polel* of בִּי. He has probably chosen παιδεύω because of its etymology: “to act towards someone as one would to a child.”<sup>89</sup> The context is of protection more than education. Therefore, the translator of the Deuteronomy probably wanted to express the way God takes care of his people more than the way he rebukes him.

However, the fact that only one verb is used in Deut 32:10 and Deut 8:5 could have lead readers to confuse these two interpretations.<sup>90</sup> It is therefore possible to associate παιδεύω with both יסר and בִּן or a stem of בִּי with duplication of the last consonant, here י, as the *polel* and the *hitpolel*.

If this assumption is correct, then the translator of Job would have associated the stem *polel* and *hitpolel* of בִּי or the root בִּן with παιδεύω, using Deuteronomy like a dictionary.<sup>91</sup> He then substituted νουθετέω to παιδεύω as the former better fits his purpose. That would explain well why the OG of Job has νουθετέω, while he translated the other stem of בִּי according to the LXX. It cannot be argued against this idea that the OG of Job had no other choice than νουθετέω to render the *hitpolel* of בִּי since the other books of the LXX translate it otherwise.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, the OG of Job shows a shift in the meaning of the MT, moving from “to understand” to “to realize/to be convinced.” It cannot be argued that a later reviser altered the text to harmonize it with the Pentateuch, since he would have used παιδεύω instead of νουθετέω.

This assumption should indeed be confirmed by a more in-depth study of the lexical choice of Job. Such a study remains to be done.

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88. *BHQ*.

89. See Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, s.v.

90. Both ancient and modern. See, e.g., Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 56, or Marguerite Harl, “Le grand cantique de Moïse en Deutéronome 32 : Quelques traits originaux de la version grecque des Septante,” in *La langue de Japhet : Quinze études sur la Septante et le grec des chrétiens*, ed. M. Harl (Paris : Cerf, 1992), 137, n. 29.

91. Of course, this kind of equivalence could point back to a time prior the translation of the Pentateuch. But as the *hitpolel* of בִּי was never translated by παιδεύω or νουθετέω elsewhere in the LXX, this hypothesis seems improbable.

92. For the correspondence of νουθέτησις with תְּבוּנָה in Prov 2:2, see § 3.1.



# The Peculiar Occurrences of $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ in the Septuagint of Genesis and Exodus

*Christopher J. Fresch*

**Abstract:** The study of translation technique in the Septuagint is a field rich with details that offer us a fuller understanding of the translators and how they read their Hebrew *Vorlagen*. Their choices often reveal their appreciation of Greek grammar and understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures. This can be observed in the use of  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ . In LXX Genesis and Exodus, aside from one instance,  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  is not a lexically motivated translation. In order to understand its use, one must consider the particle's discourse-pragmatic function to mark both continuity and development.  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  is consistently used in places where thematic development is observable, most notably in situations of changes in time (signalled in Hebrew by  $\text{וַעֲתָה}$ ) and changes in mood (e.g., indicative > imperative). Thus,  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  is used to make explicit that what follows should be regarded as a development on the theme-line while maintaining a close continuative connection with the preceding material. This suggests that the translators were aware of at least the immediate context and also evinces their aptitude for translating into Greek, as they were able to render their source text into idiomatic Greek despite the lack of a lexical equivalent in their Hebrew *Vorlagen*.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In Septuagint Genesis and Exodus, the use of  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  is an interesting matter. The particle appears forty-one times in Genesis and twenty-nine in Exodus, and yet only once can it be said with any certainty to be a lexically motivated translation. That is to say, only once is there an obvious Hebrew equivalent to the particle. In most every other instance, the underlying Hebrew seems to have exhibited either asyndeton or a conjunctive  $\text{ו}$  (for reasons explained below, I am including instances of  $\text{וַעֲתָה}$  here), which are most commonly rendered in Greek by asyndeton or  $\text{καί}$ , respectively. Expected equivalents for  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  would be  $\text{לָכֵן}$ ,

על-כן, and אפוא.<sup>1</sup> This, then, begs the question: since such equivalents are not attested in the textual tradition and therefore we presume not in the translators' *Vorlagen*, what motivated the translators to use the particle?

In this paper, I argue that the translators were able to use οὖν because they were aware of the wider context and the flow of the discourse. The discourse-pragmatic function of the particle is to mark development and continuity between thematic groupings. As such, the translators employed οὖν to explicitly indicate that the units linked together by it were to be understood as thematically related parts of a larger unit that build on one another, the latter part thus being conceived of as a new development, even though the translators' *Vorlagen* did not always explicitly encode the text as such. Further, following work by James Aitken, I will suggest that the translational freedom to which the choice to use οὖν attests may be a sign that direct speech, which is where οὖν naturally and most frequently occurs in Greek, generates more freedom as it tends to invite embellishment on the part of translators.

I have chosen to investigate both LXX Genesis and Exodus, which are considered to have been translated by different hands,<sup>2</sup> because while the use of οὖν in one book may be regarded as anomalous or idiosyncratic to one translator, its use in two books in the same manner suggests otherwise. Such an investigation thus provides evidence for two translators whose translations regularly indicate an awareness of the wider context, a sensitivity to higher level discourse features (the specific focus of this paper being the signalling of thematic development and progression), and a freedom to make explicit their conception of the flow of the discourse.

The ultimate goal of such an investigation is to provide further insight into the translators and their translation techniques. When οὖν occurs without a lexical equivalent in the Hebrew, a clearer picture is formed of how the translator rendered his understanding of the Hebrew into Greek. In addition, as some scholars have suggested that the LXX translators were often not aware of even the most immediate context as they translated,<sup>3</sup> the nonlexically motivated presence of οὖν in Genesis and Exodus challenges this stance.

1. ועתה, when functioning as a discourse marker rather than as a conjunctive ו + temporal adverb, would also be an expected equivalent. However, this is dependent on the translators' recognition that ועתה sometimes functions as a discourse marker, and as will be discussed below, the data in LXX Genesis and Exodus are ambiguous at best.

2. Anneli Aejmelaesus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch*, Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 31 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1982), 176, 180–81; Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 14–15.

3. Anneli Aejmelaesus, "What Can We know about the Hebrew Vorlage?," in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, CBET 50 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 71–106 (84); Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, "Beobachtungen Zur Arbeitsweise der Septuaginta-Übersetzer," in *Non-Hebrew Section*, vol. 3 of *Isac Leo Seeligmann Volume: Essays on*



## 2. THE DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC FUNCTION OF οὖν

Traditionally, οὖν has been primarily classified under two different categories: transitional conjunction and inferential conjunction.<sup>4</sup> As a transitional conjunction, οὖν is often described as signalling a simple continuation of narration, sometimes with a temporal constraint. In addition, grammarians occasionally mention that the particle, at times, will introduce a new thought while continuing the narrative.<sup>5</sup> When described as an inferential conjunction, οὖν is understood to signal a conclusion or inference from the preceding material. These categories, while helpful in describing the contexts in which οὖν is often found, lack specificity with regard to the function of the particle and thus have difficulty accounting for its use in examples such as Gen 27:33 and Exod 4:1.<sup>6</sup>

Gen 27:32-33

<sup>32</sup>And his father Isaak said to him, “Who are you?” And he said, “I am your firstborn son, Esau.”

<sup>33</sup>ἐξέστη δὲ Ἰσαὰκ ἔκστασιν μεγάλην σφόδρα καὶ εἶπεν Τίς οὖν ὁ θηρεύσας μοι θήραν καὶ εἰσενέγκας μοι; καὶ ἔφαγον ἀπὸ πάντων πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐλθεῖν καὶ εὐλόγησα αὐτόν, καὶ εὐλογημένος ἔστω.

Then Isaak was astonished with very great astonishment and said, “Who *oyn* was the one who hunted game for me and brought it in to me? And I ate of everything before you came, and I blessed him, and let him be blessed!”

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*the Bible and the Ancient World*, ed. Alexander Rofé and Yair Zakovitch (Jerusalem: Rubinstein, 1983), 319–29.

4. See J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, rev. by K. J. Dover, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 426; H. E. Dana and Julius R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1957), 253–54; Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 673–74; G. B. Winer, *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*, trans. W. F. Moulton, 9th English ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1882), 555; Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (London: Continuum, 2005), 214–15; BDF §451(1); Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. by Gordon M. Messing (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), §2964; A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 1934), 1191–92. Richard A Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek: A Linguistic and Exegetical Approach* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994), 191; BDAG, s.v. οὖν; LSJ, s.v. οὖν; GELS, s.v. οὖν.

5. See Smyth, *Grammar*, §2964; Winer, *New Testament Greek*, 555; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 253–54; Denniston, *Particles*, 425–26. This is keen insight from the grammarians and will be discussed below.

6. The Greek passages are taken from the Göttingen Septuagint, the English translations of the Greek text from the NETS (except where I remove the translation of οὖν and represent the particle with “*oyn*”), Hebrew passages from *BHS*, and the English translations of the Hebrew text from the NRSV. Often, I will include a verse or two before or following the verse under discussion in order to provide a better sense of the context.

Exod 3:22-4:1

<sup>22</sup> “But a woman will ask from a neighbor and tent mate of hers silver and gold articles and clothing, and you shall put them on your sons and on your daughters, and you shall plunder the Egyptians.”

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπεκρίθη δὲ Μωϋσῆς καὶ εἶπεν Ἐὰν οὖν μὴ πιστεύσωσιν μοι μηδὲ εἰσακούσωσιν τῆς φωνῆς μου, ἐροῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι Οὐκ ὤπταί σοι ὁ θεός, τί ἐρῶ πρὸς αὐτούς;

“Then Moyses answered and said, “If *οὖν* they should not believe me or listen to my voice, for they will say, ‘God has not appeared to you!’ what shall I say to them?”

In both of these examples, *οὖν* does not occur in the middle or at the end of narration or argument, that is, where one would expect it to occur if signalling a continuation of narrative or an inference. Rather, in both cases, the particle appears *at the beginning of a speaker’s response in a dialogue*. Moreover, the responses are interrogatives, requesting further information instead of making any kind of declarative statement. As such, the traditional categories of transitional and inferential conjunction are not helpful—there is no simple continuation of narration to be observed nor is there any inference or conclusion.

The traditional categories are a result of the practice to attribute to a particle whatever function can be derived from its surrounding context. This creates a plethora of possible functions for each particle, the choice of which in any given instance being dependent on how one first interprets the particle’s surrounding context. Thus, when a narrative continues forward, *οὖν* is a transitional conjunction; when there is an inferential deduction in the text, it is an inferential conjunction. Because of this method of attributing to the particle what is already clearly communicated in the context, some grammarians posit other categories for *οὖν* as well, such as response, emphasis, and contrast.<sup>7</sup> If this method is valid and such categories are accurate descriptions of the function of *οὖν*, then it begs the question whether the particle is necessary at all since its function is attributed to it based on what is already evident and being clearly communicated in the surrounding context.

Owing to research in discourse analysis, a different approach can be taken and a refinement can be made to the description of the function of *οὖν*. Particles have their own pragmatic functions that aid the reader in the construction of his mental representation of the discourse.<sup>8</sup> That is, they encode, each one in

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7. See, for example, Young, *New Testament Greek*, 191; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 254–56; BDAG, s.v. *οὖν*.

8. Black puts it well when she writes regarding *γάρ* and *οὖν*: “Rather than indicating the logical relations between the contents of propositions, *γάρ* and *οὖν* signal discourse relations between the sentences themselves—that is, how the sentences are to fit together in a mental representation of the discourse.” Stephanie Black, *Sentence Conjunctions in the Gospel of Matthew: καί, δέ, τότε, γάρ, οὖν and Asyndeton in Narrative Discourse*, JSNTS 216 (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 261.

accordance with its function, the mental route by which the reader should proceed and thus signal for the reader how to process the discourse relations between utterances.<sup>9</sup> The particle οὖν, specifically, signals that what follows is the next step in the discourse while still maintaining a close continuative connection with the preceding material. Οὖν is able to accomplish this, because, as Steven Runge argues, it exhibits two co-occurring pragmatic constraints on the text: marking development and marking continuity.<sup>10</sup> Regarding the first constraint, marking development, Runge writes, “Development markers guide the reader in breaking the discourse into meaningful chunks, based upon how the writer conceived of the action or argument.”<sup>11</sup> Thus, as a development marker, οὖν facilitates the reader’s comprehension of the text by marking what follows as a new, distinct development in the discourse, moving it forward to its next stage or step, according to the writer’s conception of it. By also marking continuity within the discourse, οὖν alerts the reader that the following material is still closely associated with what preceded in that the preceding unit is regarded as the mental backdrop to the new development. Gerry Wakker, based on her work in Lysias, arrives at a similar conclusion. She writes, “οὖν indicates that the speaker proceeds to a new important point (thereby having the effect of indirectly characterizing the preceding unit as relevant but subsidiary to or preparatory for what he is going to say now).”<sup>12</sup> When the particle occurs in discourse that follows offline material, its close connection constraint, by its very nature, also enables resumption of a previous theme-line.<sup>13</sup>

Revisiting the traditional categories assigned to οὖν, one can admit that the “transitional” label accords well with the discourse-pragmatic function of οὖν in that development on the theme-line naturally occurs at transition points. As noted earlier, it would even seem that some of the historical grammarians, when writing about “transitional οὖν,” understood the particle’s discourse-pragmatic

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9. Gerry Wakker labels this “functional meaning.” (Gerry C. Wakker, “‘Well I Will Now Present My Arguments’: Discourse Cohesion Marked by οὖν and τοίνυν in Lysias,” in *Discourse Cohesion in Ancient Greek*, ed. Stéphanie Bakker and Gerry Wakker, Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 16 [Leiden: Brill, 2009], 63–81, 65) In a relevance-theoretical framework, the terminology used is “procedural encoding.” See Diane Blakemore, *Relevance and Linguistic Meaning: The Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse Markers*, Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 99 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

10. See Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis*, Lexham Bible Reference Series, (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010), 43–48.

11. Ibid., 29.

12. Wakker, “Discourse Cohesion,” 80.

13. I am thankful to Steve Runge for pointing this out to me. See Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 44–46; Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2000), 126–29; Wakker, “Discourse Cohesion,” 66, 67–71.

function to simultaneously mark development and continuity, though not in those terms. J. D. Denniston, for example, writes: "In narrative, almost purely temporal, marking a new stage in the sequence of events ... proceeding to a new point, or a new stage in the march of thought."<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Winer states, "It is also very frequently used, like the German *nun*, simply to mark the progress of a narration."<sup>15</sup> The label "transitional" lacks specificity about the function of οὖν, though. A reader senses transition in discourse based on what thematic breaks occur between sections, regardless of the presence or absence of a conjunction.<sup>16</sup> When οὖν occurs, it signals to the reader that the present transition is both closely connected to what preceded and is also a new development pushing the discourse forward. As noted earlier, when the particle follows offline material, its close connection constraint enables resumption of a previous theme-line. This is also discussed, though as a separate category, by a few grammarians such as Denniston, Smyth, BDF, Winer, and Young.<sup>17</sup> However, though the desire to explicitly mark resumption of an earlier theme-line may be one motivating factor in the use of οὖν, to label this a separate function of the particle is perhaps going too far as it seems to be a natural consequence of οὖν's function to mark continuity and depends, in part, on one's analysis of the semantic relations between propositions.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the frequent description of οὖν as an inferential conjunction is understandable, as inferential relations between propositions naturally occur in contexts where the discourse is pushed forward to its next stage or step but maintains a close connection with what preceded. Inferential relations themselves, though, belong to the semantics of the surrounding context, rather than to the particle itself. This is noted by Stephanie Black as well, who writes:

The delineation of whether a particular context in which οὖν appears is resumptive, transitional, consecutive, consequential, logically inferential, or something else properly belongs to an analysis of the semantic relationships

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14. Denniston, *Particles*, 425–26.

15. Winer, *New Testament Greek*, 555. See Smyth, *Grammar*, §2964; Dana and Mantey, *Manual Grammar*, 253–54.

16. Thematic breaks such as: changes in time, place, kind of action, and participants. (See Robert A. Dooley and Stephen Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts* [Dallas: SIL International, 2001], 35–42.)

17. See Denniston, *Particles*, 428; Smyth, *Grammar*, §2964; Blass and Debrunner, *Greek Grammar*, §451(1); Winer, *New Testament Greek*, 555; Young, *New Testament Greek*, 191.

18. This is noted even more strongly by Sicking, who writes: "This account does away with the need to assume a separate 'resumptive' force as Denniston does: returning from a digression is just one of the ways in which the general description here given may work out." C. M. J. Sicking, "Devices for Text Articulation in *Lysias* I and XII," in *Two Studies in Attic Particle Usage: Lysias and Plato* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 1–66 (27).

between the propositions which οὖν conjoins and not to the (minimal and procedural) semantic content of the conjunction itself.<sup>19</sup>

Given the discourse-pragmatic function of οὖν to mark development and continuity, its occurrences in LXX Genesis and Exodus are of particular interest to the study of translation technique. That the particle is used at all, without lexical motivation in the underlying Hebrew, suggests translators who were aware of the preceding and following contexts and, even more importantly, who encoded their conception of the flow of the discourse into their translations.

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19. Black, *Sentence Conjunctions*, 273–74. (It should be noted that Black’s arguments are based on her investigation of the use of οὖν only in the Gospel of Matthew, and thus she may not extend her analysis beyond that corpus. However, as she finds confirmation for her analysis in the work of classicists such as Sicking and van Ophuijsen, it is likely that she would expect οὖν to function similarly in LXX Genesis and Exodus.) Black treats οὖν slightly differently than I do. She regards the particle as occurring after off-line material, signalling a return to the main-line, and indicating the integration of the off-line material (260). A similar approach can be found in the Attic Greek studies: Sicking, “Devices for Text Articulation,” 25–28, 48; J. M. van Ophuijsen, “OYN, APA, ΔΗ, TOINYN: The Linguistic Articulation of Arguments in Plato’s *Phaedo*,” in Sicking, *Two Studies in Attic Particle Usage*, 89–100. Sicking writes: “οὖν marks a difference in what may be called ‘status’ between what precedes and what follows, where this status may be defined in terms of a relation of *relevance*: the speaker marks what precedes as relevant, and for the present purpose subsidiary, *to what follows*, and by extension to the story or argument as a whole” (27). Similarly, van Ophuijsen states: “By using οὖν a speaker does not intimate that the truth of his present statement should be granted on the strength of his preceding statement; he is imposing an arbitrary relationship on his statements, indicating that what went before need occupy his listeners only in so far as it may assist them in grasping what follows. He is marking a move from what is subservient to what this was intended to serve, from background to foreground” (84). The approaches of Black, Sicking, and van Ophuijsen are similar to my own, though I do feel the need to highlight a couple key differences. I am uncomfortable with the language of “off-line,” “background,” or “introductory or explanatory” (Sicking, “Devices for Text Articulation,” 48) being generally applied to any material preceding οὖν, as the particle frequently follows the main event-line of the narration or argument; however, there is something to be said for how old or processed information loses relative salience as it serves to ground the (relatively more salient) new information. That is to say, when a discourse is marked for development and continuity, the previous material becomes less important as it is no longer the new information being communicated; rather, it serves as the mental backdrop for the new information. (See also Wakker, “Discourse Cohesion,” 80, mentioned earlier, wherein she arrives at similar conclusions regarding οὖν based on her work in Lysias.) To label the discourse preceding οὖν necessarily “off-line,” “background,” or “introductory or explanatory” is taking a step too far, as that status is often communicated at the time of utterance by different features such as subordinate connectives, verbal tense, verbal aspect, nonevent verbs, forward-pointing devices, and dependent clauses (to name a few).

Paying attention to their use of  $\text{וְ}$  can thus offer insight into how the translators read and understood their source text.

### 3. EXAMPLES FROM THE TEXT

First, the work of Anneli Aejmelaesus bears mentioning here, as she has helpfully analyzed the role of parataxis in the LXX Pentateuch in her work *Parataxis in the Septuagint* and pointed the way for further study. In LXX Genesis and Exodus, nearly every instance of  $\text{וְ}$  occurs in material that, in the MT, is introduced either by asyndeton or a conjunctive  $\text{וְ}$ .<sup>20</sup> Normally, when asyndeton occurs in Hebrew, one would expect asyndeton in Greek as well. Similarly, when a conjunctive  $\text{וְ}$  occurs in Hebrew, one would expect  $\text{καί}$ , the almost universal equivalent for conjunctive  $\text{וְ}$ . Though some have tried to regard  $\text{וְ}$  as an equivalent to conjunctive  $\text{וְ}$  while noting that it is not an obvious equivalent and indicates freedom in translation technique,<sup>21</sup> this risks oversimplifying the matter. Not only does  $\text{καί}$  have the pride of place as the equivalent of conjunctive  $\text{וְ}$ , but conjunctive  $\text{וְ}$  is incredibly underspecified with regard to the relation between propositions. Thus, to use an  $\text{וְ}$  in the place of a conjunctive  $\text{וְ}$  is to make the choice, whether consciously or unconsciously, to use a contextually motivated translation instead of the lexical equivalent,  $\text{καί}$ . Furthermore, the fact that  $\text{וְ}$  is frequently used when the Hebrew text exhibits asyndeton (twenty-six occurrences in Genesis–Exodus), informs us that the translators did not require a connective particle in the Hebrew to justify employing  $\text{וְ}$ .

Before moving to examples from the text, it is important to note the nature of development in discourse and thus the contexts in which  $\text{וְ}$  appears. When there is a significant change in time, place, kind of action, or participants in discourse, it creates thematic discontinuity. When thematic discontinuity occurs, a speaker or writer will typically then begin a new thematic grouping.<sup>22</sup> New developments in the theme-line often begin at such boundaries. The presence of  $\text{וְ}$  at discourse boundaries, however, signals a new development that should be understood as maintaining a close connection with the preceding discourse. This is why, in LXX Genesis–Exodus, it is natural that half of the occurrences of  $\text{וְ}$  (35 out of 70) co-occur with a shift to an imperative (change of kind of action), as such a shift accords well with a move to the next stage or step of the discourse while also often requiring the previous discourse to be kept in mind

20. I say “nearly every instance,” because Gen 27:33 contains the one instance of a lexical equivalent,  $\text{אִפּוֹא}$ , Exod 9:2 contains a  $\text{כִּי}$ , and Exod 22:8 [22:9] contains an  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$ .

21. Aejmelaesus, *Parataxis*, 59. Aejmelaesus later notes that she includes  $\text{וְ}$  as an equivalent of  $\text{וְ}$  with some reservation (156).

22. See Dooley and Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse*, 37; Talmy Givón, “The grammar of referential coherence as mental processing instructions,” *Linguistics* 30 (1992): 5–55 (7).

for the justification of the command. Sometimes, the new development will even draw some element from the preceding context forward, whether a cohesive element within the text or, more abstractly, an idea or theme. As Runge states, “Any transition within a cohesive text necessarily involves a combination of continuity and discontinuity. The discontinuity achieves the perceived shift or transition, whereas the continuities provide cohesive links to tie parts into a unified whole.”<sup>23</sup>

Gen 6:14

<sup>13</sup>And God said to Noe, “The time of all humankind has come before me, for the earth has become full of wrongdoing by reason of them, and see, I am going to ruin them and the earth.”

<sup>14</sup>ποιήσον οὖν σεαυτῷ κιβωτὸν ἐκ ξύλων τετραγώνων· νοσσιὰς ποιήσεις τὴν κιβωτὸν, καὶ ἀσφαλτώσεις αὐτὴν ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν τῇ ἀσφάλτῳ.

<sup>14</sup>“Make *oyn* yourself an ark of squared lumber; you shall make the ark with nests and shall bituminize it within and without with bitumen.”

עשה לך תבת עצי גפר קנים תעשה את התבה וכפרת אותה מבית ומחוץ בכפר

“Make yourself an ark of cypress wood; make rooms in the ark, and cover it inside and out with pitch.”

In God’s speech, there is a clear transition in the discourse from the description of the injustice among mankind and the action God will take against it to the command that Noah build the ark. When God moves to address Noah, there is a change of sentence topic, as the topical referents God, mankind, and the earth are left behind and Noah is directly addressed. There is also a change of mood, as the indicative was used to describe the current state of the world but the imperative is used to speak to Noah. These switches naturally lend themselves to signalling a new development. However, the transition could be understood as simply moving to a new, but not necessarily developmental, thought. Asyndeton, then, would have been an acceptable translation<sup>24</sup>—it does not explicitly mark development in the discourse and is often used as the default means of connecting clauses in reported speeches in narrative.<sup>25</sup> Further, asyndeton would have formally matched the Hebrew perfectly. Despite this, the translator chose to use οὖν, thus marking for the reader a development between two closely related thematic groupings. In addition, the material immediately preceding verse 14 is introduced by ὅτι, signalling the material as off-line, thus this οὖν, as I mentioned above in 1.1, also enables resumption of the main-line. Based, then, on what can be observed in the text, it would seem that the translator was motivated to use the particle, irrespective of the asyndeton in his

23. Steve Runge in a private communication to me on 26 July 2013.

24. E.g., Gen 32:11 [MT 32:12]—ἐξελού με ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Ἡσαῦ, ὅτι φοβοῦμαι ἐγὼ αὐτόν, μήποτε ἐλθὼν πατάξῃ με καὶ μητέρα ἐπὶ τέκνοις.

25. Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 20–23; Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 118–20.

*Vorlage*, because of an awareness of the wider context and his understanding of the movement of the discourse between verse 13 and the following material.

Gen 19:22

<sup>21</sup>And he said to him, “Look, I have indulged your person also in reference to this matter, not to overthrow the city concerning which you have spoken.”

<sup>22</sup>σπεῦσον οὖν τοῦ σωθῆναι ἐκεῖ· οὐ γὰρ δυνήσομαι ποιῆσαι πρᾶγμα ἕως τοῦ σε εἰσελθεῖν ἐκεῖ. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως Σήγγωρ.

<sup>22</sup>“Hurry *οὖν* to escape there, for I shall not be able to do a thing until you enter there.” Therefore he called the name of the city Segor.

מהר המלט שמה כי לא אוכל לעשות דבר עד באך שמה על כן קרא שם העיר צוער.  
“Hurry, escape there, for I can do nothing until you arrive there.” Therefore the city was called Zoar.

Prior to these verses, Lot pleads with the Lord to spare a small city nearby so that he can flee there. In verse 21, the Lord responds, agreeing to not overthrow the city. In verse 22, a shift occurs in the Lord’s speech—he addresses Lot directly and commands him to flee to this city as he can not do a thing until Lot enters it. The thematic break is apparent: the temporal frame of the action has changed from past to present, the primary sentence topic has changed from the Lord to Lot, and the grammatical mood has shifted from indicative to imperative. This is fertile ground for signalling a new development. Further, given the continuative elements between the units—Lot, the city under discussion, and the reason Lot requested the city be spared, to flee to it—the use of οὖν is a natural choice and is consistent with its discourse function elsewhere in Greek. As with Gen 6:14, a translator unaware of higher level discourse features would have been expected to follow the Hebrew use of asyndeton. However, rather than representing only the lexical features of his source text, the translator used οὖν, thereby witnessing to his understanding of the discourse relations in his *Vorlage* and to the desire and the freedom to represent higher level features of the discourse despite there not being an equivalent particle in the *Vorlage*. Thus, the discourse relation between sentences, as the translator conceived of it, is made explicit. Verse 22 is understood as a development within the larger unit of the Lord’s speech to Lot with verse 21 serving as its mental backdrop. The content of verse 22 thereby pushes the discourse forward to its next and final logical step: commanding Lot to flee.

Gen 41:24

<sup>22</sup>“And I saw again in my sleep, and as it were seven ears of grain, full and fair, were coming up on one stalk; <sup>23</sup>then seven other ears of grain, scrawny and wind-blasted, were growing up in proximity to them,”

<sup>24</sup>καὶ κατέπιον οἱ ἑπτὰ στάχυες οἱ λεπτοὶ καὶ ἀνεμόφθοροι τοὺς ἑπτὰ στάχους τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ τοὺς πλήρεις. εἶπα οὖν τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἀπαγγέλλων μοι.



<sup>24</sup>“and the seven scrawny and wind-blasted ears of grain swallowed up the seven fair and full ears of grain. I *οὕτως* spoke to the expounders, and there was no one to tell me.”

ותבלען השבלים הדקות את שבע השבלים הטבות ואמר אל החרטמים ואין מגיד לי  
 “And the thin ears swallowed up the seven good ears. But when I told it to the magicians, there was no one who could explain it to me.”

In this passage, Pharaoh is relating his dream to Joseph. In verses 22-24a, he describes the images in the dream and the events that took place. In 24b, however, there is a change of setting and topic. The discourse moves from dream to reality; the topic moves from grain to Pharaoh. The development at this transition is observable: as Pharaoh shifts from the dream to the events that took place after he woke up, namely, that he made an inquiry to the interpreters who were then unable to explain the dream, the narrative is pushed forward to its next stage, which in this case is the conclusion of Pharaoh’s speech. The presence of *οὕτως* chunks the discourse into two units while also signalling a continuative relationship, that the discourse on the dream serves as a mental backdrop to Pharaoh’s concluding statement. In addition, the *οὕτως* has the effect of resuming the theme of verse 15, wherein Pharaoh first speaks to Joseph and says, “I have seen a dream, and there is no one to interpret it.” The translator had the option to use *καί* to translate the *καί* but instead chose *οὕτως*. Given the status of *καί* as the equivalent of *καί*, this should force one to wonder why the translator did not opt for the obvious translation choice. I suggest that the translator, based on a sensitivity to the context, considered *οὕτως* to be the better connective to represent the flow of the discourse.

Gen 45:8

<sup>4</sup>Then Ioseph said to his brothers, “Come near to me.” And they came near. And he said, “I am your brother Ioseph, whom you sold into Egypt. <sup>5</sup>Now therefore do not be distressed nor let it seem hard to you that you sold me here, for God sent me before you for life. <sup>6</sup>For famine is on the earth this second year, and there are still five years remaining in which there will be neither plowing nor harvest. <sup>7</sup>For God sent me before you, to leave behind a remnant of you on the earth and to nourish a great posterity of you.

<sup>8</sup>ὕτως οὕτως οὐχ ὑμεῖς με ἀπεστέλατε ὧδε, ἀλλ’ ἡ ὁ θεός, καὶ ἐποίησέν με ὡς πατέρα Φαραὼ καὶ κύριον παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντα πάσης γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

<sup>8</sup>Now *οὕτως* it is not you who have sent me here, but rather God, and he made me as a father to Pharaoh and lord of all his house and ruler over all the land of Egypt.”

ועתה לא אתם שלחתם אתי הנה כי האלהים וישמיני לאב לפרעה ולאדון לכל ביתו ומשל  
 בכל ארץ מצרים

“So it was not you who sent me here, but God; he has made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his house and ruler over all the land of Egypt.”

Joseph begins in verse 4 by revealing his identity to his brothers. This serves as the foundation and starting point of the speech. The following material thus builds off of it and pushes the discourse forward in order to reach its informational destination. In verse 8, the discourse shifts. In the previous unit, Joseph implored his brothers not to be distressed, as God had sent him ahead to prepare for the famine. In the following unit, Joseph explains that, based on God's action and foresight, it was not, in fact, his brothers who sent him to Egypt, and because it was God who did, Joseph is now ruler over all of Egypt. To note this movement in the Greek, the translator uses an  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ , thereby marking the development within the larger thematic unit. Interestingly, the Hebrew also makes this movement explicit. The collocation  $\text{וְעַתָּה}$  is frequently used in Biblical Hebrew as a discourse marker,<sup>26</sup> which is clearly the function it serves here. However, it is not clear that the translator of LXX Genesis understood the Hebrew collocation as such. Of the twenty-six occurrences of  $\text{וְעַתָּה}$  in MT Genesis, one can observe in their twenty-four parallels in LXX Genesis a conjunction plus  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ . The fact that  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  is regularly used with a conjunction to translate  $\text{וְעַתָּה}$  suggests that the translator regarded the Hebrew collocation as simply a conjunctive  $\text{ו}$  plus a temporal adverb, not as a discourse marker.<sup>27</sup> On a similar note, it has been argued that since  $\sigma\upsilon\nu \sigma\upsilon\nu$  is used to translate  $\text{וְעַתָּה}$  in seventeen of its twenty-six occurrences in LXX Genesis, then it should be regarded as the stereotype rendering for  $\text{וְעַתָּה}$ .<sup>28</sup>  $\text{N}\sigma\upsilon\nu \sigma\upsilon\nu$  certainly does quantitatively represent the Hebrew collocation but to label this a "stereotype rendering" misses the point. While  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  is the expected rendering of  $\text{עַתָּה}$ , the accompanying connective reflects the translator's conception of the discourse's movement and the relations between propositions. That there is a high percentage of  $\sigma\upsilon\nu \sigma\upsilon\nu$  occurring in the same place as  $\text{וְעַתָּה}$  is to be expected. Both naturally appear at the seams of thematic groupings within larger thematic units. Reducing  $\sigma\upsilon\nu \sigma\upsilon\nu$  to a stereotype rendering forces one to overlook the contextually motivated choice the translator made to use  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  rather than  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  or  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ .<sup>29</sup> Thus, in this verse,

26. Christo H. J. van der Merwe, Jackie A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Richard S. Hess (London: Sheffield Academic, 2006), §44.6.

27. Gen 24:49 could be used to argue against this point, as  $\text{וְעַתָּה}$  appears in the MT but the LXX only contains  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ . However, one instance in twenty-six is not enough data to make a positive argument. In addition, one could consider that the translator may have desired to use the set phrase  $\epsilon\iota \sigma\upsilon\nu$  to render the underlying  $\text{אם וְעַתָּה}$  of Gen 24:49 into good, idiomatic Greek (see the discussion of Exod 33:13 below).

28. So Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis*, 58.

29. It may be argued that the translator used  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  as a discourse connective, as that does occasionally occur with preposed  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  in *Koine* (much like how, in English, "now" can be used as a temporal adverb or as a development marker). However, I would expect that when functioning as a discourse connective,  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  would appear by itself, rather than in a collocation with another particle already serving as the discourse connective. See also

the translator's awareness of the wider context may again be observed. Instead of using καὶ νῦν to translate וְעַתָּה, which would be the obvious lexical choice, the translator used νῦν to represent the temporal adverb and οὖν to encode the text according to his understanding of the discourse relations.<sup>30</sup> Resumption of the theme-line in verse 5 (that Joseph's brothers not be distressed) can also be observed here as verses 6 and 7 are introduced by the particle γάρ, marking them as subordinate, off-line material. Additionally, it can be noted that the use of a set phrase (and by set phrase, I am simply referring to a collocation that has a high rate of occurrence in Greek literature. I am not implying that the collocation somehow takes on a different meaning than the sum of its parts.) such as νῦν οὖν could indicate, to some extent, that the translator was attuned to the natural Greek usage of his day and was comfortable communicating in the Greek idiom.<sup>31</sup>

Exod 4:1

Ἀπεκρίθη δὲ Μωυσῆς καὶ εἶπεν Ἐὰν οὖν μὴ πιστεῦσώσιν μοι μηδὲ εἰσακούσωσιν  
τῆς φωνῆς μου, ἐροῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι Οὐκ ὤπται σοι ὁ θεός, τί ἐρῶ πρὸς αὐτούς;

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the considerations Runge puts forth in Steven E. Runge, "Now and Then: Clarifying the Role of Temporal Adverbs as Discourse Markers," in *Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 2010 Colloquia*, ed. Richard A. Taylor and Craig Morrison (Piscataway, NJ: Georgias, forthcoming).

30. It is understandable that there is a large percentage of νῦν οὖν used to translate וְעַתָּה in Genesis. Preposed temporal markers represent a temporal shift in the text, thus creating an element of discontinuity and correlating well with a development in the theme-line. This is likely why νῦν οὖν is a kind of set phrase in Greek—the temporal adverb provides the explicit temporal shift, which has the effect of making a development easier to process should one co-occur, and οὖν signals the continuative development in the discourse.

31. Aitken also arrives at this conclusion for the translator of LXX Genesis (James K. Aitken, "Characterization of Speech in the Septuagint Pentateuch," in *The Reception of the Hebrew Bible in the Septuagint and the New Testament: Essays in Memory of Aileen Guilding*, ed. David J. A. Clines and J. Cheryl Exum [Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2013], 9–31, 25). In addition, he puts forth the idea that νῦν οὖν may have been "taught as representative of the skills of orators, and therefore employed by scribes that wished to display their educated Greek" (24). Possibilities such as this one are certainly worth considering as we continue to investigate the Septuagint translators and attempt to describe the linguistic aspects of their work and the various, and perhaps multiple, motivations behind it.

A search for νῦν οὖν in Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (<http://www.tlg.uci.edu>) on 1 July 2013 yielded 627 hits between fifth century BCE and first century CE (not including the occurrences of the phrase in the Septuagint nor the occurrences which were labelled "AD 1?").

Then Moyses answered and said, “If *oyν* they should not believe me or listen to my voice, for they will say, ‘God has not appeared to you!’ what shall I say to them?”

ויען משה ויאמר והן לא יאמינו לי ולא ישמעו בקלי כי יאמרו לא נראה אליך יהוה

Then Moses answered, “But suppose they do not believe me or listen to me, but say, ‘The LORD did not appear to you.’”

Returning to this earlier example, the use of *οὕν* in Moses’s response to God can be understood in light of its discourse-pragmatic function. In the preceding verses, God commands Moses to speak to the elders of Israel and inform them that the Lord has promised to take the people out of Egypt. In 4:1, Moses responds, asking what he should say if the elders do not believe him. The appearance of *οὕν* at the beginning of Moses’s reply cannot be explained by the traditional categories. Nor can it be understood as a necessary rendering of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. While one may posit that *οὕν*, in a quantitative sense, represents the *ι*, the translator had the option to use *καί*, which would have been the better choice lexically and would have resulted in the same word order as the Hebrew. Rather, the use of *οὕν* here indicates that the translator perceived the discourse as being pushed forward developmentally while still maintaining a continuative relationship with the preceding. As Moses’s response begins with a conditional frame, serving as a point of departure for what follows, that assumes the probability that what the Lord has said will not occur—that the people will not actually believe him—it is a distinct shift from the Lord’s description of what will happen to something new, building off of the Lord’s speech and pushing the discourse forward.<sup>32</sup> At the same time, a close connection is maintained with the previous material. The people of Israel are still the primary topic and the conditional frame recalls what the Lord has just said. As such, the Lord’s previous speech to Moses serves as the mental backdrop to the perceived new development, thus making the use of *οὕν* a viable option for the translator who wants to mark his understanding of the flow of the discourse. In addition, this may be another instance in which the resumption of a previous theme-line, that of 3:16 where the Lord commands Moses to assemble the elders and give them the Lord’s message, is accomplished.<sup>33</sup> Lastly, as with *νῦν οὕν* in Genesis, the use of the phrase *ἐὰν οὕν* may evince the translator’s familiarity with Greek idiom of the day.<sup>34</sup>

32. This correlates well with the redundant quotative frame (*Ἀπεκρίθη ... εἶπεν*), which often signals a significant shift in discourse (see Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 149–51). It is natural that a distinct change of speaker at a significant turn in the discourse would also be viewed as a new development.

33. This depends on whether the material introduced by *δέ* in 3:19 is off-line. I am thankful to Steve Runge for alerting me of this.

34. A search for *ἐὰν οὕν* in Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (<http://www.tlg.uci.edu>) on 1 July 2013 yielded 224 hits between fifth century BCE and first century CE (not including

Exod 33:13

<sup>12</sup>And Moyses said to the Lord, “Look, you say to me, ‘Lead up this people!’ but you did not disclose to me whom you would send along with me. And you said to me, ‘I have known you above all others, and you have favor with me.’”

<sup>13</sup>εἰ οὖν εὐρηκα χάριν ἐναντίον σου, ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν· γνωστῶς εἶδω σε, ὅπως ἂν ὧ εὐρηκῶς χάριν ἐναντίον σου, καὶ ἵνα γνῶ ὅτι λαός σου τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο.

<sup>13</sup> “If *οὖν* I have found favor before you, disclose yourself to me. Let me see you recognizably in order that I might find favor before you and in order that I might know that this nation is your people.”

<sup>35</sup>ועתה אם נא מצאתי חן בעיניך הודעני נא את דרכך ואדעך למען אמצא חן בעיניך וראה כי עמך הגוי הזה

“Now if I have found favor in your sight, show me your ways, so that I may know you and find favor in your sight. Consider too that this nation is your people.”

In verse 12, Moses recounts for the Lord that he was commanded to lead the people of Israel without being informed of their stubbornness and that he has favor with the Lord. He then moves his argument to its next logical step: “You say that I have favor with you. Well then, if that is the case, disclose yourself to me!” The shift from a description of past events to a conditional frame of reference, which serves as a point of departure for what follows, and an imperative verb makes development natural here. That the conditional frame is a repetition of the end of the previous sentence, creating a kind of tail-head linkage, makes the continuative relationship all the more pronounced.<sup>36</sup> Thus, the translator used *οὖν* to mark development between two closely related units. This is paralleled in the Hebrew by the use of *ועתה*. Interestingly, *עתה* is not rendered by a *νυν* in the Greek text. The translator’s *Vorlage* probably did contain the *ועתה*, as outside of the Greek text, there is no textual evidence to the contrary. Additionally, there are two other occurrences, Exod 3:18 and 10:17, in which *ועתה* is used in the Hebrew text and yet *עתה* is not represented in the Greek.<sup>37</sup> Given that the translator does use *νυν* to translate the *עתה* in *ועתה* in

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the occurrences of the phrase in the Septuagint nor the occurrences which were labelled “AD 1?”).

35. Though she does not include Exod 33:13 as an instance of this, probably because of the intervening conditional clause, Aejmelaeus (*Parataxis*, 59) argues that *οὖν* and the particle *να* have a similar function. She then seems to suggest that *οὖν* is a rendering of *να*, though she does cite Wevers’s argument against this (John William Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Genesis*, MSU 11; [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974], 195). *Οὖν* and *να* do not have a similar function, though, as the Hebrew particle is used for entreating (see Joüon, §105c; van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze, *Reference Grammar*, §45.5). Thus, there seems to be no reason to posit *οὖν* as a rendering of *να*.

36. See Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, ch. 8.

37. The occurrence in Exod 10:17 can probably be easily explained. In the Greek, there is a *νυν* at the end of the same phrase, translating *פעם*. It would seem likely that the

eleven of its fourteen occurrences,<sup>38</sup> it seems odd that he would not render the adverb in Exod 33:13, especially since the explicit temporal shift would have worked well co-occurring with the new development.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps the translator did understand that *וְעַתָּה* sometimes functions as a discourse marker, thus motivating the use of *οὖν* alone; however, the data throughout the book are ambiguous and do not lend themselves to a clean analysis.<sup>40</sup> Whatever the case, the translator's use of *οὖν*, as in the previous examples from Exodus, witnesses to an awareness of the wider context and a sensitivity to development within the discourse. The choice to use *οὖν* rather than *καί* reveals a freedom on the part of the translator to explicitly indicate his conception of the discourse relations rather than simply produce a stereotypical equivalent to the conjunctive *ו*. Similar to *ἐλάν οὖν* in the previous example and *νῦν οὖν* in Genesis, the use of the set phrase *εἰ οὖν* by the translator,<sup>41</sup> especially in a context where, based on what can be observed lexically in the Hebrew, one would expect something to the effect of *καί νῦν* + a conditional particle,<sup>42</sup> may indicate that the translator was attuned to natural Greek usage and able to render his source text into the Greek

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translator forwent using *νῦν* twice as it would have been redundant (there is also the possible issue of word order, see n. 39 below). If this was the case, then it could provide more evidence that the translator regarded *וְעַתָּה* as simply a conjunction and temporal adverb rather than as a discourse marker.

38. Or twelve of fourteen, if we assume that the single *νῦν* in 10:17 is the result of the translator not wanting to repeat the same temporal adverb in one phrase as both would refer to the same “now.”

39. Perhaps it was an issue of word order. The LXX translators, generally speaking, tried to represent the order of Hebrew constituents in their translations. (This is probably one reason why there are not as many postpositive particles in the Greek OT as one might expect.) In Exod 33:13, 3:18, and 10:17, the MT reads: *וְעַתָּה אֶסְכֶּנָּה* and *וְעַתָּה נִלְכְּדָנָה* and *וְעַתָּה שָׂא נָא*, respectively. While *οὖν* certainly does not render *נָא* (see n. 35 above), it may be that the translator thought it worked out well, for whatever reason, to ignore the *וְעַתָּה* and let *οὖν* stand in the place of *נָא*, thus keeping closer to the presentation of the Hebrew lexemes. In addition, there may have been a desire in the case of Exod 33:13 to conform to natural Greek idiom and use a set phrase such as *εἰ οὖν*.

40. The translation *καί νῦν* (Exod 3:9, 10; 4:12; 19:5; 32:10, 30, 32), seems to reveal the translator's understanding that these instances of *וְעַתָּה* are not discourse markers, though some of them could be argued as such (Exod 3:10; 4:12; 19:5; 32:30). The instances of *νῦν οὖν* and *νῦν δέ* (5:18; 9:19; 33:5; 32:34, respectively) further complicate the question as we would expect the translator, if he viewed these as instances of discourse-marker *וְעַתָּה*, to simply use *οὖν* or *δέ* as he does in 3:18, 10:17, and 33:13.

41. A search for *εἰ οὖν* in Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (<http://www.tlg.uci.edu>) on 1 July 2013 yielded 382 hits between fifth century BCE and first century CE (not including the occurrences of the phrase in the Septuagint nor the occurrences which were labelled “AD I”).

42. For example, see the other two examples in LXX Exodus which translate *וְעַתָּה אֶסְכֶּנָּה* as *καί νῦν ἐλάν/εἰ*: Exod 19:5 and Exod 32:32.

idiom when he so desired. This accords well with Aejmelaeus's description of the translator when she writes, "We have adequate evidence of his consideration of the demands of the Greek language and mastery of large units of text."<sup>43</sup>

#### 4. WHY THIS FREEDOM?

It may well be asked why the translators of Genesis and Exodus felt free to use *οὕτως* so often even without lexical motivation in the underlying Hebrew. Aitken, in his article, "The Characterization of Speech in the Septuagint Pentateuch," notes that:

The translators were sometimes sensitive to the context of their Hebrew *Vorlage*, and did not merely follow a principle of word-for-word translation. At times they introduced idiomatic Greek expressions that bore no direct equivalent in Hebrew. Direct speech seemed to be particularly apt for such elaboration or introduction of idiomatic expressions. As such it proves a good indicator of the attempt by the translators to render their Greek idiomatically. It is perhaps the nature of direct speech in narrative that it encouraged dramatic embellishment and the opportunity for idiom. These translation features are of two sorts. First, those that can be said to be natural Greek usage, indicating a subtle translation procedure for direct speech. Second, the use of vocabulary and particles that reflect educated literary Greek.<sup>44</sup>

If direct speech did generate more freedom for translators and invite the opportunity for idiom, then this may shed even more light on the occurrences of *οὕτως* in LXX Genesis and Exodus. As Aitken has noted, that *οὕτως* occurs at all in the LXX is unusual.<sup>45</sup> Not only does the use of the postpositive change the order of the words, but it also lacks a lexical equivalent in Hebrew. Further, while the use of *οὕτως* is certainly motivated by its discourse-pragmatic function and the translators' understanding of the flow of the discourse, the text could have been left underspecified, especially in those instances of shifts from narration to the imperative, as such stark shifts in person and mood can provide evidence for

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43. Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis*, 180. This seems to be in contradiction with Aejmelaeus's claim that the LXX translators were often not aware of even the most immediate context as they translated. It is obvious, though, that her claim is meant to be taken as a general rule. However, this remains problematic and it still begs the question: If, as a general rule, the translators "were often blind even to the most immediate context" (84), then what does one do with a translator whose entire work evinces mastery of large units of text? Part of what I hope to show in this paper is that, perhaps, such claims should be reconsidered.

44. Aitken, "Characterization of Speech," 30–31.

45. Jim Aitken in a private communication on 28 July 2013.

boundaries.<sup>46</sup> This would have allowed both for a more literal translation and mirrored word order. In the end, though, the translators of LXX Genesis and Exodus often opted to explicitly mark their conception of the discourse relations in speeches, and thus, this may indicate a higher degree of freedom and an invitation to idiom inside of direct speech.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, based on what can be observed in these representative examples, the occurrences of οὕν in LXX Genesis and Exodus are not so peculiar. While they lack lexical equivalents in the underlying Hebrew, they more clearly render the flow of the discourse than the stereotypical lexical equivalents and thus provide more insight into the translators, their understanding of their *Vorlagen*, and their translation techniques. The particle οὕν is consistently used in contexts in which the Hebrew exhibits asyndeton or conjunctive ו. The translators were not constrained to represent the Hebrew text with stereotypical renderings but rather used contextually motivated translations. Thus, these occurrences of οὕν evidence that the translators maintained an awareness of the wider context as they translated and rendered their *Vorlagen* into Greek with a sensitivity to discourse relations between thematic groupings. Perhaps more importantly, they took the initiative to use οὕν despite the absence of an explicit, lexical counterpart in their *Vorlagen*. In addition, as a result of marking continuative developments in the discourse even when the underlying Hebrew discourse is not chunked in the same way, the Greek text aids the reader in building a mental representation of the discourse that is slightly different than that which the Hebrew text aids in building. As Aejmelaeus has noted, the use of οὕν itself evinces a striving toward natural Greek usage on the part of the translators.<sup>47</sup> In addition to this, as we have seen, the use of set phrases such as νῦν οὕν, ἐὰν οὕν, and εἰ οὕν may indicate that the translators were attuned to Greek idiom. Lastly, these data also have implications with regard to textual criticism. When considering text-critical questions, at least in Genesis and Exodus, the use of οὕν is an example in which there is no textual basis for restoring a Hebrew reading based on the evidence in the Septuagint. Thus, one is left, in the end, with a picture of the translators of LXX Genesis and Exodus that displays their aptitude both for translation and for Greek rhetoric of the day.

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46. See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 279–80. An interesting example may be found in the Zenon papyrus P.Cair.Zen.1.59034 (line 21) [257 BCE] where the simple imperative was written but a later editor added a ΣΥ ΟΥΝ (note the point of departure), possibly indicating that the use of οὕν was slightly more polished. (I am thankful to Jim Aitken for pointing me to this.)

47. Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis*, 59, 157.



# The Meanings of the Noun *σκάνδαλον* in the Book of Judith\*

*Eberhard Bons*

**Abstract:** The book of Judith employs the noun *σκάνδαλον*—a *vox biblica*—three times in quite different contexts: war (Jdt 5:1), sin (Jdt 5:20), and eating (Jdt 12:2). The purpose of this paper is to shed more light on the specific use the book of Judith makes of this noun. What does the word mean in its respective contexts? To what extent is its use influenced by the translated books of the Septuagint that might have been available to the author of the book of Judith? Furthermore, the question arises whether this specific linguistic feature enables us to get further criteria relating to the origin of the book of Judith: does it represent a translation from a Hebrew *Vorlage*, or was it originally written in Greek?

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The word *σκάνδαλον* is considered to be a *vox biblica*, that is, a word which does not occur in writings outside the biblical literature or in literature influenced by it.<sup>1</sup> As for cognate words that could contribute to a better understanding of the use of *σκάνδαλον* in Jewish and Christian writings, only few examples are quoted by scholars<sup>2</sup>: Except for one occurrence of *σκανδάνων* [sic] in P.Cair.Zen. IV 59608, whose context is far from being clear, Aristophanes, *Ach.* 687, uses

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\* I would like to express my gratitude to Jennifer Dines (Cambridge) who read a first draft of this article.

1. See already Robert Helbing, *Grammatik der Septuaginta. Laut- und Wortlehre* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907), 126–27; Gerard J. M. Bartelink, *Lexicologisch-semantic studie over de taal van de Apostolische Vaders. Bijdrage tot de studie van de groeptaal der griekse Christenen* (Utrecht: Beijers, 1952), 49.

2. See, e.g., Gustav Stählin, “*σκάνδαλον* κτλ.,” *TDNT* 7:339–58 (339–40).

σκανδάληθρον (“stick in a trap”), albeit in a figurative sense: ἀνεγκύσας ἐρωτᾷ, σκανδάληθρ’ ἰστὰς ἐπῶν, “he drags us [before the judge], presses us with questions, lays word-traps.”

Some centuries later, probably at the end of the second century CE, a word from the same root occurs in a fictional letter contained in Alciphron’s collection of *Epistulae*, 3.22:<sup>3</sup> A certain Polyalsos complains about foxes who have plundered his vines. In order to put an end to their undesirable activities, Polyalsos makes use of an instrument that he calls ἡ σκανδάλη: Πάγην ἔστησα ἐπὶ τὰς μιὰς ἀλώπεκας κρεάδιον τῆς σκανδάλης ἀπαρτήσας, “I set a trap for those confounded foxes and hang a piece of meat on the σκανδάλη.”

Nevertheless, these scattered attestations of the root in question can hardly explain the biblical evidence. In fact, in the biblical writings, the noun has a certain range of concrete and abstract meanings. Hence, one cannot but agree with Gustav Stählin’s statement: “There is no intellectual or abstract extension of the meaning of σκάνδαλον outside the Jew.-Chr. sphere.”<sup>4</sup>

In the translated books of the Septuagint, the word σκάνδαλον is attested only fourteen times.<sup>5</sup> To this might be added a handful of quotations in books not available in Hebrew. For example, the book of Judith employs σκάνδαλον three times in quite different contexts: war (Jdt 5:1), sin (Jdt 5:20), and eating (Jdt 12:2). The purpose of this paper is to shed more light on the specific use the book of Judith makes of this noun. What does the word mean in its respective contexts? To what extent is its use influenced by the translated books of the Septuagint that might have been available to the author of the book of Judith? Furthermore, the question arises whether this specific linguistic feature enables us to get further criteria relating to the origin of the book of Judith: does it represent a translation from a supposed Hebrew *Vorlage*, or was it originally written in Greek? In this latter case, what conclusions can be drawn from this hypothesis?

## 2. JDT 5:1: ἔθηκαν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις σκάνδαλα

The first occurrence of σκάνδαλον is to be found in Jdt 5:1: οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ παρεσκευάσαντο εἰς πόλεμον καὶ τὰς διόδους τῆς ὀρεινῆς συνέκλεισαν καὶ ἐτείχισαν πᾶσαν κορυφὴν ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἔθηκαν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις σκάνδαλα “the sons of Israel had prepared for war and ... they had blocked the highland passages and fortified all the summits of the high mountains and had set traps in the plains”

3. For Alciphron, see M. Weissenberger, “Alkiphron,” *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996), 1:cols. 1548–49

4. Stählin *TDNT* 7:340.

5. For a brief overview of the LXX occurrences, see Juan Mateos, “Análisis semántico de los lexemas σκανδαλίζω y σκάνδαλον,” *Filología Neotestamentaria* 2 (1989): 57–92 (78). However, this article does not focus on the LXX use of the words in question.

(NETS). At first glance, the sense of this long sentence does not give rise to major difficulties. The activities mentioned concern obviously the fortification of strategically important places in order to prevent the Assyrian army from occupying Judea.

The vocabulary resembles both biblical and nonbiblical Greek, at least partly. It will suffice to quote three examples:

- The expression *παρασκευάζομαι εἰς πόλεμον* is attested in Thucydides, *Hist.* 3.13 (*παρασκευάζεσθαι τε ἐς τὸν πόλεμον*), Polybius, *Hist.* 27.19.1 (*παρασκευαζομένους εἰς τὸν περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας πόλεμον*), and Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl.* 18.2.4 (*παρασκευαζομένων εἰς πόλεμον*). Moreover, it occurs even in a translated text of the LXX, in Jer 6:4; 27:42, and later in the New Testament in 1 Cor 14:8.
- The same holds true for the military use of *συγκλείω*: Both in biblical and in nonbiblical Greek the verb might refer to the siege of a city (Josh 6:1) or to the closing of doors or the opening of closed city gates (Isa 45:1; Xenophon, *Anab.* 7.1.15).
- That a city or a place of strategic importance is fortified (verb *τειχιζῶ*) is an idea common to biblical and nonbiblical texts (Lev 25:29; Hos 8:14; Thucydides, *Hist.* 1.91). Especially, the idea that the top of a mountain (*κορυφή*) is fortified can be found in Josephus, *J.W.* 4.55.

To be sure, it will prove difficult to find exact parallels for each of the quoted expressions of Jdt 5:1 in the extant Greek literature. Nonetheless, it should be underlined that they are understandable against the background of biblical and nonbiblical Greek texts.

So far so good. A rather more difficult case is the phrase *ἔθηκαν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις σκάνδαλα* in Jdt 5:1. Of course, if, on the one hand, the tops of the mountains are to be fortified, on the other, the plains cannot represent a gateway for the Assyrian army under Holofernes' command. In other words, the defenders have to take measures across the plains so as to frustrate any enemy invasion. By contrast to the aforementioned expressions, the idea of laying *σκάνδαλα* in the plains raises several questions: (1) To what kind of object does the word *σκάνδαλα* refer? (2) In which texts can the expression *τίθημι σκάνδαλον* be found? (3) What are its equivalents in non-biblical Greek?

(1) Interestingly, with regard to the first question, in the extant manuscripts of the book of Judith, no real variant of *σκάνδαλα* is attested, except the singular *σκάνδαλον* in manuscript 392 which dates from the tenth century. Further, the Vulgate, whose divergences from the Septuagint of the book of Judith are

notorious,<sup>6</sup> does not offer a Latin translation of the expression in question. Only the fortification measures set in motion in the mountains are mentioned: *ac montium itinera conclusissent*. Finally, in the numerous in-depth descriptions of wars and campaigns by ancient authors (e.g., Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Josephus), there is no mention anywhere of a σκάνδαλον that would fulfill the function it has in Jdt 5:1, that is, to hinder the advance of enemy troops. In the absence of older or contemporary occurrences in the extant non-Jewish literature, it would be tempting to recognize a relationship between σκάνδαλον and σκανδάλη, the word which turns up in Alciphron's letter in the context of hunting (see above). Whatever the σκανδάλη might be, the trap itself or a part of it, this quite isolated occurrence can hardly explain Jdt 5:1. The Jewish population certainly did not set fox-traps against well-equipped Assyrian troops.

(2) As for the Septuagint evidence, where the second question is concerned, it is true that nowhere are σκάνδαλα said to have been employed in order to stop an enemy army. However, to the best of my knowledge, the closest parallels to Jdt 5:1 are to be found in some Septuagint texts which are probably earlier than the book of Judith. As follows from at least two passages, a σκάνδαλον is "set" (verb τίθημι or προστίθημι), that is, it is used on purpose. In fact, its function is to make a person stumble. In at least one case, stumbling is to be taken literally: Lev 19:14: ἀπέναντι τυφλοῦ οὐ προσθήσεις σκάνδαλον [MT: *mikšol*], "you shall not put an obstacle before a blind person"). In another occurrence, one might hesitate between a literal and a figurative interpretation: Ps 139[140]:6: ἐχόμενα τρίβου σκάνδαλον [MT: *moqšim*] ἔθεντό μοι, "near the path they set an obstacle for me." In the light of these two texts in Greek and Hebrew, the phrase ἔθηκαν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις σκάνδαλα requires the following interpretation: the σκάνδαλα are probably obstructions or barricades which were meant to make the Assyrian army "stumble" in the case of an attack. Therefore, modern commentators translate the word in this sense: "obstacles" (Morton Enslin<sup>7</sup>), "traps" (Carey A. Moore,<sup>8</sup> Debora Levine Gera<sup>9</sup>), "emboscadas" (José Vilchez Líndez<sup>10</sup>), and "Hindernisse" (Schmitz, Engel).<sup>11</sup>

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6. See, e.g., Robert Hanhart, *Judith*, Septuaginta 8.4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 15.

7. Morton S. Enslin, *The Book of Judith: Greek Text with English Translation, Commentary and Critical Notes* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 85: "apparently σκάνδαλα here signifies barricades of some sort, as snares or pitfalls."

8. Carey A. Moore, *Judith: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AncB 40 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 157.

9. Debora Levine Gera, *Judith* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 191, 196.

10. José Vilchez Líndez, *Tobías y Judit*, Nueva Biblia Española (Estella: Editorial Verbo Divino, 2000), 299.

11. Barbara Schmitz and Helmut Engel, *Judit: Übersetzt und ausgelegt*, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2014), 159, 163.

(3) With regard to the third question, however, the problem is more complex than it first appears. Was the text understandable in antiquity? Unfortunately, ancient commentaries on the book of Judith are missing. However, it is striking that even in the first centuries CE Christian commentators felt obliged to paraphrase the noun σκάνδαλον when it occurs elsewhere in the Bible, either in the Old Testament or in the New Testament. In his commentary on Ps 139:6<sup>LXX</sup>, Theodoret of Cyrus (*Interpr. Ps.*, PG 80, 1944) gives an equivalent for each of the three words παγίς, σχοινίον, and σκάνδαλον: Παγίδα δὲ, καὶ σχοινία, καὶ σκάνδαλα, τὰς διαφόρους ἐπιβουλὰς, τοὺς λόχους, τὰς ἐνέδρας, “trap, nets, and obstacles [he calls] various schemes, ambushes, and ambuscades.” He explains that these nouns are to be understood in a figurative sense, the metaphors being borrowed from the field of hunting where cords, traps and nets are used (εἶρηκε δὲ ταῦτα τροπικῶς, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν θηρευόντων καὶ ἀρπεδόνας, καὶ ποδάγρας, καὶ δίκτυα διατεινόντων, *Interpr. Ps.*, PG 80, 1944). Commenting on the New Testament quotation “it is inevitable that σκάνδαλα should come” (Luke 17:1), John Chrysostom asks (*Hom. Matt.*, PG 58, 574): What is the meaning of τὰ σκάνδαλα? His answer is “hindrances on the right way” (τὰ καλύματα τῆς ὁρθῆς ὁδοῦ).<sup>12</sup> The patristic evidence should not be overestimated. Nevertheless, one question still remains open: could the word σκάνδαλον be understood by readers or hearers who did not share a Jewish or a Christian background? This possibility should not be ruled out a priori. Nevertheless, one has to bear in mind that the more common words for “ambush” are λόχος and ἐνέδρα, the nouns quoted in the abovementioned commentary by Theodoret. It suffices to recall one example, Josephus, *Ant.* 14.399: “Antigonos laid snares and ambushes in the passes and places most proper for them” (Ἀντίγονος τῶν παρόδων τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους τόπους ἐνέδραις καὶ λόχοις κατελάμβανεν).<sup>13</sup>

### 3. Jdt 5:20: ἐπισκεψόμεθα ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς σκάνδαλον τοῦτο

At the end of his discourse to Holofernes, Achior considers two alternatives. If Israel has not sinned against his god, he will protect his people (see also Jdt 11:10); therefore, the Assyrian military campaign will be doomed to failure (Jdt 5:21). If, however, Israel has sinned, the military campaign against them

12. Another example can be found in Theodoret, *Interpr. Ps.* (PG 80, 1952, on Ps 140:9): Φύλαξόν με ἀπὸ παγίδος, ἥς συνεστήσαντό μοι, καὶ ἀπὸ σκανδάλων τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν ἀνομίαν. Τῶν παγίδων τούτων καὶ τῶν σκανδάλων ἐμνημόνευσε καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου ψαλμῷ. Παγίδας δὲ καὶ σκάνδαλα τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς καλεῖ, ὧν ἀπαλλαγῆναι παρακαλεῖ.

13. See also Polybius, *Hist.* 3.40.12: οἱ δὲ Βοῖοι συνέντες αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν, ἔν τισι δρυμοῖς ἐτοιμάσαντες ἐνέδρας ἅμα τῷ παρελθεῖν εἰς τοὺς ὑλῶδεις τόπους πανταχόθεν ἅμα προσπεσόντες πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν τῶν Ῥωμαίων. “The Boii had heard of his approach, and posting ambuscades in a certain forest attacked him from all sides at once as soon as he reached the wooded country, and killed many of the Romans.”

will be successful (Jdt 5:20). The crucial question is how Achior and the leaders of the Assyrian army will find out if Israel has sinned. Do they have to send spies to the entrenched Israelite soldiers in order to get some information out of them, as Vélchez Líndez supposes?<sup>14</sup> Be this as it may, the criterion this decision is based on is the existence of a σκάνδαλον, precisely σκάνδαλον τοῦτο of which the Assyrians have to gain knowledge (ἐπισκεψόμεθα). Of course, the demonstrative pronoun τοῦτο suggests that the aforementioned sins (εἰ μὲν ἔστιν ἀγνόημα ἐν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ ἁμαρτάνουσιν εἰς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν) represent the real σκάνδαλον.<sup>15</sup> Anyway, if the Assyrians become aware of this σκάνδαλον, what does it consist in? No doubt the σκάνδαλον is hardly a material obstacle. Perhaps the noun has undergone a metaphorical extension by analogy with the noun πρόσκομμα. While the literal meaning “stumbling” is still visible in expressions like λίθος προσκόμματι (Isa 8:14) the figurative meaning predominates in the LXX (see e.g., Exod 23:33; 34:12). In some quotations, however, the meaning seems to oscillate between both of them, for example, in Sir 34:16: οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτόν.... φυλακὴ ἀπὸ προσκόμματος καὶ βοήθεια ἀπὸ πτώσεως, “the eyes of the Lord are on those who love him.... He is a guard against stumbling and a help against falling.” In Rom 14:13, πρόσκομμα is even a kind of synonym of σκάνδαλον: “not to put a stumbling block or an obstacle for one’s brother” (μὴ τίθῃναι πρόσκομμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἢ σκάνδαλον). When σκάνδαλον has a figurative meaning, normally it is accompanied by a dative of the person interested, that is, for whom someone or something represents a σκάνδαλον. King Saul, for instance, agrees to give his daughter Michal to David in the expectation that she will become a σκάνδαλον for him (1 Kgdms 18:21: δώσω αὐτὴν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔσται αὐτῷ εἰς σκάνδαλον<sup>16</sup>). Yet, such a dative or other equivalent is missing in Jdt 5:20. Surely, it can easily be deduced from the context that the relationship between Israel and God is at stake.<sup>17</sup> However, nowhere else in the Septuagint is a possible sin of Israel referred to as a σκάνδαλον in relation to God. In this regard, the formulation of Jdt 5:20 has no exact counterpart in the Septuagint.

What does the σκάνδαλον really consist of?<sup>18</sup> Achior’s discourse is quite enigmatic.<sup>19</sup> It is possible that an Israelite reader or hearer of the book of Judith

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14. Vélchez Líndez, *Tobías y Judit*, 310.

15. Enslin, *Book of Judith*, 92: “σκάνδαλον τοῦτο ... is substantially equivalent to the preceding ἀγνοήματα [sic].”

16. In Ps 68:23<sup>LXX</sup>, no dative is used but the preposition ἐνώπιον.

17. For this idea and the following considerations on idolatry, see the article by Daniela Scialabba in the present volume.

18. This question remains open in the detailed analysis of Achior’s speech by Barbara Schmitz, *Gedeutete Geschichte: Die Funktion der Reden und Gebete im Buch Judith*, HBS 40 (Freiburg: Herder, 2004), 116, who states: “Der Erfolg der Assyrer hängt somit von der Bedingung ab, ob das Volk Israel durch sein Verhalten selbst in die Falle geht.”

could not help but think of idolatry, especially if he was familiar with the language of the Septuagint. In fact, several times the Septuagint establishes a connection between foreign gods and the *σκάνδαλον* they represent for Israel or for humans in general (e.g., Judg 2:3; Ps 105:36<sup>LXX</sup>; Wis 14:11). Such an idea is also suggested by the LXX text of Hos 4:17: μέτοχος εἰδώλων Εφραιμ ἔθηκεν ἑαυτῷ σκάνδαλα, “Ephraim, an associate of idols, placed stumbling blocks against himself” (NETS).<sup>20</sup> Is it therefore idolatry which represents the specific *σκάνδαλον* in Jdt 5:20, that is, the event or action which creates the “obstacle”<sup>21</sup> lying between Israel and his God? At first glance, this interpretation is not too far-fetched—even if Judith herself explicitly excludes a recent incident of idolatry in Israel (Jdt 8:18). Nevertheless, this was possibly the interpretation of the text suggested to the Israelite reader or hearer. From the mouth of an enemy officer, who is a member of the hateful Ammonite people, he or she would learn that this *σκάνδαλον* could have serious consequences. In other words, Achior—a pagan who later will join the Jewish people (Jdt 14:10)<sup>22</sup>—would implicitly remind the Israelites of a possible great guilt before their god. Still, is Holofernes, the fictitious addressee of Achior’s speech, supposed to take the *σκάνδαλον* as an allusion to idolatry? If so, would he be capable of understanding that idolatry is an offense toward the God of Israel? Obviously, no definite answer to this question is possible. The fact remains that the nature of the *σκάνδαλον* is obviously not the crucial problem in Achior’s discourse.<sup>23</sup> What Achior and Holofernes want to find out is if an “obstacle” really exists and if it prevents the God of Israel from intervening in favour of his people.

#### 4. JDT 12:2: ἵνα μὴ γένηται σκάνδαλον

In Jdt 12:1, Judith is invited to have a meal with Holofernes. Although she accepts the invitation, she refuses to take from the dishes and the wine offered to her. Instead, she prefers eating the food which she had brought with her. When

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19. See the recent analysis by Roger Gil and Eberhard Bons, “Judith 5:5–21 ou le récit d’Achior: Les mémoires dans la construction de l’identité narrative du peuple d’Israël,” *VT* 64 (2014): 573–87 (585–86).

20. The LXX version diverges much from the MT. See Eberhard Bons, Jan Joosten, and Stephan Kessler, *Les Douze Prophètes: Osée*, La Bible d’Alexandrie 23.1 (Paris: Cerf, 2002), 95.

21. Vélchez Líndez, *Tobías y Judith*, 309, renders the word *σκάνδαλον* by “obstáculo.”

22. The role which Achior plays in the book of Judith is analyzed by Adolfo Roitman, “No One Spoke Ill of Her”: *Essays on Judith*, ed. James C. VanderKam, ECL 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 31–45.

23. Nevertheless, on a narrative level, the allusion to a *σκάνδαλον* might prepare “the way to Judith’s lying speech, for she will supply [Holofernes] with precise details about the Israelites’ alleged sin (11:11–15)” (Gera, *Judith*, 216).

invited once more by Holofernes, she does not change her behaviour, eating only what her maid had previously prepared (Jdt 12:19). What is the reason for this refusal? Judith's answer is: ἵνα μὴ γένηται σκάνδαλον.

As a guest, Judith is wary of eating anything which is not in compliance with Jewish dietary laws.<sup>24</sup> On the one hand, her refusal is in line with other biblical and nonbiblical texts that report analogous behaviour (e.g., Dan 1:8; Tob 1:11; *Jos. Asen.* 7:1).<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, in a previous statement, in Jdt 11:12, Judith had justified her flight from Bethulia by a serious transgression committed by the inhabitants of the besieged city. Concretely, her concern was to escape from a population which was willing to eat "what God by his laws has forbidden them to eat" (ὅσα διεστέιλαιο αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοῦ μὴ φαγεῖν). Her attitude is therefore entirely consistent: neither in her home town nor in Holofernes's tent does she eat anything whose consumption is against Jewish laws.

How is the word σκάνδαλον to be understood in Jdt 12:2? The quotation has in common with Jdt 5:20 that a dative is missing.<sup>26</sup> If there is a σκάνδαλον, who will be scandalized? Judith's servant who is supposed to be a Jewish woman? Nothing is said about her feelings, which would be hurt by Judith eating with Holofernes. Likewise, it remains open what Holofernes in this fictitious scenario is supposed to understand. What kind of σκάνδαλον would be created in his view? This question remains unanswered. Has a possible σκάνδαλον which consists in eating impure dishes an impact on the relationship between God and Israel? In the light of Jdt 11:11–12, this conclusion is not impossible. Determined as she is to kill Holofernes, she needs the divine protection in order to execute her plan. Therefore, she is not willing to compromise her relationship with God by a sin against the impurity laws.

Perhaps the reader or hearer of the book of Judith is able to perceive this nuance. Aware of the fact that a possible ἀγνόημα of Israel can represent a σκάνδαλον (Jdt 5:20), he or she is supposed to understand in Jdt 12:2 as well that Judith has to avoid at any cost a new σκάνδαλον arising.<sup>27</sup> In sum, the text alludes perhaps to the fact that Judith is concerned about obeying Jewish dietary laws.<sup>28</sup> However, except for the quite enigmatic answer ἵνα μὴ γένηται

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24. See Moore, *Judith*, 218: Judith "did not know what his fancy foods were and whether they were prohibited to the Israelites."

25. See Eberhard Bons, "Manger ou ne pas manger avec les étrangers? Quelques observations concernant Gn 43 et le roman *Joseph et Aséneth*," *RHPR* 93 (2013): 93–103; Gera, *Judith*, 370–71.

26. Moore, *Judith*, 217, fills this gap in translating ἵνα μὴ γένηται σκάνδαλον by "lest it be an offence to God."

27. For a similar interpretation, see Gera, *Judith*, 371.

28. See also Vélchez Líndez, *Tobías y Judith*, 400: "El autor piensa en los lectores judíos de su relato. A fin de que se identifiquen más fácilmente con la heroína Judit, hace



σκάνδαλον, she does not provide any explicit justification of her refusal to eat with Holofernes. Once again it should be underlined that this usage of σκάνδαλον is not prepared by other LXX texts.

## 6. CONCLUSION

To sum up, the author of the Book of Judith employs the noun σκάνδαλον in three contexts:

- a σκάνδαλον is a kind of barricade preventing troops from occupying a country (Jdt 5:1),
- a possible σκάνδαλον on the part of Israel can represent an “obstacle” for God who withdraws his protection from Israel (Jdt 5:20),
- a σκάνδαλον might consist in a transgression of impurity laws by Judith which could cause her plan to fail (Jdt 12:2).

None of these three instances has an exact counterpart in the other Septuagint texts. In the extant Jewish literature in Greek of the Hellenistic and Roman era (including Philo and Josephus), the noun σκάνδαλον does not occur anywhere else. Certainly, nobody doubts that the author of the book of Judith had a deep knowledge of the already available Septuagint texts and their theological vocabulary. Therefore, it is possible that the author borrowed the noun σκάνδαλον from the Septuagint writings. However, he employed it in other contexts and in another manner. In principle, in the case of Jdt 5:1, σκάνδαλον could be the rendering of a possible Hebrew *Vorlage mikšol* or *môqeš*. By contrast, it is questionable if this could be the case in the two remaining instances. If Jdt 5:20; 12:2 were translated from Hebrew, the Hebrew use of the corresponding noun would be quite different from what appears in the MT. In fact, why does the text leave open the question as to who is or who will be scandalized by Israel’s or Judith’s attitudes? Perhaps, these two quotations make a strong case for the hypothesis that the book of Judith was not translated from Hebrew but written in Greek, albeit in a Septuagint style.<sup>29</sup>

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que ésta rechace la oferta de Holofernes por escrúpulos de conciencia acerca de la pureza-impureza de los alimentos.”

29. For this hypothesis, see Jan Joosten, “The Language and the Milieu of the Book of Judith,” in: *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls V–VI; A Festschrift for Devorah Dimant* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2003), \*159–\*177; J. Corley, “Septuagintalism, Semitic Interference, and the Original Language of the Book of Judith,” in *Studies in the Greek Bible*, edited by J. Corley (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2008), 65–96.



# A Case Frame Description of the Usages of Τίθῃμι in the Septuagint

*Paul Danove*

**Abstract:** Τίθῃμι presents the broadest range of licensing properties of any verb in the Septuagint. This paper resolves the occurrences of τίθῃμι into twelve distinct usages. The discussion of each usage describes the syntactic and semantic requirements for the verb with the usage, identifies the observed lexical realizations of required complements, and illustrates occurrences of the verb with the usage. The paper concludes with a consideration of the reasons that specific occurrences of the verb admit to interpretation with multiple usages.

## 1. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

This discussion investigates the conceptualization of events, develops a procedure for describing the usages with which τίθῃμι grammaticalizes events, and establishes notations for specifying that particular realizations of verbal complements are restricted to designating either animate or inanimate entities.

### 1.1. THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF EVENTS

An event is a cognitive schema of an action that sets two, three, or four entities in a particular relationship with each other.<sup>1</sup> This discussion investigates the conceptualization of two events that are significant for the following study.

The event of transference relates four entities that function semantically as an Agent (A), “the entity that actively instigates an action and/or is the ultimate cause of a change in another entity”; Theme (Θ), “the entity moving from one place to another or located in a place”; Source (S), “the literal or figurative entity

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1. Further consideration of this topic appears in Cliff Goddard, *Semantic Analysis: A Practical Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 197–98.

from which something moves”); and Goal (G), “the literal or figurative entity towards which something moves.”<sup>2</sup> According to the conceptualization of transference, an Agent transfers a Theme from a Source to a Goal.<sup>3</sup>

Greek (like English) grammar permits verbs to raise at most three event entities as arguments. When grammaticalizing transference, the verbs address the restriction to three arguments by assuming the perspective in which the Source and Agent are coincident or at least proximate at the initiation of transference. With this perspective, the verbs omit consideration of the Source, which can be retrieved from the initially coincident / proximate Agent, and raise the Agent, Theme, and Goal as arguments. These three arguments are associated respectively with the verbs’ required first complement (the subject when the verbs have active or middle forms), second complement (the subject when the verbs have passive forms), and third complement (the complement that never functions as the subject). Verbs with these three required complements grammaticalize Transference to a Goal. The following examples distinguish the complements that realize these entities by the first letter of their semantic functions (A, Θ, and G):<sup>4</sup>

θήσω τοὺς λόγους μου εἰς τὸ στόμα σου (Isa 51:16)

[I (A)] will place [my words (Θ)] [into your mouth (G)].

The event of benefaction (Ben.) relates three entities that function as an Agent, a Patient (P), “the entity undergoing an action,” and a Benefactive (B), “the ultimate entity for which an action is performed or for which, literally or figuratively, something happens or exists.” According to the conceptualization of benefaction, an Agent acts on a Patient on behalf of/to the detriment of a Benefactive.

θήσονται ἑαυτοῖς ἀρχὴν μίαν (Hos 2:2)

[They (A)] will set up [for themselves (B)] [one ruler (P)].

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2. These and subsequently introduced semantic functions receive description according to the thematic roles developed in John I. Saeed, *Semantics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 139–71, and Paul Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis in the Gospel of Mark: Applications of a Case Frame Analysis and Lexicon*, JSNTSup 218, SNTG 10 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 31–45.

3. Further discussion of the event of transference appears in Paul Danove, “Features of the Conceptualization of Transference in the New Testament,” *Biblical and Ancient Greek Linguistics* 2 (2013): 5–6.

4. This study uses the texts of Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979). The translations are my own.

## 1.2. IDENTIFYING AND DESCRIBING VERBAL USAGES

This discussion identifies as a verbal usage all occurrences in which *τίθημι* grammaticalizes the same event by raising the same set of event entities as verbal arguments, by attributing the same affectedness to the verbal subject, and, for events that include a Goal entity, by exhibiting the same functionality of the Goal.

The first stage in identifying a verbal usage is the grouping of all occurrences of *τίθημι* in which the verb raises the same entities as verbal arguments. As previously discussed, in all occurrences of the grammaticalization of the event of transference, the verb raises an Agent, a Theme, and a Goal as arguments. All such occurrences receive the usage designation, Transference to a Goal.

ἔθηκες ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον ἐκ λίθου τιμίου (Ps 20:4)  
[You (A)] put [onto his head (G)] [a crown of pure gold (Θ)].

εἰς πόλιν τετειχισμένην ἔθετο αὐτά (Ezek 17:4)  
[He (A)] put [them (Θ)] [into a fortified city (G)].

The second stage in identifying usages requires the grouping of all occurrences with the same event entities as arguments according to the base forms of the verb.<sup>5</sup> As the previous occurrences in Ps 20:4 and Ezek 17:4 indicate, *τίθημι* exhibits active and middle base forms when grammaticalizing transference in the LXX. This discussion interprets the differing base forms to indicate differing attributions of affectedness to the subject/first complement.<sup>6</sup> Active base forms signal that the first complement is unaffected by the action, and their translations proceed in a straightforward manner. Middle base forms signal that the first complement is affected and that the affectedness is not directly attributable to another entity of the event.<sup>7</sup> Translations indicate the affectedness signaled by middle base forms by placing “with affect” in brackets [ ] after the first complement. Subject affectedness in the previous examples distinguishes two usages, Active Transference to a Goal and Middle Transference to a Goal.

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5. This discussion transforms all verb phrases with passivized verbs into their correlate active form and analyzes them accordingly. As a consequence, the presentations on passivized occurrences consistently appear under active usages.

6. J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 373, discusses the nature of this affectedness; see also Rutger J. Allan, *The Middle Voice in Ancient Greek: A Study in Polysemy*, ASCP 11 (Amsterdam: Gieben, 2003), 19–20. Saeed, *Semantics*, 162–65, considers various categories of affectedness.

7. Further discussion of the proposed categories of affectedness appears in Paul Danove, *A Grammatical and Exegetical Study of New Testament Verbs of Transference: A Case Frame Guide to Interpretation and Translation*, SNTG 13, LNTS 391 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 21–24.

- Act.     You put onto his head a crown of pure gold. (Ps 20:4)  
 Mid.     He [with affect] put them into a fortified city. (Ezek 17:4)

The third stage in identifying usages applies only when the grammaticalized event contains a Goal entity. *τίθημι* may specialize the interpretation of this entity to designate the abiding locale of the Theme at the termination of the action. With this interpretation, the entity functions as a Locative (L), “the literal or figurative place in which an entity is situated or an event occurs.” The change in functionality from a Goal to a Locative does not give rise to a new event because the implication of transference remains constant. Changes in functionality of the Goal to a Locative give rise to parallel Goal / Locative usages, as in the following occurrences of *τίθημι* with the Active Usages of Transference to a Goal / the Active Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative:

- G    *θήσω σε εἰς ὅπην τῆς πέτρας* (Exod 33:22)  
       [I (A)] will put [you (Θ)] [into a hole of the rock (G)].
- L    *θήσεις τὴν τράπεζαν ἔξωθεν τοῦ καταπετάσματος* (26:35)  
       [You (A)] will place [the table (Θ)] [outside the curtain (L)].

### 1.3. THE ±ANIMATE DISTINCTION

The discussions of usages note when noun phrase and prepositional phrase realizations of second and third required complements are restricted to referencing either animate [+animate] entities or inanimate [–animate] entities.<sup>8</sup> Greek grammar interprets divine and demonic beings, living human beings and animals, forces of nature, and natural phenomena as +animate and all other entities, including dead human beings and animals, body parts, places, concepts, and events, as –animate. Descriptions of noun and prepositional phrase realizations note restrictions to +animate [+an] or –animate [–an] entities in brackets. When the same realization references both animate and inanimate entities, the descriptions include no ±animate notation.

## 2. USAGES OF TRANSFERENCE

*τίθημι* grammaticalizes four usages of transference. With these usages, the verb assumes the perspective in which the Source and Agent initially are coincident / proximate, omits the Source, and raises the Agent, Theme, and Goal entities as arguments. The verb licenses the Agent as first complement, the Theme as

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8. Further discussion of this semantic feature appears in Paul Danove, “Distinguishing Goal and Locative Complements of New Testament Verbs of Transference,” *Filología Neotestamentaria* 20 (2007): 65–80.

second complement, and the Goal or Locative as third complement. The usages differ in subject affectedness (act. or mid.) and the functionality of the Goal entity (Goal or Locative). With these usages, the verb is best translated by “put,” “place,” or “set.”

## 2.1. USAGE #1: ACTIVE TRANSFERENCE TO A GOAL

*τίθῃμι* occurs with the Active Usage of Transference to a Goal on forty-eight occasions.<sup>9</sup> The Theme is realized by an accusative case noun phrase (N+acc).<sup>10</sup> The Theme also may be a definite null complement (DNC); that is, it may remain unrealized as a complement in contexts that supply for it a definite referent.<sup>11</sup> A dative case noun phrase (to, onto, before) realizes the animate Goal (N+dat [+an]); an *εἰς* (to, into) prepositional phrase realizes the inanimate Goal (P/*εἰς* [-an]); and an *ἐπὶ* (onto, against) prepositional phrase with an accusative object realizes both the animate and inanimate Goal (P/*ἐπὶ* [+acc]).

τὰ πρωτογενήματα τῆς γῆς σου θήσεις εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου (Exod 34:26)

You will place the first fruits of your land into the house of the Lord your God.

θήσουσιν ἕκαστος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν πυλῶν Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ τεῖχη καὶ κύκλῳ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς πόλεις Ἰουδα (Jer 1:15)  
Each of them will place his throne against the entrances of the gates of Jerusalem and around against all its walls and against all the cities of Judah.

9. Usage #1, Theme-Goal: N+acc-N+dat [+an], 1 Sam 9:20; Ezra 5:3, 9; 7:21; Isa 50:4; N+acc-P/*εἰς* [-an], Exod 2:3; 33:22; 34:26; 40:5, 22, 24; 2 Kgs 11:18; Judg 4:21; 2 Sam 11:16; 2 Chr 35:3; Esth 14:8; Jdt 16:4; 4 Macc 8:12; Ps 84:14; Eccl 7:21; Amos 5:7; Isa 41:19; 51:16; Jer 39:14; 49:17; Dan 6:18; DNC-P/*εἰς* [-an], Ruth 4:16; N+acc-P/*ἐπὶ* [+acc], Exod 12:7; 26:33; 28:23; Lev 26:30; 1 Sam 6:8a; 2 Sam 18:3a, 3b; 1 Kgs 21:32; 2 Kgs 4:34; Ps 20:4; 138:5; Sir 17:8; 50:28; Hag 2:15b; Jer 1:15; 35:14; 47:4; Ezek 13:14; 14:4; 44:30; DNC-P/*ἐπὶ* [+acc], Job 34:23.

10. This study identifies as N+acc all occurrences of relative pronouns that appear with genitive or dative case realizations through attraction to the case of the antecedent.

11. Definite null complements receive introduction in Charles J. Fillmore, “Pragmatically Controlled Zero Anaphora,” *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 12 (1986): 95–107. They receive development under the designations, “definite object deletion” in Anita Mittwoch, “Idioms and Unspecified N[oun] P[hrase] Deletion,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 2 (1971): 255–59; “latent object” in Peter Matthews, *Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 125–26; and “contextual deletion” in David J. Allerton, *Valency and the English Verb* (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 34, 68–70.

## 2.2. USAGE #2: MIDDLE TRANSFERENCE TO A GOAL

Τίθημι occurs with the middle Usage of Transference to a Goal on thirty-eight occasions.<sup>12</sup> The Theme is realized by N+acc and P/ἐκ (some of) or is DNC. The Goal is realized by N+dat [+an] (onto), P/ἀντί [+gen] (onto), P/εἰς [-an] (into), and P/ἐπί [+acc] (onto, against).

ἔθετο κύριος ὁ θεὸς σημεῖον τῷ Καὶν (Gen 4:15)  
The Lord God [with affect] put a sign onto Cain.

ἔθεντο τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμαξαν (1 Sam 6:11)  
They [with affect] placed the ark onto the wagon.

## 2.3. USAGE #3: ACTIVE TRANSFERENCE TERMINATING IN A LOCATIVE.

Τίθημι occurs with the Active Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative on 140 occasions.<sup>13</sup> The Theme is realized by N+acc or is DNC. The Locative is

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12. Usage #2, Theme-Goal: N+acc-N+dat [+an], Gen 4:15; N+acc-P/ἀντί [+gen], Sol 17:6; N+acc-P/εἰς [-an], Judg 1:28; 8:33; Ps 47:14; 65:9; 72:9; Hag 1:7; Ezek 17:4; 18:12, 15; DNC-P/εἰς [-an], 2 Sam 19:20; Hag 2:15a; Mal 2:2b; N+acc-P/ἐπί [+acc], Exod 32:27; Judg 9:25; 1 Sam 6:11; 11:2; 25:25; 2 Sam 13:33; 1 Kgs 2:24; 21:12; 2 Kgs 2:15; 2 Chr 32:6; 1 Macc 11:66; Ps 65:11; 77:7; 88:20; Job 19:8; Pss. Sol 9:9; Mic 2:12; Ezek 14:3a, 7; 37:14; P/ἐκ-P/ἐπί [+acc], Ps 131:11; DNC-P/ἐπί [+acc], 1 Sam 25:18; Mal 1:1; Isa 42:25.

13. Usage #3, Theme-Locative: N+acc-P/ἀνὰ μέσον, Gen 3:15; 30:18; Judg 15:4; 1 Kgs 18:42; Obad 4; N+acc-P/ἀπέναντι, Exod 26:35a; 30:6; Deut 26:4; DNC-P/ἀπέναντι, Exod 30:36; N+acc-P/ἀπὸ, 2 Chr 4:10; N+acc-P/ἀπὸ ... P/ἔως, Exod 23:31; N+acc-P/ἐκ, Deut 31:26, 2 Chr 4:6a, 6b; N+acc-P/ἐμπροσθεν, Gen 48:20; N+acc-P/ἐν, Gen 9:13; 41:48a, 48b; Exod 40:26; Lev 26:1, 11; Num 17:19; 24:21; Deut 14:28; 27:15; Josh 4:3; 21:42; Judg 4:21; 20:29; 1 Sam 17:54; 29:10; 2 Sam 14:3; 19:29; 1 Kgs 13:31; 21:34a; 2 Kgs 10:7; 18:11; 19:28; 21:4, 7a; 1 Chr 10:10a, 10b; 2 Chr 4:7, 8; 5:10; 6:13; 24:8; 33:7a, 7b; 36:7; 1 Esdr 6:8; Ezra 5:15; 6:5; 8:17; Neh 5:10; Jdt 5:1; 6:7; 11:19; 1 Macc 11:37; Ps 32:7; Job 13:14; 19:23; 29:7; Wis 13:15; Sir 7:6; 14:26; Isa 10:28; 29:21; 63:11; Jer 25:18; 39:34; Ezek 5:5; 16:38; 37:1, 26; 43:8; 44:19; DNC-P/ἐν, Gen 50:26; 1 Sam 6:8b; 2 Sam 12:31; 2 Kgs 17:29; N+acc-P/ἐναντι, Josh 7:23; N+acc-P/ἐνώπιον, Judg 6:18; 1 Sam 10:25; N+acc-P/ἔξωθεν, Exod 26:35a; N+acc-P/ἐπάνω, Isa 14:13; Jer 50:10; Dan 14:36; N+acc-P/ἐπὶ [+dat, -an], Job 21:5; 40:4; Wis 4:14; N+acc-P/ἐπὶ [+gen], Exod 26:35b; 28:12; Num 21:8; Josh 4:18; Job 20:4; Sir 17:4; Isa 42:4; 46:7; Ezek 4:4; 40:2; DNC-P/ἐπὶ [+gen], Exod 12:7; 29:12; N+acc-P/ἔως, Dan 8:11; N+acc-P/μετά [+gen], Josh 24:31; Ps 49:18; Ezek 28:14; N+acc-P/ὀπίσω, Isa 57:8; N+acc-P/παρά [+acc, -an], Exod 40:6, 29; 1 Sam 9:24; N+acc-P/παρά [+dat, +an], 1 Sam 9:23; N+acc-P/περὶ [+acc], Isa 29:3; N+acc-P/πρό, Ezek 4:1; 14:3b; 16:18, 19; DNC-P/πρός [+acc, -an], Judg 6:20; N+acc-P/ὑπεράνω, Esth 13:14; N+acc-P/ὑπὸ [+acc], Gen 24:2, 9; Ezek 32:27; DNC-P/ὑπὸ [+acc], 1 Esdr 3:8; N+acc-P/ὑποκατω, Obad 7; Jer 45:12; DNC-



realized by P/ἀνά μέσον (between), P/ἀπέναντι (before), P/ἀπό (away from), P/ἀπό ... P/ἔως (from ... to), P/ἐκ (away from), P/ἔμπροσθεν (before), P/ἐν (in), P/ἐναντι (before), P/ἐνώπιον (before, in front of), P/ἔξωθεν (outside of), P/ἐπάνω (above), P/ἐπί [+dat, -an] (on), P/ἐπί [+gen] (on), P/ἔως (as far as), P/μετά [+gen] (among, with), P/ὀπίσω (behind), P/παρά [+acc, -an] (along), P/παρά [+dat, +an] (with), P/περί [+acc] (around), P/πρό (before), P/πρός [+acc, -an] (at, on, with), P/πρός [+gen, -an] (at), P/ὑπεράνω (above), P/ὑπό [+acc] (under), P/ὑποκατω (underneath), and the adverb ὧδε (A/ὧδε) (here) or is DNC.

τὸ τόξον μου τίθημι ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ (Gen 9:13)  
I place my bow in the cloud.

θήσω τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (2 Kgs 21:7b)  
I will put my name there forever.

#### 2.4. USAGE #4: MIDDLE TRANSFERENCE TERMINATING IN A LOCATIVE

*τίθημι* occurs with the Middle Usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative on seventy-five occasions.<sup>14</sup> The Theme is realized by N+acc or is DNC. The Locative is realized by P/ἀνά μέσον (between), P/ἀπό (away from), P/ἐν (in), P/ἐνώπιον (before, in front of), P/ἐπί [+dat, -an] (on), P/ἐπί [+gen] (on), P/μετά [+gen] (with), P/παρά [+dat, +an] (with), P/πρός [+gen, -an] (at, on), A/ἐκεῖ (there), and A/οὗ (where).

ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (Gen 1:17)  
God [with affect] put/set them in the firmament of the sky.

ἔθου τὰ δάκρυά μου ἐνώπιόν σου (Ps 55:9)  
You [with affect] put my tears before you.

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P/ὑποκατω, 2 Kgs 9:13; N+acc-A/ἐκεῖ, Judg 16:3; 1 Kgs 8:9; 2 Kgs 2:10; 4:10; 21:7b; 2 Chr 6:11; 1 Esdr 6:25; 1 Macc 1:34; Zech 5:11; Ezek 42:13; N+acc-DNC, Exod 40:3; 1 Kgs 2:19; N+acc-A/οὗ, Ps 83:4; DNC-A/ὧδε, Gen 31:37; DNC-DNC, Gen 30:42.

14. Usage #4, Theme-Locative: N+acc-P/ἀνά μέσον, Gen 17:2; N+acc-P/ἀπό, 1 Kgs 7:25; N+acc-P/ἐν, Gen 1:17; 2:15; 40:3; 41:10; 42:17, 20; Judg 7:22; 12:3; 1 Sam 8:11; 17:40; 19:5; 21:13; 28:21; 2 Sam 8:6, 14; 14:9; 20:18; 1 Kgs 10:26; 12:29; 22:27; 1 Chr 18:6, 13; 2 Chr 9:25; 1 Macc 1:53; 9:51, 52, 53; 13:33; 14:3, 23, 34, 48, 49; Ps 12:3; 18:5; 48:15; 72:28; 77:5, 43; 80:6; 87:7; 88:26; 104:27; Job 13:27; 33:11; Jer 28:16; Ezek 19:9; DNC-P/ἐν, 1 Kgs 21:34b; 1 Macc 14:26; Ps 11:6; Hag 2:18; Jer 12:11b; N+acc-P/ἐνώπιον, Ps 55:9; 89:8; N+acc-P/ἐπί [+dat, -an], Job 31:25; DNC-P/ἐπί [+dat, -an], Job 22:24; N+acc-P/ἐπί [+gen], Ps 45:9; DNC-P/ἐπί [+gen], 1 Sam 6:15; 19:13a; N+acc-P/μετά [+gen], 1 Kgs 10:26; Jdt 2:2; Job 40:28; N+acc-P/παρά [+dat, +an], Prov 2:18; Job 10:12; N+acc-P/πρός [+gen, -an], 1 Sam 19:13b; DNC-P/πρός [+acc, -an], Gen 28:11; N+acc-A/ἐκεῖ, Gen 2:8; 1 Kgs 9:3; 11:36; 14:21; 1 Macc 12:34; 14:33; N+acc-A/οὗ, Jdt 12:1.

## 3. USAGES OF BENEFACTION

Τίθῃμι grammaticalizes two usages of benefaction. With these usages, the verb requires completion by three semantic arguments that function as an Agent, a Patient, and a Benefactive. The verb presents parallel active and middle usages and is best translated by “set [up],” “make,” “station,” or “establish.” When coreferential to the Agent, the Benefactive typically is omitted but may be realized for emphasis. When referencing an entity other than the Agent, the Benefactive is realized, unless its referent appears elsewhere in the context.

## 3.1. USAGE #5: ACTIVE BENEFACTION

Τίθῃμι occurs with the Active Usage of Benefaction on thirty-one occasions.<sup>15</sup> The Patient is realized by N+acc or is DNC. The Benefactive is realized by N+dat [+an] (for, with), P/κατά [+gen] (against), and P/πρός [+acc, +an] (for) or is DNC.

τίθῃμί σοι διαθήκην (Exod 34:10)  
I make for you a covenant.

[προφθάσωμεν τοῦ εἰρήνην θεῖναι μετ’ αὐτῶν πρὶν ἢ] θεῖναι αὐτὸν μετὰ  
Ἀλεξάνδρου καθ’ ἡμῶν (1 Macc 10:4b)  
[Let’s come first to make peace with him before] he makes [peace] with  
Alexander against us.

## 3.2. USAGE #6: MIDDLE BENEFACTION

Τίθῃμι occurs with the Middle Usage of Benefaction on forty-four occasions.<sup>16</sup> The Patient is realized by N+acc or is DNC. The Benefactive is realized by

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15. Usage #5, Patient-Benefactive, N+acc-N+dat [+an], Exod 34:10, 12; 1 Kgs 2:19; Hos 4:17; Ezek 4:6; DNC-P/κατά [+gen], 1 Macc 10:4b; N+acc-P/πρός [+acc, +an], Sir 44:18; N+acc-DNC, Num 24:23; Josh 8:28; Ezra 4:19, 21; 5:17; 6:1, 3a, 3b, 8, 11; 12; 7:13; 1 Macc 10:4a; 2 Macc 14:21; Job 29:2; Sir 29:11; Isa 27:4b; 37:25; 41:7; Dan 7:9; DNC-DNC, 2 Kgs 8:11; 2 Chr 31:6 (σωροὺς σωροὺς is interpreted as a Manner [distributive] adjunct); Tob 6:4; Bar 2:26.

16. Usage #6, Patient-Benefactive: N+acc-N+dat [+an], Exod 15:25; 34:27; Judg 19:30; 1 Sam 9:22; 2 Sam 7:10; 14:7; 23:5; 1 Chr 17:9, 21; Ps 118:110; 139:6; Ode 12:8; Job 28:3; 31:1; 34:19; 36:28; Hos 2:2; 13:1; DNC-N+dat [+an], Ps 72:18; N+acc-P/ἀντί [+an], 1 Kgs 21:24; N+acc-P/κατά [+gen, +an], Ps 49:20; 108:5; N+acc-P/πρός [+acc, +an], Wis 1:16; Jer 41:13; N+acc-DNC, 1 Kgs 8:21 (N+dat is a Benefactive complement of τόπος); Ezra 5:13; Esth 9:24; 3 Macc 1:17; 2:24; 4 Macc 4:23; Ps 88:30; 103:9, 20; 140:3 (N+dat is a Benefactive complement of φυλαχή); 148:6; Ode 4:4; Prov 22:28; Job 24:15; 37:15; 38:5, 10; Mic 2:12; Nah 1:14; DNC-DNC, Job 14:5.

N+dat [+an] (for, with), P/ἀντί [+an] (instead of), P/κατά [+gen, +an] (against), P/πρός [+acc, +an] (for) or is DNC.

ἐκεῖ ἔθετο αὐτοῖς δικαιώματα (Exod 15:25)

There he [with affect] set up for them an ordinance.

ἔθεντο κατ' ἐμοῦ κακὰ ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ μῖσος ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγαπήσεώς μου (Ps 108:5)

They [with affect] set against me evil things instead of good things and hate instead of my love.

#### 4. USAGES OF MODIFICATION

*τίθῃμι* grammaticalizes two usages of modification. With these usages, the verb requires completion by three semantic arguments that function as an Agent, a Patient, and a Resultative, “the final state of an entity.” The verb presents parallel active and middle usages and is best translated by “make” or “appoint.”

##### 4.1. USAGE #7: ACTIVE MODIFICATION

*τίθῃμι* occurs with the Active Usage of modification on sixty-eight occasions.<sup>17</sup> The Patient is realized by N+acc and P/ἐκ (some of) or is DNC. The Resultative is realized by a noun phrase with the same syntactic case as the second (Patient) complement (N+2), P/εἰς (into), by an adjective with the same syntactic case as the second (Patient) complement (Adj+2), and by the adverbial phrases, A/ἴσα N+dat (equal to N+dat), A/ὡς N+2 (like N+2), A/ὡς DNC (like DNC), and A/ὥσει N+2 (like N+2).

πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε (Gen 17:5)

I have made you father of many nations.

θήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης (Gen 32:13)

I will make your offspring like the sand of the sea.

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17. Usage #7, Patient-Resultative: N+acc-N+2, Gen 17:5; Josh 2:18; 22:25; 2 Kgs 10:7; 17:34; Ps 20:13; 103:3; 109:1; 147:3; Isa 5:20a; 14:23b; 26:1; 28:15; 51:10; 54:12; 60:15; Jer 1:5; Ezek 4:3; DNC-N+2, Isa 41:15; N+acc-P/εἰς, Gen 17:6; Jdt 1:14; 8:23; Job 17:12; 24:25; Wis 6:22; Zeph 2:13; Isa 10:6; 22:18; 25:2; 28:17; 42:15; 49:6; 11; Jer 4:7; 12:11a; 13:16; 22:6; 28:29; 32:18; P/ἐκ-P/εἰς, Sir 33:9; 7:12; N+acc-Adj+2, Gen 15:10; Lev 26:19, 31; Prov 8:28; Wis 10:21; Isa 5:20b; 15:9; 14:17, 23a; 50:2; Jer 27:3; N+acc-A/ἴσα N+dat, Isa 51:23; N+acc-A/ὡς N+2, Gen 32:13; 2 Chr 1:15; Ps 20:10; Song 8:6; Hag 2:23; Zech 12:2; Isa 27:9; 49:2b; 50:3, 7; 51:3; Jer 1:18; A/ὡς DNC, 2 Sam 22:34; N+acc-A/ὥσει N+2, Lev 26:19; Isa 49:2a.

## 4.2. USAGE #8: MIDDLE MODIFICATION

Τίθῃμι occurs with the Middle Usage of modification on seventy-nine occasions.<sup>18</sup> The Patient is realized by N+acc and by an infinitive phrase (to) that lacks the first complement of the infinitive and retrieves it from the first (subject) complement of τίθῃμι (V-i1) or is DNC. The Resultative is realized by N+2, P/εἰς (into), P/έν (into), Adj+2, A/καθώς N+2 (like N+2), and A/ώς N+2 (like N+2).

ἔθετο αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ μεριδάρχῃν (1 Macc 10:65)

He [with affect] made/appointed him commander and provincial governor.

ἔθεντο Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς ὀπωροφυλάκιον (Ps 78:1)

They [with affect] made Jerusalem into a guard station.

## 5. USAGES OF COMPULSION

Τίθῃμι grammaticalizes two usages of compulsion. With these usages, the verb requires completion by three semantic arguments that function as an Agent, a Patient, and an Event (the complete circumstantial scene of an action or event). Like verbs that grammaticalize imposition but not transference (e.g., ποιέω [make] and ἀναγκάζω [compel]), τίθῃμι consistently has the implication that the Patient accomplishes the Event. However, unlike the other verbs, τίθῃμι never accommodates the interpretation that the Agent uses coercive force to compel the Patient to accomplish the event.<sup>19</sup> The verb is best translated by “set [up],” “make [out],” or “compel.”

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18. Usage #8, Patient-Resultative: N+acc-N+acc, 1 Sam 8:12; 28:2; 2 Sam 7:23; 22:12; 1 Kgs 5:23; 10:9; 1 Macc 10:65; 13:53; 14:35; 3 Macc 6:34; Ps 17:12, 35; 38:6; 43:14; 51:9; 68:12; 73:4; 78:2; 87:9; 88:41; 90:9; 104:32; Song 1:6; 6:12; Job 7:20; 17:6; 38:9; Zech 12:3; Ezek 21:32; 35:9; N+acc-P/εἰς, 1 Sam 11:11; 22:13; Jdt 5:11; 3 Macc 6:34; Ps 43:15; 78:1; 79:7; 106:33, 35; Hos 2:14; 4:7; Mic 1:6, 7; 4:7; Joel 1:17; Nah 3:6; Zeph 3:19; Jer 2:7; 9:10; 25:12; Ezek 5:14; 6:14; 7:20; 14:8; N+acc-P/έν, 2 Macc 4:15; 7:12; N+acc-Adj+2, 2 Macc 5:21; Ps 88:28; Job 11:13; 28:4; 38:14; 39:6; Mic 4:13a, 13b; Hab 3:4; Lam 3:11; Ezek 25:13; V-i1-Adj+2: Sir Prol 30; DNC-Adj+2, 3 Macc 5:43; Ps 17:33; N+acc-A/καθώς N+2, 1 Kgs 19:2; N+acc-A/ώς N+2, 2 Kgs 13:7; Ps 82:12, 14; 106:41; Hos 2:5; 11:8; Amos 8:10; Zech 12:6.

19. In this regard, τίθῃμι functions like δίδωμι (give), which also grammaticalizes both transference and compulsion: see Paul Danove, “The Usages of δίδωμι in the Septuagint: Its Interpretation and Translation,” *BIOSCS* 43 (2010): 23–40.

### 5.1. USAGE #9: ACTIVE COMPULSION

*Τίθημι* occurs with the Active Usage of Compulsion on three occasions.<sup>20</sup> The Patient is realized by N+acc. The Event is realized by an infinitive phrase (to) that lacks the first complement of the infinitive and retrieves it from the second (Patient) complement (V-i2). The genitive neuter singular article introduces the infinitive (τοῦ V-i2) on one occasion.

τίς με θήσει φυλάσσειν καλάμην ἐν ἀγρῷ (Isa 27:4a)  
Who will set me to guard straw in a field?

μὴ θῆς τὴν καρδίαν σου τοῦ λαλῆσαι εἰς τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο (2 Sam 13:20)  
Do not set your heart to speak about this matter.

### 5.2. USAGE #10: MIDDLE COMPULSION

*Τίθημι* occurs with the Middle Usage of Compulsion on two occasions. The Patient is realized by N+acc. The Event is realized by V-i2 (to).

ἔθεντο αὐτὸν εἶναι ἀσεβῆ (Job 32:3)  
They [with affect] set him up / made him out to be ungodly.

τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἔθεντο ἐκκλίνειν ἐν τῇ γῇ (Ps 16:11)  
They [with affect] set their eyes to turn away [from me] on the earth.

## 6. USAGE #11: MIDDLE ASSIGNMENT

*Τίθημι* grammaticalizes the Middle Usage of Assignment, in which the verb requires completion by three semantic arguments that function as an Agent, an Event, and a Goal. The verb assumes the perspective in which the Source and Agent initially are coincident / proximate, retrieves the Source from the Agent, and raises the Agent, Event, and Goal as arguments. Assignment differs from compulsion in that there is no necessary expectation that the Goal will accomplish the Event.<sup>21</sup> The verb is best translated by “assign” or “delegate.”

*Τίθημι* occurs with the Middle Usage of Delegation to a Goal on three occasions.<sup>22</sup> The Event is realized by an infinitive phrase (to) that lacks the first complement of the infinitive and retrieves it from the third (Goal) complement

20. Usage #9, Patient-Event: N+acc-V-i2, Isa 27:4a; Lam 3:45. N+acc-τοῦ V-i2, 2 Sam 13:20.

21. *Τίθημι* in the LXX functions like other verbs that grammaticalize both transference and delegation: *δίδωμι* (give) and *παραδίδωμι* (hand over).

22. Usage #11: Event-Goal: V-i3-N+dat [+an], 1 Macc 14:46; V-i3-P/εἰς [-an], Mal 2:2a; and V-i3-P/ἐπί [+acc], Gen 47:26.

(V-i3). The Goal is realized by N+dat [+an] (to), P/εἰς [-an] (into), and P/ἐπί [+acc] (to).

[εὐδόκησεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς] θέσθαι Σιμωνι ποιῆσαι κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους (1 Macc 14:46)

[All the people were pleased] to [with affect] assign/delegate to Simon to act according to these words.

ἔθετο αὐτοῖς Ἰωσηφ...ἐπὶ γῆν Αἰγύπτου τῷ Φαραῶ ἀποπεμπτοῦν (Gen 47:26)  
Joseph [with affect] assigned/delegated for them...to the land of Egypt to give a fifth to Pharaoh.

## 7. USAGE #12: MIDDLE BESETTING

Τίθημι grammaticalizes the Middle Usage of Besetting, in which the verb requires completion by three semantic arguments that function as a Theme, a Goal, and a Benefactive. The verb assumes the perspective in which the Source and Theme initially are coincident / proximate, retrieves the Source from the Theme, and raises the Theme, Goal, and Benefactive as arguments. The Benefactive is omitted when it is coreferential to the Theme.

Τίθημι occurs with the Middle Usage of Besetting only in 1 Sam 15:19. The Goal is realized by P/ἐπὶ [+acc] (onto). The Benefactive is DNC.

ῥμῃσας τοῦ θέσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ σκῦλα (1 Sam 15:19)

You rushed to [with affect] set upon the plunder [[for yourself]].

## 8. POLYSEMOUS USAGES

Because verbs with different usages can realize their arguments with the same complements, polysemous occurrences are not only possible but frequent. However, the situation becomes acute with the active and middle usages of transference to a Goal (#1 and #2) / the active and middle usages of benefaction (#5 and #6). With these usages, the most common realization of the Theme/Patient is N+acc, and a frequent realization of the Goal/Benefactive is N+dat [+an] (to, onto, before/for). The resulting polysemy receives illustration in the following occurrences:<sup>23</sup>

ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐγὼ Ἀρθασασθα βασιλεύς ἔθηκα γνώμην πάσαις ταῖς γάζαις ταῖς ἐν πέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ (Ezra 7:21)

23. Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), would recommend interpretation of the occurrence in Exod 15:25 as benefaction (679).

- Tra. I, King Artaxerxes, set this decree from me onto all the treasurers in Beyond the River.  
 Ben. I, King Artaxerxes, set up this decree from me for all the treasurers in Beyond the River.

ἐκεῖ ἔθετο αὐτῷ δικαιώματα (Exod 15:25)

- Tra. There he set ordinances onto them.  
 Ben. There he set up ordinances for them.

In both occurrences, the interpretation of transference has the implication that the action causes the decree/ordinances to go to the third complement (Goal), thereby assuring their enactment.<sup>24</sup> In contrast, the interpretation of benefaction merely has the implication that the action makes the decree/ordinances applicable to the third complement (Benefactive), without an attending address of their enactment.

## 9. CONCLUSION

This article resolved the occurrences of *τίθημι* in the LXX into thirteen usages that grammaticalize seven events. The discussion described the features of the conceptualization of the event associated with each usage, specified the syntactic, semantic, and lexical properties of all required verbal complements, and provided illustrations of the verb with the usages. The discussion then clarified the reason that particular combinations of complements admit to multiple interpretations.

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24. Adele Goldberg, "The Inherent Semantics of Argument Structure: The Case of the English Ditransitive Construction," *Cognitive Linguistics* 3 (1992): 37–64 (46, 49–52).





# Using Recurring Hebrew Phrases to Evaluate a Septuagint Translation: Jeremiah 11:1–14 as a Case Study

*Miika Tucker*

**Abstract:** The Septuagint renderings of recurring Hebrew phrases that are found in different biblical books have been used as a means to characterize a translation and to identify its relationship to the translations of other books. The translation of the Pentateuch, for example, is thought to have been used as an example by later translators of other books. Deuteronomistic phrases occur in a wide array of biblical texts and usually occur more than once. Within the text of the book of Jeremiah, numerous deuteronomistic phrases have been identified, and they therefore provide a good opportunity to evaluate the character of LXX Jeremiah as a translation and its relationship to the translations of other deuteronomistic books. My paper will consider the value of comparing translations of recurring Hebrew phrases in an attempt to determine the relationship between the translations of various books. I will use Jer 11:1–14 as a case study in an attempt to identify any precedent translation that the translator of LXX Jeremiah might have used to make his translation of this passage.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

For over a century, the relationship between LXX Jeremiah and other books in the Septuagint has been a subject of research. Naturally, this research is part of the broader question of relationship between the various books in the Septuagint: did the translation of one text influence the translation of another text, or could two or more texts possibly be translated by the same translator or group of translators?

The benefit of comparing translation units is manifold. Comparison helps detect influence from one translation to another. Identifying dependence between translations helps establish the order in which the translations were made, which in turn provides a clue as to the relative chronology of the trans-

lations.<sup>1</sup> Identifying a relationship between two or more translation units assists in more informed retroversion and reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the passages in question.<sup>2</sup> Also, identifying a specific relationship between two units of translation helps us better understand the Septuagint canon.<sup>3</sup>

When dealing with the translated texts, the identification of genuine influence or dependence of one text on another is not an easy task. Certain similar renderings in the translations of different units are bound to exist even when there is no connection between the translations, especially when it comes to the renderings of common, everyday words like “house,” “dog,” or “sun.” It is therefore necessary to employ caution and develop a set of criteria before drawing conclusions based on similar renderings in two or more translations.

Emanuel Tov has delineated four levels of influence to search for when attempting to determine dependence of one translation on another and dependence on the translation of the Pentateuch in particular. First, the analysis of agreements between texts should concentrate on agreements that are not so obvious, such as rare words. Second, the translators are likely to have used other translations as a sort of lexicon in order to understand the meaning of unfamiliar Hebrew words. Third, quotations from another text were often translated in the same way if the quoted text happened to have already been translated. Fourth, the contents of one text could have influenced the translation of another on an exegetical level.

The translation of the Pentateuch into Greek preceded the translation of other books. It was therefore available to later translators as a source for equivalents and as a model translation. It is highly probable that most, if not all, translations of other books utilized the Greek Pentateuch in some way or another, whether by vocabulary or by means such as those described by Tov. Dependence on and imitation of a familiar and highly valued text that was used for liturgical purposes, as the Greek Pentateuch must have been in certain communities, would seem to be the result of a natural process.<sup>4</sup>

When agreements among translations are identified, the results of their analysis should be described in relative terms, as Tov suggests, because absolute statistical results with regard to dependence cannot be obtained when comparing

1. Anneli Aejmelaeus, “‘Rejoice in the Lord’: A Lexical and Syntactical Study of the Semantic Field of Joy in the Greek Psalter,” in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M.F.J. Baasten and W.Th. van Peursen, OLA 118 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 505.

2. Emanuel Tov, Emanuel, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch*, HSM 8 (Missoula: Scholars, 1976), 168–69.

3. *Ibid.*, 168.

4. Emanuel Tov, “The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the other Books,” in *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy: Études Bibliques offertes à l’occasion de son 60<sup>e</sup> Anniversaire*, ed. P. Casati, O. Keel, and A. Schenker, OBO 38 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 578–79.

translations.<sup>5</sup> Differentiating between identity of the translators, imitation, and dependence is not always possible, and sometimes the description of the agreements must be limited to identifying the common details between translations.

The translations of words and phrases that recur in different books of the Bible afford a good opportunity to compare translations. Identical Hebrew phrases and sentences are to be found in different books, and by comparing the translations of such phrases, it might be possible to identify a connection between them. In the case of Jeremiah, the deuteronomistic passages afford this possibility. Dispersed throughout the book we find phrases and sayings that occur also in Deuteronomy and in the so-called deuteronomistic history. Although it would seem very unexpected not to find any connection between the translations of Jeremiah and Deuteronomy, to my knowledge their relationship has not been the subject of much study. Likewise connections between the translations of Jeremiah and the deuteronomistic history books have not been researched, but if this is because of the lack of connections to be found, then it does not seem surprising. Previous research on LXX Jeremiah has mainly focused on the translation's relationship to the translations of other prophetic books, particularly the Minor Prophets and portions of Ezekiel, but also the book of Baruch.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the identification of relationships between books in the Septuagint, the translations of recurring words and phrases have contributed to the discussion on the evaluation and characterization of the books of the Septuagint. Henry St. J. Thackeray, for example, notes that

if ... it is found that a phrase is consistently rendered in one way in one portion of the Greek Bible, and in another way elsewhere, and if, as we proceed to extend our investigations to the renderings of other Hebrew phrases, the same divergence between two portions of the LXX is apparent, we gain an increasing assurance that we have to deal with two distinct groups of books, which are the production of different translators and possibly of different epochs.<sup>7</sup>

It is not unusual for the issues of relationship and characterization to be considered in the same discussion, as Thackeray does in his *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*. Thackeray presents a rough classification of the books of the Septuagint based on their style of translation. He does not make all his criteria for the classification explicit, but one of them is clearly the translation of recurring Hebrew words and phrases in different books. It would seem to follow

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5. Ibid., 579.

6. Henry St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of Jeremiah," *JTS* 4 (1903): 245–66; Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of Ezekiel," *JTS* 4 (1903): 398–411; Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Prophetical Books," *JTS* 4 (1903): 578–85.

7. Henry St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 6–7.

that when similarities between translations are found, these translations can be grouped within the same class of style, and when differences between translations are found, the occasion calls for a distinction between the translations.

Naturally, a more thorough classification of translations cannot rely on such a simple model. Similarities and differences between translations can only be one part of a more holistic evaluation of a translation. Conclusions based on similarities must take into consideration whether these are the result of identity of the translators, quotation, imitation, influence, dependence, or mere coincidence. Each carries its own implications for the characterization of the translation. However, all instances of agreement are not sufficient in themselves to differentiate between these possibilities, as Thackeray also noted.<sup>8</sup> In such cases, further evidence is required.

I will now present to you my case study of Jer 11:1–14. I have chosen this text, because it is thought to be a prime example of the use of deuteronomistic diction in the book of Jeremiah. It contains many phrases found in other books which are considered to contain deuteronomistic diction, for example, the phrases: “the words of this covenant,” “the people of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem,” “I commanded you ancestors when I brought them out of Egypt,” “the iron furnace,” “listen to my voice,” “you shall be my people and I shall be your God,” “that I may fulfil the oath that I swore to your ancestors,” “as at this day,” et cetera.

In my analysis, I examine the translations of selected phrases found in this passage and compare them to the translations of similar phrases found in other deuteronomistic texts. I attempt to note any relevant similarities and differences which could be used to identify a connection between LXX Jeremiah and other Septuagint books and which could be useful in characterizing the translation of Jeremiah. The analysis does not include phrases that occur only in verses 7 and 8 of this text, because those verses do not have an equivalent in the Septuagint.

## 2. ANALYSIS OF THE GREEK TRANSLATION OF JEREMIAH 11:1–14

### 2.1. “THE WORDS OF THIS COVENANT” (אֲתִדְבַּרִי הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת)

The phrase אֲתִדְבַּרִי הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת is translated three times in this passage. It occurs a fourth time in the Hebrew text in verse 8. Otherwise, this exact phrase occurs in only two other texts: Deut 29:8 and 2 Kgs 23:3:

Deut 29:8(9) אֲתִדְבַּרִי הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת וְשָׁמְרֶתֶם—καὶ φυλάξεσθε ποιεῖν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης

2 Kgs 23:3 אֲתִדְבַּרִי הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת לְהַקִּים—τοῦ ἀναστῆσαι τοὺς λόγους τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης

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8. Thackeray, “Greek Translators of the Prophetic Books,” 582–83.

Jer 11:2 and 6 **הָאֵתְּ דִּבְרֵי הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת**—Ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης

Jer 11:3 **הָאֵתְּ דִּבְרֵי הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת**—οὐκ ἀκούσεται τῶν λόγων τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης

The translations of the phrase **הָאֵתְּ דִּבְרֵי הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת** in all these examples are similar to each other. The most notable deviation is the rendering in Deuteronomy, which adds the word *πάντας* before the phrase. The other slight variance is the genitive case used in Jer 11:3 instead of the accusative that is found in the other examples. The Greek translation of 2 Kings is found in the *kaige* section of 4 Reigns. The translation in the *kaige* sections has been characterized as “rigid isomorphism”; in other words, it attempts to reproduce in the Greek each constitutive element found in the source text.<sup>9</sup> The Greek translation of Deuteronomy amounts to more than this, as it reveals, in addition to the added word *πάντας*, a more complex translation of the verb **שָׁמַר**. In comparison to the translation of Deuteronomy, based on this example we can say that the translation of Jeremiah is characteristically more akin to the “rigid isomorphism” of 4 Reigns.

## 2.2. “THE PEOPLE OF JUDAH AND JERUSALEM” (**אִישׁ יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יְרוּשָׁלַם**)

The exact phrase **אִישׁ יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יְרוּשָׁלַם** occurs three times in Jeremiah (4:4, 17:25 and 32[39]:32), but variants of this form are also to be found, as in our text in chapter 11. Similar phrases are found in 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, and in a few of the prophets:

2 Kgs 23:2 **וְכָל־אִישׁ יְהוּדָה וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל יְרוּשָׁלַם**—καὶ πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ἰουδα καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ

Jer 4:4, 17:25 and 32(39):32 **אִישׁ יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יְרוּשָׁלַם**—ἄνδρες Ἰουδα καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλὴμ

Jer 11:2 and 18:11 **וְעַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוּדָה וְעַל־יְרוּשָׁלַם**—πρὸς ἀνδρας Ἰουδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ἱερουσαλὴμ

Jer 11:9 **וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יְרוּשָׁלַם**—ἐν ἀνδράσιν Ἰουδα καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ

Jer 35(42):13 **וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יְרוּשָׁלַם**—ἀνθρώπων Ἰουδα καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ

Jer 36(43):31 **וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יְרוּשָׁלַם**—ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆν Ἰουδα

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9. Paul D. McLean, “The Kaige Text of Reigns: To the Reader,” in *New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under That Title*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 271.

Nearly each occurrence of this phrase in LXX Jeremiah translates the word אִישׁ by a plural form of the word ἀνὴρ. The only exceptions are ἀνθρώπων in 35(42):13 and γῆν in 36(43):31. These two renderings, together with that found in 32(39):32, are located in the second half of Jeremiah, which has been proposed to contain a revision in comparison to the first half of the translation. This might explain the different renderings, but the equivalent γῆν might also be the result of a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. For the occurrence in 2 Kings, which is again found in the *kaige* section, the rendering is the singular ἀνὴρ, which could be understood as a literal equivalent of the word אִישׁ. In contrast to this, the translator of Jeremiah has considered the slightly broader sequence אִישׁ יְהוּדָה in his translation, which resulted in the plural form.

### 2.3. “I BROUGHT THEM OUT OF EGYPT” (הוֹצִיאֵם מֵאֶרֶץ-מִצְרַיִם)

This phrase, together with its variants (including the verb עלה, as in Jer 11:7), is very frequent in both Deuteronomy and in the historical books. It is to be found also in the Prophets and in Wisdom literature.

Deut 5:6 הוֹצֵאתִיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם—ἐξαγαγὼν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου

1Kgs 8:51 הוֹצֵאתָ מִמִּצְרַיִם—ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου

Jer 7:22 and 11:4 הוֹצִיאֵם מֵאֶרֶץ-מִצְרַיִם—ἡ ἀνήγαγον αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου

Jer 31(38):32 הוֹצִיאָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם—ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου

Jer 34(41):13 הוֹצֵאֵם מֵאֶרֶץ-מִצְרַיִם—ἡ ἐξείλαμην αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου

The rendering of the verb in this phrase varies from book to book. Throughout the Pentateuch, הוֹצִיא is mainly translated by ἐξάγω, while ἐκφέρω is employed occasionally. The same can be said for the historical books: ἐξάγω is the usual equivalent and ἐκφέρω is used seldom. Especially as part of this particular phrase, the most frequent equivalent is ἐξάγω.

In the book of Jeremiah, we find a broader variety of equivalents for this verb. ἐξάγω is used more than any other equivalent, but it is used in only about half of the occurrences of הוֹצִיא. Other equivalents are ἐκφέρω, ἀνάγω, and ἐξαίρνω. Where the phrase הוֹצִיאֵם מֵאֶרֶץ-מִצְרַיִם or a variant form of it occurs, ἐξάγω is the equivalent only in Jer 31(38):32. In two cases the equivalent is ἀνάγω (7:22 and 11:4), and in one case it is ἐξαίρνω (34[41]:13). It seems that, at least in the case of this verb, the translator of Jeremiah did not rely on the translations of other deuteronomistic texts.

### 2.4. “THE IRON FURNACE” (מְכוּר הַבְּרֹזֶל)

מְכוּר הַבְּרֹזֶל is a rare phrase only found on three occasions in the Hebrew Bible, each time referring to Israel’s bondage in Egypt:

Deut 4:20 הַבְּרֹזֶל מְבוֹר אֶתְכֶם וַיֹּצֵא אֱלֹהֵיגָאגֶען ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς καμίνου τῆς σιδηρᾶς  
 1 Kgs 8:51 הַבְּרֹזֶל בּוֹר הַתּוֹדֹת מִמִּצְרֵי־מֶלֶךְ הַיּוֹצֵאת אֶת הַיָּחִידִים אֵל אֵלֶיךָ אֵל הַיָּחִידִים—ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐκ μέσου  
 χωνευτήριου σιδήρου  
 Jer 11:4 הַבְּרֹזֶל מְבוֹר הַיּוֹצֵא אֶתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם אֶתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם—ἡ ἀνήγαγον αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς  
 Αἰγύπτου ἐκ καμίνου τῆς σιδηρᾶς

A similar expression is found in Isa 48:10: בּוֹר עֲנִי, translated as καμίνου πτωχείας. As separate words, בּוֹר and בְּרֹזֶל are not so rare. בּוֹר occurs nine times in the Hebrew Bible and did not seem to cause any trouble to the translators. It is rendered by ἀμυνο every time, save for χωνευτήριον in 1 Kings. What is the difference between ἀμυνο and χωνευτήριον? Χωνευτήριον is defined simply as a “smelting-furnace” by both Liddell-Scott-Jones and by Muraoka. Κάμυνο, on the other hand, is defined as a “furnace” by Muraoka, but by Liddell-Scott-Jones as an “oven, furnace, or kiln, for smelting, baking, burning earthenware and bricks.” A slight difference in meaning is possible, in that χωνευτήριον denotes a furnace purpose built for smelting, whereas ἀμυνο refers to a furnace used for other purposes. In any case, the rarity of this phrase בּוֹר הַבְּרֹזֶל is obvious, and therefore the similarity of the renderings in Deuteronomy and Jeremiah points to an awareness of the Greek Deuteronomy by the translator of Jeremiah.

## 2.5. “LISTEN TO MY VOICE” (שְׁמָעוּ בְּקוֹלִי)

שְׁמָעוּ בְּקוֹלִי is a very frequent expression in Deuteronomy, in the Deuteronomistic history, and in Jeremiah. Its incidence in Genesis and Exodus prompted Moshe Weinfeld to state that it was already a cliché in J and E.<sup>10</sup> This phrase is not peculiar to deuteronomistic texts, but occurs nonetheless most frequently within them.

Deut 27:10 וְשָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה—καὶ εἰσακούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου  
 Deut 30:2 וְשָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה—καὶ ὑπακούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ  
 Josh 22:2 וְשָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹלִי—καὶ ἐπακούσατε τῆς φωνῆς μου  
 Jer 11:4 וְשָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹלִי—Ἀκούσατε τῆς φωνῆς μου  
 Jer 42(49):21 וְשָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה—καὶ οὐκ ἠκούσατε τῆς φωνῆς  
 κυρίου

Here the equivalent φωνή for the noun קוֹל is to be expected. The verb equivalents are also not surprising. It is interesting to note how the translators of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges have opted to use compound verbs to translate the verb שָׁמַע, such as εἰσακούω, ἐπακούω, and ὑπακούω, as if to indicate that something more than hearing is meant. Only in a few cases do they use the verb ἀκούω without a prepositional prefix. The translator of Jeremiah, on the other

10. Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon 1972; repr., Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 337.

hand, rarely uses a compound form of ἀκούω to render שמע. The translation of 1 Samuel also does not follow Deuteronomy in this respect.<sup>11</sup> This example might reveal an exegetical intention on the part of the translators of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges, that is lacking in the translations of Jeremiah and 1 Samuel.

## 2.6. “YOU SHALL BE MY PEOPLE” (לְהִיּוֹת לִי לְעָם)

The phrase לְהִיּוֹת לִי לְעָם occurs in variant forms in Deuteronomy:

Deut 4:20 לְהִיּוֹת לִי לְעָם—εἶναι αὐτῷ λαόν  
 Deut 14:2 and 26:18 לְהִיּוֹת לִי לְעָם—γενέσθαι σε αὐτῷ λαόν  
 Deut 27:9 אֲלֵהֶם לְעָם לִיהוָה—γέγονας εἰς λαὸν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου  
 Deut 29:12 לְהִיּוֹת לִי לְעָם—στήσῃ σε αὐτῷ εἰς λαόν

The translations in Deuteronomy are not consistent. The rendering for the verb לְהִיּוֹת varies in these examples and in two instances the pronoun σε has been added to the text (14:2 and 26:18). Λαόν, the rendering of לְעָם, occurs either as a direct object in the accusative, or as an indirect object following the preposition εἰς. We may find similar variation in the renderings of לְעָם in the historical books:

2 Sam 7:24 עַד-עוֹלָם לְעָם לִי יִשְׂרָאֵל—καὶ ἡτοίμασας σεαυτῷ τὸν  
 λαόν σου Ἰσραὴλ λαὸν ἕως αἰῶνος  
 2 Kgs 11:17 לְהִיּוֹת לִי לְעָם—τοῦ εἶναι εἰς λαὸν τῷ κυρίῳ

In 2 Samuel, the rendering of לְעָם is the accusative λαόν, while in 2 Kings it is εἰς λαόν. The rendering εἰς λαόν is to be considered the more literal of the two, as it provides a representation of both morphological units in the Hebrew, that is, the preposition and the noun. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the *kaige* section of Reigns we find the rendering εἰς λαόν. The renderings of this phrase in LXX Jeremiah, on the other hand, show consistency in their equivalents of the Hebrew לְעָם:

Jer 7:23 לְהִיּוֹת לִי לְעָם—καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς λαόν  
 Jer 11:4 לְהִיּוֹת לִי לְעָם—καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς λαόν  
 Jer 13:11 לְהִיּוֹת לִי לְעָם—τοῦ γενέσθαι μοι εἰς λαόν  
 Jer 24:7 and 32(39):38 לְהִיּוֹת לִי לְעָם—καὶ ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν  
 Jer 31(38):1 and 33 לְהִיּוֹת לִי לְעָם—καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν

In each case in Jeremiah, לְעָם is translated as εἰς λαόν. The only variation to be found in these renderings is that of the verb לְהִיּוֹת, which is translated once by γίνομαι, while in all other cases the equivalent is a form of the verb εἰμί. We may, therefore, again describe the translations in Jeremiah and in the *kaige*

11. 1 Sam 8:9, 22; 12:1, 14; 15:24; 25:35.



sections of Reigns as portraying a more quantitative, or morphemic, equivalence in comparison to the translation of Deuteronomy. In other words, the translator of Jeremiah attempts to give here a representation to every morphological element in the Hebrew text.

## 2.7. “THAT I MAY FULFILL” (לְמַעַן הַקִּים)

לְמַעַן הַקִּים occurs in deuteronomistic texts and in 2 Chr 10:15. The object of the verb is mostly “the word of the Lord,” but a few times it is “the covenant,” and in Jeremiah it is “the oath sworn to the forefathers.”

Deut 8:18, 9:5, 29:12; 1 Kgs 2:4; 2 Kgs 23:24 הַקִּים לְמַעַן—ἵνα στήσῃ

1 Kgs 12:15 הַקִּים לְמַעַן—ὅπως στήσῃ

Jer 11:5 הַקִּים לְמַעַן—ὅπως στήσω

In Deuteronomy and Kings, we find five of the eight occurrences rendered by ἵνα στήσῃ, one occurrence in 1 Kings by ὅπως στήσῃ, and the occurrence in Jer 11:5 by ὅπως στήσω. The translation in Chronicles presents a different understanding from the Hebrew text, לְמַעַן הַקִּים is rendered by λέγων ἀνέστησεν. Both ἵνα and ὅπως are frequent renderings of לְמַעַן, especially ἵνα in Deuteronomy. Both words are also used in Jeremiah to render לְמַעַן. The equivalent verb ἵστημι is not the usual rendering for הַקִּים that is found in Jeremiah. Of the almost forty occurrences of הַקִּים in Jeremiah, only four are translated by ἵστημι, while the vast majority are translated by forms of the verb ἀνίστημι. Because of this, it is likely that in the case of the phrase לְמַעַן הַקִּים, the translator of Jeremiah was familiar with the rendering in Greek Deuteronomy and looked to it to translate this phrase in Jer 11:5.

## 2.8. “AS AT THIS DAY” (בְּיוֹם הַזֶּה)

בְּיוֹם הַזֶּה is a simple phrase that mainly appears in Deuteronomy, Samuel-Kings, and in Jeremiah. Though it occurs several times elsewhere, such as in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, Weinfeld has proposed that these occurrences are because of deuteronomistic influence on these texts. The Greek translations of this phrase vary quite a bit:

Gen 50:20, Deut 8:18 בְּיוֹם הַזֶּה—ὡς σήμερον

Deut 2:30, 4:20, בְּיוֹם הַזֶּה—ὡς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ

Deut 4:38 בְּיוֹם הַזֶּה—καθὼς ἔχετε σήμερον

Deut 10:15; Dan 9:7, 15 בְּיוֹם הַזֶּה—κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην

Deut 29:27 בְּיוֹם הַזֶּה—ὡσεὶ νῦν

1 Sam 22:8, 13; 1 Kgs 3:6, 8:24, 8:61; Jer 32(39):20, 44(51):6; 1 Chr 28:7; 2

Chr 6:15 בְּיוֹם הַזֶּה—ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη

Jer 11:5 בְּיוֹם הַזֶּה—καθὼς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη

הַזֶּה בַּיּוֹם has a Greek equivalent in Jeremiah in three instances: 11:5, 32(39):20, and 44(51):6. The other two occurrences in the Hebrew text (25[32]:18 and 44[51]:18) do not have equivalents in the Septuagint. Two of the translations in Jeremiah (32[39]:20, and 44[51]:6) are identical to the translations of the phrase in the books of Reigns, and near identical to the translations in Deut 2:30 and 4:20: ὥς ἢ ἡμέρα αὐτῆς. The translation in Jer 11:5 is similar to this, except for καθὼς in the place of ὥς. Although the translations of the phrase הַזֶּה בַּיּוֹם in the books of Samuel and Kings are not found in the *kaige* sections, they still embody a characteristic “rigid isomorphism” in comparison to the variety of renderings found in Deuteronomy. In this case, the translation of Jeremiah is to be characterized in a similar manner as the translations of the books of Samuel and Kings.

### 3. CONCLUSION

As can be seen from my analysis, there are some similarities between the Greek translations of deuteronomistic phrases in Jeremiah and those in other deuteronomistic texts, but there are also differences. This case study contains only a small sample of text from LXX Jeremiah, and therefore it is only possible to derive a rough characterization of the translation based on this evidence. The examples we have looked at provide sufficient indication toward certain conclusions, but a much broader sample of texts is required for a more thorough characterization.

First, it seems likely that the translator of Jeremiah looked to Greek Deuteronomy to find certain equivalents for the translations of deuteronomistic phrases. The evidence of examples 4 and 7 suggests this. The rare phrase בּוֹר הַבְּרִיָּל is rendered by the same equivalents in both Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, while the phrase in 1 Kings is rendered by a different equivalent. The verb הִקִּים is usually translated by the Greek ἀνίστημι in Jeremiah, but for the phrase לִמְעַן הִקִּים, the equivalent is ἵσταιμι, as in the renderings of the same phrase in Deuteronomy and in other deuteronomistic texts.

Secondly, the character of the translation of these phrases in Jeremiah is attuned to the character found in the translations of the books of Samuel and Kings. In examples 1, 6, and 8, we can see that the translations of Samuel, Kings, and Jeremiah consistently provide a Greek equivalent for each morphological unit in the Hebrew text. This characteristic is contrasted to that found in the translation of Deuteronomy, which adds elements in the translation in example 1, and which varies the translations of לָעַם and of הַזֶּה בַּיּוֹם in examples 6 and 8.

Thirdly, we can see some distinctive features in the translation of Jeremiah in comparison to the translations of other deuteronomistic texts. In example 2, there is a slight distinction in the way the translations of Jeremiah and 2 Kings render the phrase אִישׁ יְהוּדָה. The rendering of 2 Kings appears to be more literal

in using the singular equivalent ἀνὴρ, whereas the rendering in Jeremiah employs plural forms of the same equivalent except for the one occurrence of ἀνθρώπος. Examples 3 and 5 indicate a distinction in the choice of Greek equivalents between LXX Jeremiah and the translations of other deuteronomistic texts. Where LXX Deuteronomy and Joshua use compound forms of the verb ἀκούω to translate שמע בקולי, LXX Jeremiah does not use compound forms of the verb. LXX Jeremiah also uses different verbs than do the translations of other deuteronomistic texts to translate the phrase הוֹצִיאוּם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם.



## Interpretation and Reception



## Deuteronomy Reworked, or Composition of the Narrative in the Letter of Aristeas

*Ekaterina Matusova*

**Abstract:** The paper offers a new approach to the combination of subjects in the narrative of the Letter of Aristeas, drawing on the hypothesis that its author was familiar with parabiblical compositions of the Reworked Pentateuch (or Rewritten Bible) kind, which tended to combine parallel lines and passages within Pentateuch. The author suggests that Aristeas may have been familiar with a text in which the promised reward for the return to the law in Deut 30:3, expressed using the Hebrew expression **וּשְׁבַת אֶת־שְׁבוּתָךְ**, was understood in conformity with the tradition prevailing at the time of the translation of the Prophets and Psalms, that is to say, in the sense of “to turn the captivity.” In that case, the entire composition can be explained as an elaboration on the combination of Deut 30:1–5 and Deut 4:5–8, both of which places contain divine promises rewarding the return and loyalty to the law among the gentiles.

The Letter of Aristeas (whose author I will refer to as Aristeas) has been a puzzle and object of varying interpretations for several centuries, its structure being one of the most intriguing and unsettled questions. As is well known, the story of the translation is split into parts and forms a ring composition, with several much longer “digressions” inserted in the middle. The story of the translation is developed in 9–12, 29–49, and at the very end of the text, in 301–311. Intermediate sections deal with the liberation of the Jewish captives by Ptolemy II Philadelphus (13–28); the description of items sent by the king as presents to the high priest, the description of the temple, and the description of the land of Israel (50–120); the apology of the food and purity restrictions in the law given to Aristeas and his embassy (120–170); and the description of how the elders were received by the king and their conversation with the king at the symposium organized in their honor (171–300).

While rejecting the earlier tendency to deem the “digressions” later interpolations, scholarly opinion still does not see the principle and logic by which they are combined. An extreme approach is represented by Günter Zuntz, who says that Aristeas is “unable, or unconcerned, to organise them into a sustained and credible unity,”<sup>1</sup> while an interpretation more favorable to the author considers that the subjects were accumulated in order to represent an example of the Hellenistic *poikilia*, that is to say, a deliberate variety of genres (*ekphrasis*, historiography, symposium) intended to entertain the reader.<sup>2</sup> The only explanation for this selection is Aristeas’s wish to build up a comprehensive picture of Judaism.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, the story of the translation is often taken to be the main subject of the composition.<sup>4</sup>

It has been noted that one of the peculiar features of Aristeas’s style is the merging of different patterns, both Greek and biblical, so that, as Sylvie Honigman puts it, “the blending of Greek forms with Jewish topics, or, more subtly, of Greek and Jewish topics, is pervasive.”<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, I think that the logic behind the parts can only be understood in the context of the Jewish tradition, with the Greek elements being forms of its adaptation to the taste and erudition of the general Alexandrian readership. In this article, I hope to highlight the idea of the composition as it would have been evident to readers familiar with forms of biblical interpretation in the Second Temple period.

The story about the liberation of all Jewish slaves in Egypt, ordered by Ptolemy II upon the suggestion of Aristeas and other courtiers as a gesture to the high priest in Jerusalem in connection with commissioning of the translation of the law, cannot be historically correct.<sup>6</sup> Although some Jews may have been

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1. Günter Zuntz, “Aristeas Studies 2: Aristeas and the Translation of the Torah,” *JSS* 4 (1959): 109–26, repr. in *Opuscula selecta. Classica, hellenistica, christiana*, by Günter Zuntz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), 126–43 (128).

2. Victor A. Tcherikover, “The Ideology of the Letter of Aristeas,” *HTR* 51 (1958): 59–85 (64); Sylvie Honigman, *Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London: Routledge, 2003), 14–19.

3. Oswyn Murray, “The Letter of Aristeas,” in *Studi Ellenistici II*, ed. Biagio Virgilio (Pisa: Giardini, 1987), 15–29, 18; Zuntz, “Aristeas studies 2,” 109 (126); Honigman, *Septuagint*, 11, 29.

4. Murray, “Letter of Aristeas,” 15; Honigman, *Septuagint*, 29.

5. Honigman, *Septuagint*, 19.

6. Moses Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates* (New York: Harper, 1951; repr. New York: Ktav, 1973), 28–32; Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 126; John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 21–22; Honigman, *Septuagint*, 53–56; Hans-Joachim Gehrke, “Das sozial- und religionsgeschichtliche Umfeld der Septuaginta,” in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry and Ulrich Offerhaus, vol. 1;



brought to Egypt as prisoners of war in the course of the conquests of Judea by Ptolemy I,<sup>7</sup> mainstream Jewish immigration to Egypt in the Hellenistic period was essentially voluntary, as is also reflected by the account in Pseudo-Hecataeus (*apud* Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.186/9), which is diametrically opposed to that of Aristeas. Moreover, several elements of Aristeas's narrative also betray its fabulous character. Aristeas pretends that the liberation concerned not only the slaves captured by Ptolemy I but all the Jewish slaves brought to Egypt previously or subsequently (*Let. Aris.* 20, 22). Moreover, the decree, allegedly issued by Ptolemy, contains fabulous elements such as the three-day period within which the liberation has to be performed, the denounced becoming the property of their denouncers, and the philosophical motivation for the liberation (*Let. Aris.* 22–25).<sup>8</sup>

Harry Orlinsky in an important article<sup>9</sup> argues that the narrative of the Letter of Aristeas contains clear allusions to the presentation of the Torah to the Jewish people at Mount Sinai in the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy and in Jerusalem in Ezra-Nehemiah. He stresses that the idea of *reading the Bible aloud* in front of *the gathering of the Jewish people* and the *approval/acceptance by the gathering of the Law*, described in *Let. Aris.* 308–311, reflect a clear biblical pattern contained both in the book of Exodus (24:3–7) and in Neh 8:7–8 (2 Esd 18:7–8) and that the ban on addition and deletion from the Torah in *Let. Aris.* 310–311 is modelled on the corresponding ban in Deut 4:2.<sup>10</sup> Orlinsky keenly notes that the introduction of the twelve tribes of Israel in connection with the number of those who take part in producing the text of the law (six men from each tribe) is inspired by the same Exodus pattern, because the twelve tribes of Israel are involved in the presentation of the Torah in Exodus (by setting up twelve pillars under the altar in Exod 23:4).<sup>11</sup> Honigman, in her important book, tries to explain the liberation of the Jewish slaves, building on the allusions to Exodus, suggested by Orlinsky. In particular, she thinks that Aristeas wishes to mold the situation in Egypt on the reverse of the situation in the book of Exodus.<sup>12</sup> She interprets this event in the Letter of Aristeas as that of the non-Exodus: the king-Pharaoh willingly liberates the slaves himself and, instead of leaving Egypt for

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BWANT 153 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002), 44–60 (46); Victor A. Tcherikover, “Prolegomena,” in *CPJ* 1, 4.

7. Cf. Tcherikover, *CPJ* 1, 3.

8. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 28–32.

9. Harry M. Orlinsky, “The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators,” *HUCA* 46 (1975): 89–114.

10. *Ibid.*, 94–96.

11. *Ibid.*, 98.

12. Honigman, *Septuagint*, 56. See also Philip R. Davies, “Didactic Stories,” in *The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 1 of *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, ed. D.A. Carson et al., WUNT 2/140 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 99–133 (121).

the law, the Jews remain there, and the law comes to them.<sup>13</sup> I agree that the liberation of slaves should be explained against the background of a biblical paradigm, but I think that, upon closer inspection, the Exodus paradigm, when taken in the narrow meaning of its notion (that is, the paradigm contained *in* the book of Exodus), does not suffice to explain even the episode of the liberation, let alone be useful in understanding the entire composition. However important and intensive the allusions to Exodus may be in the narrative, I think that a different paradigm, not disconnected from that of Exodus, but one that may have absorbed it, is in play behind the principle of the introduction and combination of subjects.

Aristeas refers several times to those-to-be-liberated as “those in slavery” (οἰκεῖταις, Let. Aris. 14, 15, 16, 24). However, of the seven times that the word οἰκέτης occurs in the book of Exodus, only two (in one and the same passage) refer to the Jews in Egypt with a meaning that is close to being figurative. The Jews in Egypt are never said in the book of Exodus to have been formally enslaved, although they were dependent, oppressed, and treated badly. When “the officers of the children of Israel” say to Pharaoh, “Wherefore dealest thou thus with *thy servants*?” (Exod 5:15, 16), this reference has a largely figurative meaning, particularly if we remember that all the subjects of Pharaoh are his slaves (cf. Deut 34:11). The presentation of the theme of slavery in Egypt drastically changes in the book of Deuteronomy. Of the nine times that the word occurs in this book, seven refer to the people of Israel with the direct meaning of slave (Deut 5:15; 6:22; 15:15; 16:12; 24:18, 20, 22). In two of these occurrences, it is said that God “redeemed, freed” (ἐλυτρώσατο) the Jews from slavery in Egypt (Deut 15:15; 24:18). The root also occurs in connection with Jewish people in Egypt in the book of Exodus (Exod 15:13). However, formalization of the notion of slavery with regard to the position of the Jews in Egypt and its combination with that of “redemption, liberation” expressed using this root is only found in Deuteronomy. Thus, when we find the idea of the liberation from slavery in Egypt expressed using these two roots in the Letter of Aristeas (Let. Aris. 12: τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως; 20: ἀπολυτρώσαι; 33: ἀπολύτρωσιν), we have reason to think that the book of Deuteronomy serves Aristeas as the immediate point of reference for this topic, rather than the book of Exodus.

This compels me to investigate the role of Deuteronomy in the formation of the narrative of the Letter of Aristeas more closely. In particular, I wish to focus on the possible combination of the themes of liberation from slavery and the acceptance of the law. My attention is drawn by Deut 30:1–3:

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13. For some important additional parallels confirming that the image of the king-Pharaoh is intentionally depicted as an opposition to the Pharaoh of the Bible, see Arkady Kovelman, *Between Alexandria and Jerusalem: The Dynamic of Jewish and Hellenistic Culture*, BRLA 21 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 105–8.

- 1 And it shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind among all the nations, whither the LORD thy God hath driven thee,  
 2 And shalt return unto the LORD thy God, and shalt obey his voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine heart, and with all thy soul;  
 3 that then the LORD thy God will *turn thy captivity* [ושב יהוה אלהיך [את־שבותך], and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations, whither the LORD thy God hath scattered thee. (KJV)

According to this interpretation, the Jews are promised that God *ושב את־שבותך* as a reward for them wholeheartedly repenting and returning to the law among the gentiles. The expression *ושב את־שבותך* has been translated in the LXX using the expression *καὶ ἰάσεται κύριος τὰς ἀμαρτίας σου*, “God will cure your sins.” This way of rendering the meaning of the expression is not unparalleled. LXX Job 42:10, for example, renders it using the collocation *ἀφίημι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν*. Nevertheless, in the rest of the Greek Bible, this collocation is uniformly rendered using the expression *ἀπο(ἐπι)στρέφω τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν*, “to turn the captivity”: Jer 38:23 (= MT 31:23); Ezek 16:53; 29:14; 39:25; Hos 6:11; Amos 9:14; Zeph 2:7; 3:20; Joel 4:1; Pss 13:7; 52:7; 84:2; 125:1; Lam 2:14. The meaning of the expression is difficult and essentially admits double interpretation.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, the uniform rendering of it in all the prophets and psalms with the meaning of “turning the captivity” indicates that at a certain point, namely, the time of the translation of the prophetic books, that is, from the second century BCE or earlier,<sup>15</sup> this interpretation absolutely prevailed in the Jewish milieu. In Lam 2:14, this translation is used even when the other would seem to be unequivocally preferable.

The question is whether this tendency influenced the history of the translation and interpretation of Deuteronomy and whether traces of it can be found in the Jewish Hellenistic tradition. P. Fouad does not contain any clear reading of the line in question.<sup>16</sup> However, Aramaic targumim, Babylonian Talmud, and Peshitta indicate that the history of interpretation of this place in Deuteronomy is vexed. Several versions of the Targum Onqelos and the

14. On the possible reasons for these different interpretations of the meaning of the root see HALOT, s.v. שָׁבַת, שְׁבוּת, and שׁוּב. See also Ehud ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 161–64. Ben Zvi stresses that within the Hebrew tradition interpretation of the phrase as not referring to captivity is earlier than the second interpretation, which should be dated to the exilic and postexilic period.

15. Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 131.

16. Zaky Aly and Ludwig Koenen, eds., *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint: Genesis and Deuteronomy; A Photographic Edition Prepared in Collaboration with the International Photographic Archive of the Association Internationale de Papyrologues*, PTA 27 (Bonn: Habelt, 1980), 104–5.

Babylonian Talmud follow the interpretation of “to turn your captivity,” while Targum Neophiti and that of Pseudo-Jonathan are close to the interpretation preserved in the LXX.<sup>17</sup> The problem is clearly indicated by the three later redactions of the LXX by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, the first offering the interpretation ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπιστροφὴν, while the two others translate as καὶ ἐπιστρέψει (σοι) κύριος ὁ θεός σου τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν σου.<sup>18</sup> Peshitta has “bring back again your captivity” (Syr. Deut 30:3). Vulgata has *reducet Dominus Deus tuus captivitatem tuam* (Vulg. Deut 30:3).

Remarkably, Aristeas, when speaking about the liberation of the slaves, also refers to them as “captives” (Let. Aris. 12: ἡχμαλώτιζε; 23: ἡχμαλωτεῦσθαι; 33: ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων; 35: αἰχμαλώτους; 37: αἰχμαλώτων). Therefore, I wish to question which notion of the content of Deut 30:3 could have been familiar to Aristeas.

The question is all the more pertinent given that Philo of Alexandria, the only Jewish-Hellenistic author who refers to this place, definitely understands it in the sense of liberation of captives. According to the Supplement to Biblia Patristica, dedicated to Philo,<sup>19</sup> Philo closely follows Deut 30:1–10 by rephrasing and philosophically elaborating on it in *Praem.* 162–166. In paraphrasing the beginning of chapter 30, Philo writes:<sup>20</sup>

(163) If, however, they receive these exertions of power not as aiming at their destruction, but rather at their admonition and improvement, and if they feel shame throughout their whole soul, and change their ways, reproaching themselves for their errors, and openly avowing and confessing all the sins that they have committed against themselves with purified souls and minds, so as in the first place to exhibit a sincerity of conscience utterly alien from falsehood and concealing nothing evil beneath; and secondly, having their tongues also purified so as to produce improvement in their hearers,—*This refers to Deut 30: 2, where the conversion ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου is mentioned.*

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17. Tg. Onq. Deut 30:3 (see *Targum Onqelos to Deuteronomy*, ed. Martin McNamara, trans. Bernard Grossfeld, ArBib 9 [Wilmington: Glazier, 1988], 84); b. Meg. 175; Tg. Neof. Deut 30:3; Tg. Ps.-J. Deut 30:3.

18. Frederick Field, ed., *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875), 317. See John W. Wevers, ed., *Deuteronomium*, Septuaginta 3.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 325.

19. J. Allenbach et al., eds., *Biblia Patristica, Supplément: Philon d’Alexandrie* (Paris: CNRS, 1982), 87.

20. *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*, transl. Charles D. Yonge, 3rd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995).

they will then meet with a favourable acceptance from their merciful saviour, God, who bestows on the race of mankind his especial and exceedingly great gift, namely, relationship to his own word; after which, as its archetypal model, the human mind was formed.—*This refers to Deut 30:3 καὶ ἐλεήσει σε.*

(164) For even though they may be at the very extremities of the earth (ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς ὥσι γῆς),—This refers to 30:1 οὗ ἔάν σε διασκορπίσῃ κύριος ἐκεῖ, 30:3 συνάξει σε ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν, εἰς οὓς διεσκορπισέν σε κύριος ἐκεῖ, and particularly to 30:4 ἐάν ᾗ ἡ διασπορά σου ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐκεῖθεν συνάξει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου.

**acting as slaves to those enemies who have led them away in captivity** [δουλεύοντες παρὰ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτους αὐτοὺς ἀπάγουσιν ἐχθροῖς], **still they shall all be restored to freedom** in one day [ἡμέρα μιᾷ πάντες ἐλευθερωθήσονται], as at a given signal; **their sudden and universal change to virtue causing a shock among their masters; for they will let them go, because they are ashamed to govern those who are better than themselves.**

IX. (165) But when they have received this **unexpected liberty** [τῆς ἀπροσδοκῆτου ταύτης ἐλευθερίας], those who but a short time before were scattered about in Greece, and in the countries of the barbarians, in the islands, and over the continents [οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ σποράδες ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ νήσους καὶ κατὰ ἡπείρους]—*This resumes the idea of “being scattered” as found in Deut 30:1, 3, 4.*

We can continue following the text of Philo, but this analysis will disclose the parallels with the further text of Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy 30:1–5 have already been adapted. We can see that *Praem.* 162–165 contains allusions to almost every single thought found in Deut 30:1–5. However, no mention is made of “curing your sins.” Instead we find again a reference to “liberation from captivity”: δουλεύοντες παρὰ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτους αὐτοὺς ἀπάγουσιν ἐχθροῖς ... ἡμέρα μιᾷ πάντες ἐλευθερωθήσονται. Moreover, Philo uses the same collocation as Aristeas (ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων ἠλευθερώκαμεν, *Let. Aris.* 37).

The root “sin,” used in the LXX (ἰάσεται κύριος τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου), is used by Philo in the phrase “openly avowing and confessing all the sins that they have committed [ἡμαρτον]” (*Praem.* 163). Nevertheless, this refers not to the action exercised by God upon the Jews, which would have been expected if the expression “will cure your sins” had been alluded to, but to the action of those who repent “with all heart and soul,” which implies the idea of confessing sins. Thus, the use of the root cannot be unequivocally indicative of the influence of the LXX. Also, there is no allusion to “curing” (ἰάσεται). However, even if we are inclined to think that the use of this root may somehow be influenced by the interpretation preserved in the LXX, we have to concede that the other version was also known to Philo and that this version was more important to him, given a clear and emphatic allusion to it in his interpretation.

Thus, Philo definitely was aware of an interpretation different from LXX Deut 30:3, which has come down to us. However, it would be rash to jump to the conclusion that Philo had a different version of the translation of LXX Deut 30:3 at his disposal. His paraphrase features a number of particularities, which I wish to draw attention to.

First, there is the idea found in *Praem.* 164 that the liberation from captivity is accompanied by the shame of the gentiles: they will let them go, being ashamed (αἰδεσθέντες) to govern them. Second, the liberation of the captives, which results from the sudden conversion of the Jews to virtue (that is to say, the law), also causes shock (κατάπληξις) to the pagan masters. Deuteronomy 30 makes no references to such feelings.

At the same time, the motif of the shame of the gentiles is found in LXX Zeph 3:19–20, one of the prophetic contexts, containing the expression similar to that of Deut 30:3 (בְּשִׂאֹבֵי אֶת־שְׁבוּתֵיכֶם) and rendered in the LXX using the translation “to turn the captivity.” Although another interpretation is possible in which “shame” refers to the Jews (which is the interpretation accepted nowadays), the LXX interprets it as a feeling of the gentiles (cf. Ps 132 [LXX 131], 18) and gives this translation καὶ κατασχυνθήσονται ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ... ἐν τῷ ἐπιστρέφειν με τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑμῶν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν, λέγει κύριος.

Soph 3:20: And they will be ashamed in that time when I do well with you...when I return your captivity before you, says the Lord. (NETS)

This interpretation directly combines the shame of the gentiles with the liberation of the Jewish captives, as does Philo. Αἰδέομαι, used by Philo, is a regular synonym of κατασχύνομαι used in LXX Zephaniah.

The tendency to combine (juxtapose) a context from the Pentateuch with a context from a prophet, drawing on their common idea and on the synonymous or identical words used in them, is attested in the texts of the Second Temple period. Examples can be found in CD V, 15–17; 11Q13, 2; 1QS V, 15–17; and 4Q174 III, 12.<sup>21</sup> These parallels substantiate the hypothesis that Deut 30:3 and Zeph 3:19–20 could have been combined in a source at Philo’s disposal since they refer to the same idea and contain the same expression. Similarly, Philo’s reference to the astonishment of the gentiles (shock, κατάπληξις) suggests the combined character of his source. The Hebrew Deuteronomy and Exodus often

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21. CD V, 15–17 combines Deut 32:28 and Isa 27:11 as referring to “the people (nation) of no understanding.” 11Q13 (Melch) combines Lev 25:13, Deut 15:2, and Isa 61:1, based on the synonymous expressions referring to the liberation (in the year of the jubilee and at the eschatological time). 1QS V, 15–17 combines Exod 23:7 and Isa 2:22 based on the idea of keeping away from bad deeds and persons. 4Q174 III, 12 combines 2 Sam 7:12–13 and Amos 9:11 that refer to the divine promise of raising up and establishing the kingdom of David.

repeat the fact that the exodus of the Jews from Egypt involved God's support, his intervention, specified using the noun מורא (Deut 34:12; 26:8; 4:34) and the participle נורא (Exod 34:10; Deut 10:21). Exodus 34:10 generalizes the subject, stressing that amazing and fearful things will happen to the Jews in sight of every nation that the Jews in the future will pass through (dwell in) and that these nations will see what God does for his people:

Exod 34:10: וראה כל־העם אשר אתה בקרבך את־מעשה יהוה כ־נורא הוא אשר אני עשה עמך

The LXX place even greater emphasis on the universal meaning by using the plural instead of the singular (ἐν οἷς).

LXX Exod: καὶ ὁψεται πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐν οἷς εἶ σύ τὰ ἔργα κυρίου ὅτι θαυμαστά ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ ποιήσω σοι.<sup>22</sup>

The word נורא refers to something which inspires fear and awe, but also shock and astonishment.<sup>23</sup> The LXX texts are not able to render both meanings at once. They translate the word either using the word “fear” (φόβος) or “astonishment” (θαυμάσια/ θαυμαστά).<sup>24</sup> The word κατάπληξις, used by Philo, combines the idea of fear with that of astonishment and shock (see LSJ s.v. καταπλήσσω, κατάπληξις) and properly describes the feeling (*pathos*) experienced by those who see נורא. Thus, Philo's reference to this feeling of the gentiles can be explained by the conflated character of his source in which Exod 34:10 was combined with Deut 30:3, which is plausible, as both contexts stress the universal aspects of the liberation of the Jews on their way to the promised land and use similar or identical expressions (cf. Deut 30:3: מכל־העמים, “from all the peoples,” and Exod 34:10: כל־העם, “all the people/ every nation”).

Regarding the character of the text that Philo refers to, we can see that in the source at Philo's disposal the motifs were grouped around Deut 30:1–5, in particular around the topic of the reactions of the gentiles to the liberation of the Jews. This clearly tells us that this source was not originally composed on the basis of LXX Deut 30:3 (that has come down to us), because this Greek translation shows a different understanding of the expression and, consequently, would not have allowed the other places to be taken into account. The source

22. The LXX emphasise the idea of the plurality of the nations by using the plural form ἐν οἷς, while the Hebrew text does not require this. However, the context of this verse makes it clear that the promise refers to all the nations (not the Egyptians) that the Jews will pass through on their way to the Holy Land. Thus the LXX emphasise the idea present in the Hebrew text anyway.

23. See BDB, s.v. ירא , *niphal* 2.

24. Cf. Exod 15:11 and Deut 28:58 (astonishment) and Gen 28:17; 46:43; Deut 1:19 (fear).

was composed either on the basis of the Hebrew text and was later translated into Greek or on the basis of a differently translated Deut 30:3.

However, the first option is preferable, not only because *נורא* is referred to using the more precise notion of *κατάπληξις*, which is not attested in the LXX, suggesting a direct translation from Hebrew, but also because Philo's paraphrase contains the notion of Logos exactly in this place, where all targums of Deut 30 contain the notion of Memra (while paraphrasing Deut 30:2–3, see *Praem.* 163).<sup>25</sup> In Philo's paraphrase, the reference to the notion of Logos, although it is expressed using Greek philosophical terms, is not philosophically motivated, and the inference lies close at hand that it entered Philo's text under the influence of a source containing the notion of Memra, which is natural in a Hebrew source retelling a biblical narrative. Thus, the cumulative evidence (the absence of the meaning "to turn the captivity" in the Old Greek, the notion of *κατάπληξις* in the place of *נורא*, and the notion of Logos in the paraphrase of Deut 30:2) allows us to assume a source at Philo's disposal, composed on the basis of Hebrew and translated into Greek. This translation must have been made sufficiently long ago as to be able to form a tradition that would compete with the LXX and even overshadow it. What is important is that the combined character of the source can explain why Deut 30:3 was understood differently from the tradition reflected in the LXX, not only because of a presumably later date of translation, when the other interpretation of the expression prevailed, but also because of the necessity to render the meaning of all combined places uniformly. Thus, the meaning of those places prevailed that appeared to be univocal and that were taken by a Hebrew composer to complement and support the meaning of Deut 30:3. At the same time, the correspondence of the interpretation of Zeph 3:20 in the translation of the combined source with the existing Greek translation of Zeph 3:20 is also remarkable. However, this can be explained not by the immediate influence of the Greek Zephaniah but by a roughly contemporary date of translation, when interpretation of a place in the Hebrew was more or less commonly accepted in translator circles.

The principle at work in the source behind Philo's paraphrase is known in the Jewish tradition of the Second Temple period. It is particularly prevalent in the (pre-)Samaritan Pentateuch and the compositions known as the Reworked Pentateuch. We find in them either blending or juxtaposition of passages that are separate in the Masoretic Pentateuch but deal with the same subject.<sup>26</sup> Some-

25. Tg. Onq. Deut 30:2–3; Tg. Neof. Deut 30:2–3; Tg. Ps.-J. Deut 30:2–3.

26. John M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson, eds., *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)*, DJD V (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968); Harold Attridge et al., in consultation with James VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*, DJD XIII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Parabiblical Texts*, part 3 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 238–312. See the discussion of the reasons for the harmonisation in Michael Segal, "Biblical exegesis in 4Q158: Techniques



times the parallelism between the texts is strengthened by lexical parallels.<sup>27</sup> However, the principle in question is also found in the compositions known as the Rewritten Bible, where the combination of the biblical passages serves the more specific design of an individual author (Jubilees, Temple Scroll, Apocryphon of Moses). It is attested in targumim, which also use such methods.<sup>28</sup> These compositions testify to harmonization being possible within one biblical book, as well as among several of them. In particular, examples of the combination of Deuteronomy with Exodus (as a parallel to the combination suggested concerning the idea of shock in Philo's paraphrase) are attested both in the Rewritten Pentateuch (4Q158 6, 7–9) and in the Rewritten Bible, like the Temple Scroll (1Q19 2, 66) or the Jubilees (1, 1–3).

It is now time to return to the Letter of Aristeas and to question whether anything in the text suggests that Aristeas too was familiar with a source that contained the conflated understanding of the biblical material.

In Let. Aris. 155, in the process of (allegorical) interpretation of the law, the high priest says:

Διὸ παρακελεύεται καὶ διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ὁ λέγων οὕτως·(1) (a) Μνεία μνησθήσῃ  
(b) κυρίου τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐν σοὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά. Κατανοούμενα γὰρ  
καὶ (2) μεγάλα καὶ ἐνδοξα φαίνεται

And therefore does he admonish us through Scripture, when he says, “thou shalt well remember what great and marvellous things the Lord thy God did in thee”; when clearly understood they do indeed appear “great and glorious.” (Trans. by M. Hadas)

This is a direct reference to the Scripture and the addition “when clearly understood” (*κατανοούμενα*) marks its borders, making it clear that the quotation continues up to the words “great and marvellous things”; the words “great and glorious” are a quotation as well. However, the quoted words appear to be a combination of different places in Deuteronomy.

The expression *Μνεία μνησθήσῃ* corresponds to Deut 7:18, where this collocation is uniquely present in the Greek Pentateuch and corresponds to the expression זכר תזכר, which is uniquely used in the MT of the Pentateuch:

LXX: οὐ φοβηθήσῃ αὐτοὺς μνεία μνησθήσῃ ὅσα ἐποίησεν κύριος ὁ θεός σου τῷ  
Φαραω καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις

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and Genre,” *Text 19* (1998): 45–62; Sidnie W. Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in the Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 39–59; Molly M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture, Composition and Exegesis in the 4Q Rewritten Pentateuch Manuscripts*, STDJ 95 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 25–134.

27. For instance, 4Q158 1–2, 14, see Zahn, *Rewritten Scripture*, 62.

28. Martin McNamara, “Introduction,” in *Targum Neophiti I: Deuteronomy*, transl. Martin McNamara, ArBib 5A (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1997), 1–15 (2–3).

MT: לא תירא מהם זכר תזכר את אשר-עשה יהוה אלהיך לפרעה ולכל-מצרים

The second part (τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐν σοὶ) does not correspond directly either to the LXX or to the MT, although it is relevant to the sense of the phrase. According to Meecham's suggestion, Deut 10:21 is also in play here: οὗτος καύχημά σου καὶ οὗτος θεός σου, ὅστις ἐποίησεν ἐν σοὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ ἔνδοξα ταῦτα, ἃ εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου. However, we can see that *μεγάλα καὶ ἔνδοξα* appear in the second quotation only (2), whereas in the second part of the first quotation (1b) only the collocation ἐν σοὶ and the adjective *μεγάλα* correspond to the Greek translation of Deut 10:21. The participle *ποιήσαντος* and the adjective *θαυμαστά* are not found in LXX Deut 10:21. Let us look at the Hebrew text of Deut 10:21:

הוא תהלתך והוא אלהיך אשר-עשה אתך את-הגדלת ואת-נוראת האלה אשר ראו עיניך

את-הגדלת ואת-נוראת האלה are the object of God's activity. As we noted in the discussion of Philo's source, judging from the LXX, the adjective *θαυμαστός* was one of the regular translations of the word *נורא*.<sup>29</sup> Given this, Aristeas's variant *τὰ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά* could have been a regular translation of *את-הגדלת ואת-נוראת האלה*, although this translation differs from the LXX.

Thus, the suggestion of Meecham proves to be even truer than he thought (as he did not take into consideration the Hebrew text). The analysis reveals that the first part of the phrase in Let. Aris. 155 could be a translation of two combined places in Deut 7:18 and 10:21, which refer to the same idea and contain similar expressions (cf. *לא תירא* [Deut 7:18]; *תירא* [Deut 10:20]; *אשר ראו עיניך* [Deut 7:19; 10:21]). This combination was performed on the basis of the Hebrew text and translated into Greek with a certain degree of freedom, with the participle replacing a personal form (as is also necessitated by the verb *μνηστήσῃ* [*μυμνήσκωμαι*], which is commonly used with the genitive case) and *τὰ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά* replacing *τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ ἔνδοξα*.

At the same time, it seems that the translation of the LXX had a significant influence on the author of the new, combined translation. He borrows the remarkable collocation *μνεία μνηστήσῃ* (which is *hapax* in the LXX Pentateuch), and also repeats the expression ἐν σοὶ (Deut 10:21), which renders *אתך*, which is also the sole case of such a translation of this form of the pronoun in the entire Pentateuch. Even the use of *θαυμαστά* instead of *ἔνδοξα* may reflect the choice of one of the possibilities found in the language of the LXX (as may be recalled, this is the translation found in Exod 15:11; 34:10 and Deut 28:58).

Moreover, when Aristeas says that "clearly understood they do indeed appear 'great and glorious' [*μεγάλα καὶ ἔνδοξα*]," "they" referring to *τὰ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά*, it is difficult to avoid the inference that Aristeas is comparing the

29. Exod 15:11; Deut 28:58; Ps 44:5.

translation from the combined source with the translation from the LXX, claiming that both translate the same idea. Neither the idea of comparison between the combined source and the LXX, nor Aristeas's claim that they have the same import seem surprising in light of the method of translation, revealed by the analysis of the first part of the quotation. This method implies necessary or deliberate changes going hand in hand with close attention and orientation to the translation of the LXX. The translators of the combined source did consult the LXX and, given the character of the borrowings, did not intend to contrast their work with it, exactly as combined and rewritten compositions in the Hebrew tradition were hardly meant to substitute or displace the "canonical" books but were in parallel with them.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, this quotation testifies to the fact that

(1) Aristeas used a source in which the parallel passages in Deuteronomy, referring to the same subject, were treated together. In this text, the phrase was composed of different elements from various passages in Deuteronomy.

(2) This source was composed on the basis of the Hebrew text, rather than on the Greek one, and was rendered into Greek, with due regard to the LXX, but differently from it.

(3) He refers to this source as Scripture when quoting it, meaning that for him it had the value of the Scripture. At the same time, the word "Scripture" in Aristeas's phrase refers to the LXX as well. The conclusion we have arrived at here remarkably accords with those made on the basis of the Reworked Pentateuch from Qumran (both [pre-]Samaritan Pentateuch<sup>31</sup> and 4Q Reworked Pentateuch). Many scholars think that these reworked compositions were regarded as regular Pentateuchal texts, with all the authority of the Torah.<sup>32</sup>

30. See Michael Segal, "Between Bible and Rewritten Bible," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 10–29, esp. 11: "Indeed, the rewritten composition was not composed with the purpose of *replacing* the biblical texts, for without the Bible itself the rewritten composition loses its legitimacy." See also Florentino García Martínez, "Temple Scroll," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: University Press, 2000), 927–33. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 212. This thought can be applied *a fortiori* to a minor rewriting, like the Reworked Pentateuch.

31. 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup>, 4QNum<sup>b</sup>, the Samaritan Pentateuch.

32. Eugene Ulrich, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Biblical Text," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:79–100; Michael Segal, "4Q Reworked Pentateuch or 4Q Pentateuch," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Shrine of the Book/Israel Museum, 2000), 391–99. Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 56–57; Emanuel Tov, "Reflections on the Many Forms of the Hebrew Scripture in Light of the LXX and 4QReworked Pentateuch," in *From Qumran to*

The Nash Papyrus, our only Hebrew text from Egypt,<sup>33</sup> can substantiate the conclusions drawn from the analysis of Aristeeas's quotation. The papyrus contains 24 lines of the Hebrew text with a *mixed* formulation of the Decalogue (Exod 20:2–17 and Deut 5:6–21, the subjects also combined in 4Q158 7–9), and the addition of Deut 6:4–5, the so-called Shema, which is another formulation of the first commandment. The papyrus is dated between the middle of the second and the middle of the first century BCE, and the earlier date is possibly preferable.<sup>34</sup> Whatever the purpose of this text, it testifies to the presence in Egypt of the compositions, based on the Hebrew text, in which passages from Pentateuch, and particularly within the book of Deuteronomy, were blended and juxtaposed on the basis of their common idea. Given the speed of the Hellenization process among the Egyptian Jews, there can be little doubt that such compositions used to be translated into Greek. However, the mixed character of quotations, suspected in the source behind Aristeeas's quotation and testified by the Decalogue in the Nash Papyrus, must have put the translators of such compositions in a difficult position. Even if they had great respect for the existing translations of the Pentateuch and wished to conform to them, they could not blindly follow them, given the adjusted and sometimes also interpretative character of the harmonized texts.

Thus, it becomes clear how a tradition of an interpretation of Deut 30:3, similar to that which was available to Philo, could have been familiar to Aristeeas. First, the fact that he had a source translated into Greek later than LXX Deuteronomy, to which lexical borrowings testify, already explains why *וְשָׁב אֶת־שְׁבוּתְךָ* in Deut 30:3 could have received a different interpretation. We have discussed the fact that “liberation from captivity” was the prevailing interpretation at the time of the translation of Prophets and Psalms. Second, the method of translation of the harmonized composition, as analyzed above using

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*Aleppo: A Discussion with Emanuel Tov about the Textual History of Jewish Scriptures in Honor of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Armin Lange et al., FRLANT 230 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 11–28. Idem, “From 4Q Reworked Pentateuch to 4Q Pentateuch (?),” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović, JSJSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 73–91. When discussing the arguments for the authoritative character of 4QRP, Tov refers to a case similar to that found in Let. Aris.: “Thus, while the first biblical quotation in the sectarian composition 4QTestimonia (4Q175) is close to SP, the third one, from Deut 33:8–11, is very close to 4QDeut<sup>b</sup>, and may have been based on that scroll or a similar one. These two quotations show that the author of 4QTest quoted from at least two Scripture scrolls of a different character, a pre-Samaritan text and 4QDeut<sup>b</sup>, a textually independent text” (88).

33. Stanley A. Cook, “A Pre-Massoretic Biblical Papyrus,” *PSBA* 25 (1903): 34–56; Norbert Peters, *Die älteste Abschrift der zehn Gebote, der Papyrus Nash* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1905); William F. Albright, “A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabean Age: The Nash Papyrus,” *JBL* 56 (1937): 145–76; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 111.

34. Albright, “Biblical Fragment,” 149; Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 32.

the example in Let. Aris.155, could also have suggested this change: the Pentateuch regularly translates the nouns שבי and שבית and the verb שבה, to which at that period the word שבות was supposed to be cognate, using the words *αἰχμάλωτος*, *αἰχμαλωσία* and cognate forms.<sup>35</sup>

Third, a specific combination of subjects in this source could have reinforced the necessity of this interpretation. The conflation of the theme of the liberation of slaves, which uses vocabulary alluding to the liberation at the Egyptian exodus, based on Deuteronomy (οἰκέτης, [ἀπο-]λυτρ Deut 5:15; 6:21; 15:15; 16:12; 24:18, 20, 22), with that of the promised liberation of captives (αἰχμαλ-) may serve to show this (in particular, see Let. Aris. 33: ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων). This conflation may be another case of “harmonization” of topics within the book, in which the promise of God with regard to the future liberation of captives in 30:3 is paralleled with the liberation from slavery in the past. At the same time, the vocabulary of this mixed presentation of the topic in the Letter of Aristeas confirms our observation concerning the translation techniques in the (hypothesized) combined text: deliberate, or necessary, innovations went hand in hand with attention to and respect for the wording of the LXX.

Deuteronomy 30 promises liberation from captivity as God’s immediate answer to the return to the law among the gentiles, with this situation directly corresponding to that described in the Letter of Aristeas. In terms of the biblical paradigm, the Jews living among the Greeks and Egyptians for the first time return to their ancestral law in a form comprehensible to them, this translation being delivered to the Jewish community, which was supposed to follow it (whereas earlier the Greek-speaking Jews did not have such an opportunity, as is implied by the words of the high priest in Let. Aris. 126).<sup>36</sup> According to Aristeas, the very first attempt to execute this translation was accompanied by the global liberation of the captives. Thus, the main idea behind introducing this topic would be that of “reporting” the fulfilment of the divine promise, when relating the legendary history of the acceptance of the Greek hypostasis of the Jewish law.

In the limited scope of an article, I can only briefly outline further perspectives for the interpretation of the composition as a whole. My thesis is that we should understand the subsequent sections, Let. Aris. 50–120 (the description of the items of furniture for the temple, the description of the temple, and the description of the land of Israel) and Let. Aris. 120–300 (the apology of

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35. Gen 31:26; Exod 12:29; 22:9; Num 21:1, 29; 24:22; 31:12, 19, 26; Deut 21:13; 28:41; 32:42.

36. The high priest says that he only allows the translators to leave Jerusalem “for the correction of the lives of all his countrymen [πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις ἐπανόρθωσιν], because a good life consists in the observance of the Law.” The word ἐπανόρθωσις means “setting right, correcting” (see LSJ s.v. ἐπανορθόω, ἐπανόρθωσις) and implies the poor state of living according to the law among the Egyptian Jews.

the law and the reception with the Symposium), as elaborations on the other promised rewards for the return and loyalty to law among the gentiles that are found in Deuteronomy. Thus, the promise of the return immediately follows the promise of the liberation of the captives:

*And the LORD thy God will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it; and He will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers. (Deut 30:5, KJV)*

In terms of the logic of the divine promises, it is clear why, after the mutual sequence of the themes of commissioning the translation and the liberation of the slaves, *the description of the promised land* is given, which became possible owing to the journey of Aristeas with the royal embassy to Jerusalem (Let. Aris. 83–120). Remarkably, this description incorporates *all* the elements of the description of the promised land in Deuteronomy. Thus, Deut 8:9 corresponds to Let. Aris. 119 (metals); Deut 11:11 to Let. Aris. 107 (landscape); Deut 8:7; 11:11 to Let. Aris. 115, 116–117 (water); Deut 8–9 to Let. Aris. 112, 107 (fruits of the earth); Deut 4:1; 7:7; 8:1; 11:8; 30:5, 9 correspond to Let. Aris. 113, 116 (multiplicity of people); and, finally, Deut 12:10 to Let. Aris. 115, 118 (safety of life). All those familiar with the text of Deuteronomy must have perceived clear lexical allusions to it in Aristeas's narrative. Their presence in the text transforms an ideal description of a land (as it could have been understood by a reader unfamiliar with the Jewish Scripture<sup>37</sup>) into that of the *promised land*, that is, the land where the Jews have to come and dwell.<sup>38</sup>

In Deut 4:5–8, we find another promise given by God to the Jews who will abide by the law. Namely, God promises that the gentiles will admire the wisdom of the Jews and that they will highly respect them and the statutes of the law, because the law is given directly by God:

5. Behold, I have taught you statutes and judgments, even as the LORD my God commanded me, that ye should do so in the land whither ye go to possess it.

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37. Scholars argued for it being the meaning and purpose of this part (Honigman, *Septuagint*, 24; Erich S. Gruen, "The Letter of Aristeas and the Cultural Context of the Septuagint," in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten: Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 134–56 [141]).

38. This is also the opinion of Tcherikover, "Ideology," 77–79. In particular, he says: "The Jewish reader in Alexandria learned from those chapters that his heart should be attracted ... by the pure and beautiful Holy Land, as it appears in the pages of the Holy Scripture" (78–79). Tcherikover does not see allusions to Deuteronomy but collects and emphasizes allusions to other places, in particular, the prophets, which, probably, also constituted part of Aristeas's source.

6. Keep therefore and do them; for this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people.

7. For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the LORD our God is in all things that we call upon him for?

8. And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day? (KJV)

It is difficult to overlook the fact that Aristeas's elaboration incorporates all the points of the promise: the high priest and the sages from Jerusalem are those who observe the law (cf. Let. Aris. 32; 39; 122; 305); their wisdom is not only appreciated, but even admired by the gentiles (passim and, in particular, Let. Aris. 170–171; 200; 235; 296); their greatness as ambassadors from Jerusalem is acknowledged in the way that they are immediately received by the king (Let. Aris. 173–181, in particular, 175), and the reason for this treatment and attitude is, in all regards, the law, brought by them, which, the king acknowledges, is given by God (Let. Aris. 177–179; 312), and which gives them wisdom more solid than that of the Greek philosophers (Let. Aris. 235, 200, 296).<sup>39</sup>

The principle of thematic combination and harmonization of topics either between several biblical books or within one of them, and in particular within the book of Deuteronomy, is attested in the wide range of the reworked and rewritten compositions within the Hebrew tradition of the Second Temple. Thus, 4Q364 (Reworked Pentateuch) 21, 1–2 unites Deut 1:17 and Deut 16:19; 1Q 22 (Apocryphon of Moses) retells the words of Moses combining Deut 27:9–19 with Deut 6:10–11; and Deut 1:9–18 with Deut 11:17; 4Q175, 1 (Testimonia) unites Deut 5:28–29 and 18:18–19; 4Q 397 MMT 14–19 (Miqṣat Ma'asê ha-Torah) combines Deut 4:30 and Deut 30:1–2—the chapters (and partly precisely the verses) that, as we suppose, are also combined in the Letter of Aristeas—building on the idea of repentance and return to God.

In conformity with the principle of lexical connection between the places, referred to above,<sup>40</sup> there is not only a thematic, but also a formal, lexical, connection between Deut 30:5 and Deut 4:5–8. Deuteronomy 30:5 promises to bring the Jews “into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it (אלֵּיהָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־יִרְשׁוּ אֲבֹתֶיךָ וִירְשֶׁתָּהּ),” whereas Deut 4:5 says that observance of the law (resulting in the high respect accorded by the gentiles) is necessary after the Jews have come and settled down “in the land whither ye go to possess it (בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם בָּאִים שָׁמָּה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ).” Thus, it is not only general logic that explains this reverse sequence of the places (ch. 4 following ch. 30, as the events promised in Deut 30:1–5 are rewards for the “return,” following the period of apostasy [cf. Deut 29:26–28 and 30:1]), while those promised in Deut 4:6–8 are

39. See Günter Zuntz, “Aristeas Studies 1: The ‘Seven Banquets,’” *JSS* 4 (1959): 21–36; repr. in Zuntz, *Opuscula selecta*, 110–25, 110, 121.

40. See nn. 21, 27.

the results of “observance” and “keeping” to the law), but also the logic of formal links between the places referring to the same idea. To reap the benefits of the promise given in chapter 4, the Jews must first return to the promised land and settle there. In full accord with the logic of this reconstructed combination, Aristeas endows with wisdom those who have arrived from the land of Israel and who normally live there and observe the law.

However, this does not imply that Aristeas himself is concerned with emphasizing the idea of the return. Apart from an equivocal statement that “the rural districts require a dense population” (Διὸ καλῶς ἔβλεψαν, ὅτι πολυανθρωπίας οἱ τόποι προσδέονται, *Let.Aris.* 113), which can be understood as a hint at the lack of people there, the Letter of Aristeas does not directly emphasize the point. The reason is that this text is written in the multicultural environment of the Ptolemaic state, and one of its central ideas is to stress that a normal religious life of the Jews can be organized in a pagan, namely, Graeco-Egyptian, society. The idea of leaving Egypt in the near future would be politically incorrect in view of the non-Jewish audience, and, most probably, would not match the expectations of the Egyptian Jews themselves. Therefore the return is suggested as a vague and almost fabulous perspective. However, the formal logic of the combination referred to above, which is indirectly mirrored in the Letter of Aristeas (in that the wisdom admired comes from the land of Israel), cannot be overlooked, and the fact of discrepancy between this inner logic of the connection between the places and its downplaying in the elaboration of Aristeas points to Aristeas adapting a preexistent composition to the needs and expectations of his audience in the diaspora, rather than himself creating a new selection and combination of topics. (The hypothesis of a preexistent composition is also more reasonable in view of the absence of interpretation of Deut 30:3 in the sense of “bringing back the captivity” in the Old Greek text.)

Thus, we see that, according to the interpretation proposed, the “digressions” are deeply connected to the story of the translation, being an organic part of the conception. In terms of the biblical paradigm, as suggested by Orlinsky, the story of translation that encircles the digressions implies the identity of the LXX with the Jewish law and contains clear allusions to its deliverance to the Jewish people.<sup>41</sup>

The “digressions” can be interpreted as an elaboration on the selection of places in the book of Deuteronomy referring to the idea of the return and loyalty to the law among the gentiles. The story of the translation embraces the other themes, because the translation of the law is the condition under which the Jews living in the diaspora can return to the law and the divine promises can be fulfilled. In this respect, and in this respect alone, the subject can be regarded as

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41. Orlinsky, “Septuagint as Holy Writ,” 94–97.



the main one. Methodologically, we have to assume that, along with the LXX, Aristeas had at his disposal one or more than one combined or harmonized compositions (as we have no evidence that the combined quotation in Let. Aris. 155 derives from the same source as the suggested combination of ch. 30 and 4), which he used and elaborated on. In the harmonization of Deut 30:1–5 and 4:5–8, verse 3 in chapter 30 was interpreted differently from the LXX. According to this interpretation, the divine promises for the return to the law included the liberation of the captive slaves, the return to the promised land, and the admiration of the wisdom of the Jews by the gentiles.



## From *Musar* to *Paideia*, from *Torah* to *Nomos*: How the Translation of the Septuagint Impacted the Paideutic Ideal in Hellenistic Judaism

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Abstract: The following explores the Septuagint's potential impact on the understanding of *paideia* and the connection between *paideia* and the Mosaic law in the Second Temple period. Here, I will briefly examine the Hebrew concept of *musar*, a term many have at times associated with instruction or education but more properly denotes some form of chastisement or reproach, often by the deity and frequently with the purpose of bringing about a change in the recipient. The term, so prominent in both wisdom and prophetic literature, was nearly universally translated with the Greek *paideia*, leading to a fundamental shift in meaning, both to the original Hebrew concept, now more congruent with the Jewish Hellenistic world of thought, and to the understanding of the Greek term, which could then take on the disciplinary nuance of the Hebrew idea not originally inherent. Of immediate relevance here is the translation of the Hebrew *torah* with the Greek *nomos*. Many experts today would agree that the term *torah* in the Hebrew Bible is more accurately translated along the lines of "instruction" rather than "law," but the usual translation of the Septuagint as *nomos* solidified what was perhaps once an educational term with a juridical one, an historical irony which would allow Jews of the Hellenistic Diaspora such as Philo of Alexandria to imagine a connection between the Mosaic *nomos* and the unwritten *nomos phuseos*, a significant move designed to show that the Jews did not, as was often argued by their gentile neighbors, follow some strange, particularistic law code designed for a small minority. Instead, they, via the Mosaic law, followed the universal law of nature, just as the philosophers had hoped.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

For the author of 4 Maccabees, the Mosaic law was at once the philosophy of the Jews and their greatest source of education through which they learned all divine and human knowledge and which led the Jews to the attainment of that lofty goal of all Greek philosophy, *sophia* or wisdom. Sirach's grandson and posthumous translator, though perhaps ironically disparaging his (and all) Greek translation, saw his grandfather's project as a tome dedicated to *paideia* and *sophia*, and he understood that after heavenly wisdom came to dwell in or as the book of the Mosaic *nomos*, the law became a fountain of *paideia* for the Jews, the world's greatest educational resource. Not only did Philo of Alexandria agree that the Jews were unique because of their divinely received law by which they were educated from infancy, but he even went so far as to claim that the written law of the Jews was the most perfect possible copy of the universal, unwritten law of nature, which the patriarchs and even some righteous gentiles were able to follow prior to the revelation of the written law, themselves becoming living laws.

These are all ideas largely absent from and perhaps even foreign to the text of the Hebrew Bible as we have it, and these developments would have been improbable without two decisive translation choices, rendering the Hebrew *musar* with the Greek *paideia* and the Hebrew *torah* with the Greek *nomos*. Had the Greek translators chosen more obvious and perhaps appropriate terms, such as *elegmos*, *elegchos*, or *noutheteia* for *musar* or *didachē* or *agōgē* for *torah*, these moves by the Hellenistic authors would not have come naturally. But, by choosing instead two terms loaded with meaning in Hellenistic thought, the translators—whether this was their conscious purpose or not—laid the groundwork for such creative exegesis of their sacred scriptures and facilitated the melding of Jewish piety and tradition with Platonic and Stoic philosophies, which would become one of the hallmarks of Jewish Hellenistic thought and, from that, nascent Christianity.

By understanding how these initial choices on the part of the Greek translators impacted later Jewish thinkers, we can come to have a better understanding, not only of the role of education and the *torah* in the lives of Hellenistic Jews, but also a better grasp of how they saw themselves within the wider Hellenistic milieu.

## 2. CONCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES

As the differences between the Hebrew and Greek terms are well known, it is unnecessary to dwell long on them. But, it will be important to point out some chief issues that make clear that these were progressive translation choices that had a great impact on later Jewish thought. I am not arguing that these were

unique translation moves, because the terms are in no way related. There is, of course, overlap between them. The differences, though, are significant.

## 2.1. MUSAR AND PAIDEIA

*Musar*, like *paideia*, is often—though not always—related to instruction and education. From the verbal root יסר, meaning “to discipline, chasten, instruct,” *musar*, when related to instruction, is always connected to the *process* through which the instruction is given, specifically a form of chastisement or rebuke, used, typically, on children. This chastisement involved some type of physical or verbal reproof (תוכחת): “A fool despises a parent’s instruction [מוסר], but the one who heeds admonition [תוכחת] is prudent” (Prov 15:5). The rod would often be the natural ally of *musar*: “Do not withhold discipline [מוסר] from your children; if you beat them with a rod [כִּי־תַכֵּנו בַּשֶּׁבֶט], they will not die” (Prov 23:13).

God disciplines humanity just as a parent disciplines a child: “Know then in your heart that as a parent disciplines [יִסֵּר] a child so the Lord your God disciplines you [מִיִּסְרָךְ]” (Deut 8:5). God’s *musar* was intended to correct the people’s behavior and bring them back into the covenantal relationship, though, in this sense, it often failed: “O Lord, do your eyes not look for truth? You have struck them, but they felt no anguish; you have consumed them, but they refused to take correction [מוסר]. They have made their faces harder than rock; they have refused to turn back” (Jer 5:3). The expiatory exile could even be understood as God’s divine *musar*: “But he was wounded for our transgressions, crushed for our iniquities; upon him was the punishment [מוסר] that made us whole, and by his bruises we are healed” (Isa 53:5).<sup>1</sup>

While *paideia* could tangentially refer to a sort of instruction via reproof—it did, after all, have the basic sense of rearing one’s child, one’s *pais*; a bit of stern correction was no doubt expected—, the Greek term was more naturally related to the *content* of the instruction—for example, music, mathematics, rhetoric, et cetera—and sometimes even the result, the total culture of the individual. The cognate verb *paideuō* described the means of instilling that content and culture. So, while one could potentially use either *musar* or *paideia* as the method to instruct or educate, only *paideia* could be, for example, the content of a book from which one instructs, and it is only *paideia* that the educated, cultured person sought to attain. Never in ancient non-Jewish—or non-Christian—Greek is *paideia* connected directly to the rod. This connection only came with the Septuagint.

Though initially meant to denote the rearing of children, related to but distinct from *trephein*, *paideia*, beginning at least with the Sophists, began to refer to the sum total of intellectual culture and virtue necessary for the

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1. On *musar* in the wisdom literature and Proverbs specifically, see Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, AB 18a (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 34–35.

individual to be truly *kalokagathia*.<sup>2</sup> This lofty and idealized notion of *paideia* persisted throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The number of studies dedicated to Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman *paideia* reflect well the importance of the concept in the Greco-Roman world, whether we understand *paideia* as culture, education, or one derived from the other. Impossible to go into the all of the nuance and detail here, I will use one prominent example to illustrate just how central a concept *paideia* was in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Pseudo-Plutarch's *De Liberis Educandis*.

First, it is important to note that nowhere in this work, roughly contemporary with Philo of Alexandria, is *paideia* associated with the chastisement of free children for the purpose of their education. Better, we see a shift from education via the rod to education via the book: "For the corresponding tool of education is the use of books, and by their means it has come to pass that we are able to study knowledge at its source" (τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄργανον τῆς παιδείας ἢ χρήσις τῶν βιβλίων ἐστί, καὶ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τὴν ἐπιστήμην τηρεῖν συμβέβηκεν"; 8b; LCL); and further:

This also I assert, that children ought to be led to honourable practices by means of encouragement and reasoning, and most certainly not by blows or ill-treatment, for it surely is agreed that these are fitting rather for slaves than for the free-born; for so they grow numb and shudder at their tasks, partly from the pain of the blows, partly from the degradation. Praise and reproof are more helpful for the free-born than any sort of ill-usage, since the praise incites them toward what is honourable, and reproof keeps them from what is disgraceful. (8f-9a)

The author also, very similarly to Philo, distinguishes between the value of preliminary or encyclical education and that of the higher goal of philosophy or *sophia* (7c-d). For this author, there is nothing more important than the proper education of one's children, and in several places, he eloquently expresses the ideal of the Hellenistic education and its benefits:

Briefly, then, I say (an oracle one might properly call it, rather than advice) that, to sum up, the beginning, the middle, and end in all these matters is good education and proper training; and it is this, I say, which leads on and helps towards moral excellence and towards happiness. [ὅτι ἐν πρῶτον καὶ μέσον καὶ τελευταῖον ἐν τούτοις κεφάλαιον ἀγωγή σπουδαία καὶ παιδεία νόμιμός ἐστι, καὶ ταῦτα φορὰ καὶ συνεργὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν φημί.] And, in comparison with this, all other advantages are human, and trivial, and not worth our serious concern. Good birth is a fine thing, but it is an advantage which must be credited to one's ancestors. Wealth is held in esteem, but it is a chattel of fortune, since oftentimes she takes it away from those who possess it, and

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2. See Werner Jaeger, *Archaic Greece: The Mind of Athens*, vol. 1 of *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, 4th English ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954), esp. 286–331.

brings and presents it to those who do not expect it.... But learning, of all things in this world, is alone immortal and divine [*παιδεία δὲ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν μόνον ἐστὶν ἀθάνατον καὶ θεῖον*]. (5c-e)<sup>3</sup>

This is a sentiment that could easily have come from a Jewish Hellenistic thinker like Philo or the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, who would claim that not only was *paideia* immortal; it made one immortal.<sup>4</sup> *Musar* could indeed come from God, but it was certainly not divine. A choice of *noutheteia* for *musar* would not have worked out nearly as well.

## 2.2. TORAH AND NOMOS

The conceptual differences between *torah* and *nomos* and the resultant shift in meaning to the underlying text have been discussed extensively, with several early scholars arguing that the Greek translators had either completely misunderstood the Hebrew or purposefully misinterpreted the text when they translated the Hebrew *torah* with the Greek *nomos*.<sup>5</sup> More recently, many authors have given a more thorough, nuanced reading of the translation and have pointed out both the differences and those places where the Hebrew concept fit well with the Greek.<sup>6</sup>

As with *musar* and *paideia*, there are, at times, clear points of contact between *torah* and *nomos*. In Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, the references to the דברי התורה or ספר התורה or ספר תורת משה seem often to look very much like a written code or collection of laws, much like a *nomos*. But, the more common understanding of *torah* in the Hebrew Bible, especially in prophetic or wisdom literature, relates to teaching or instruction generally, often coming from the deity via prophets or priests, but just as often

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3. Cf. 4c2: "For to receive a proper education is the source and root of all goodness" (πηγή γὰρ καὶ ῥίζα καλοκαγαθίας τὸ νομίμου τυχεῖν παιδείας).

4. See, e.g., Wis 6:17–19.

5. See Solomon Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), esp. 115ff.; Charles H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935), 25–34; Samuel Belkin, *Philo and the Oral Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940); and Samuel Sandmel, *The Genius of Paul* (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Cudahy, 1958), 46–47.

6. See James Sanders, *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976), 909ff.; Alan F. Segal, "Torah and Nomos in Recent Scholarly Discussion," *SR* 1984 13 (1984): 19–27; and Stephen Westerholm, "Torah, Nomos, and Law: A Question of 'Meaning'" *SR* 15 (1986): 327–36. See also Gunnar Östborn, *Tora in the Old Testament: A Semantic Study* (Lund: Hakan Ohlssons, 1945).

coming from parents or received tradition.<sup>7</sup> In this educational understanding, *torah* differs from *nomos*. *Nomos* has the more general nuance of custom or tradition, which later could be solidified as law, whether of the state or the cosmos.<sup>8</sup> Transforming *torah* into *nomos* flattened or narrowed the concept found in the Hebrew Bible,<sup>9</sup> while at the same time opened up new possibilities for understanding the Jewish law within Hellenistic culture.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the concept of *nomos* in the Hellenistic world. I would like to briefly mention two aspects that would suit well those Jewish writers influenced by Greek philosophy. First, the idea in Greek thought that the law was of divine origin obviously fit well with the divinely given Mosaic law. For Aristotle, allowing *nomos* to rule was as if allowing God and *nous* to rule. *Nomos*, according to Aristotle, was *nous* without desire (διόπερ ἄνευ ὁρέξεως νοῦς ὁ νόμος ἐστίν), and it was *nomos* that educated (παιδεύσας) the leaders (*Pol.* 3.1287a). Plato too believed in this connection to God and to the divine *nous*, and his ideal law code was an image of the divine form.<sup>10</sup>

It is not difficult to see how these types of ideas coincided with concepts such as ideal, universal, or cosmic laws. Already in Heraclitus, we find a kernel of the concept: “Those who speak with sense must rely on what is common to all, as a city must rely on its law, and with much great reliance: for all the laws of men are nourished by one law, the divine law; for it has as much power as it wishes and is sufficient for all and is still left over” (Diels-Kranz 114; trans. Kirk). While it is true that Philo is the first author we have in Greek to consistently use the phrase *nomos phuseos*,<sup>11</sup> the idea of an intrinsic, unwritten order which supersedes all individual, written law codes finds probably its greatest expression in Stoic thought, from Zeno and Chryssipus on, whether

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7. E.g., “Hear, my child, your father’s instruction, and do not reject your mother’s teaching” (שמע בני מוסר אביך ואל-תטש תורת אמך), Prov 1:8; “Receive instruction from his mouth, and lay up his words in your heart” (קח-ינא מפיו תורה ושם אמריו בלבבך), Job 22:22; or “For they are a rebellious people, faithless children, children who will not hear the instruction of the Lord [תורת יהוה]” (Isa 30:9).

8. The literature on the concept in the Greek world is extensive. See H. Kleinknecht’s entry in the *TDNT* (4:1022–1035) for much of the early bibliography.

9. Segal, “Torah and Nomos in Recent Scholarly Discussion,” esp. 27, against scholars such as Dodd and Sandmel, argues that the Jews in the Hellenistic Diaspora, like Philo, did not misunderstand the concept inherent in the Hebrew term, but made the connection with the Greek term because *nomos*, like *torah*, had divine and transcendent associations. This, I think, is correct, but the question of transcendent vs. mundane was not the issue, for both terms can clearly be referents for both. The issue is, rather, the fact that *torah* does not have the consistent juridical sense to it, which *nomos*, no matter its origin (man, god, nature) has.

10. See, e.g., *Leg* IV 701b–c; 890d; and 892aff.

11. See Helmut Koester, “Nomos Phuseos: The Concept of Natural Law in Greek Thought,” in *Religions in Antiquity*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 521–41.



they called it *nomos phuseos*, *orthos logos*, or something else.<sup>12</sup> While the claim for the divine origin of Mosaic law would not have occasioned any serious objections from the Jews' Greek and Roman neighbors, the claim that this written law could in fact faithfully render the law of nature would be a much tougher sell, but the connection was possible only because of the use of *nomos* to consistently translate *torah*.

### 3. TRANSLATION CHOICES

Before looking closely at the texts, it is important that I make clear how I am reading the Greek translation. I am attempting to understand how the Greek text *might* have been read in the Hellenistic settings where it was studied and used. The intention of the actual LXX translator is of secondary importance, as conclusions related to the motivations of the translator are necessarily speculative. I will, however, point to preliminary conclusions based on the specific evidence presented, especially where this evidence can enter into the ongoing scholarly conversation.

This type of reading differs fundamentally with a so-called “interlinear” reading of the Greek and the Hebrew together, where the Greek is explicated by the Hebrew, which we find in, for example, the NETS translation. The justification for this interlinear translation technique is based on the theory that the original Greek translation was meant to be used as an interlinear “crib” along with the Hebrew.<sup>13</sup> Whether or not this was the purpose of the first translators,

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12. Διόπερ πρῶτος ὁ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως τέλος εἶπε τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν· ἄγει γὰρ πρὸς ταύτην ἡμᾶς ἡ φύσις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κλεάνθης ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἐκάτων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τελῶν. πάλιν δ' ἴσον ἐστὶ τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν τῷ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν τῶν φύσει συμβαινόντων ζῆν, ὥς φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τελῶν· μέρη γὰρ εἰσὶν αἱ ἡμέτεραι φύσεις τῆς τοῦ ὄλου. διόπερ τέλος γίνεται τὸ ἀκολουθῶν τῇ φύσει ζῆν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατὰ τε τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὄλων, οὐδὲν ἐνεργούντας ὧν ἀπαγορεύειν εἴωθεν ὁ νόμος ὁ κοινός, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, διὰ πάντων ἐρχόμενος, ὁ αὐτὸς ὧν τῷ Διί, καθηγεμόνι τούτῳ τῆς τῶν ὄντων διοικήσεως ὄντι· εἶναι δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐροίαν βίου, ὅταν πάντα πράττηται κατὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ παρ' ἐκάστῳ δαίμονος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τῶν ὄλων διοικητοῦ βούλησιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Διογένης τέλος φησὶ ῥητῶς τὸ εὐλογιστεῖν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ. Ἀρχέδημος δὲ τὸ πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπιτελοῦντα ζῆν. (Diog. Laert. VII, 87–88)

13. See Albert Pietersma, “A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint,” in *Bible and Computer, Stellenbosch AIBI 6 Conference, Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique, 'From Alpha to Byte,' University of Stellenbosch, 17-21 July 2000*, ed. J. Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 337-64; Benjamin G. Wright, “Access to the Source: Cicero, Ben Sira, the Septuagint and Their Audiences,” *JSJ* 34 (2003): 1–27 (esp. 22–25); and Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Traditionally*

this type of usage was quickly abandoned by most Jews in the Diaspora who used and saw the Greek text as divine as the Hebrew. Philo did *not* have both a Greek Pentateuch and a Hebrew Torah at his desk.<sup>14</sup>

Therefore, we must try to read the text as a Jew like Philo would have or could have read it, not as we attempt to read it today. The Hebrew should *not* be used indiscriminately to explicate the Greek. The Greek must be allowed to stand on its own, and we must attempt to make sense of it on its own terms.

### 3.1. *MUSAR* TO *PAIDEIA* IN PROVERBS

The greatest number of instances of the Hebrew *musar/ysr* and the Greek *paideia/paideuō* occur in the book of Proverbs. In several important ways, the Greek and the Hebrew concepts overlap, and the Greek meaning fits well with the Hebrew. Both *musar* and *paideia* come from Solomon's proverbs themselves, parents, God, teachers or instructors, Lady Wisdom, and observation of the world.<sup>15</sup> Both are closely connected with the "fear of Yahweh/God."<sup>16</sup> Both are received aurally and visually,<sup>17</sup> are intimately connected to wisdom,<sup>18</sup> and lead to insight and understanding,<sup>19</sup> which thereby makes them necessary for a good life<sup>20</sup> and for children.<sup>21</sup> The rejection of *musar* and *paideia* is the trait of the foolish<sup>22</sup> and leads to poverty, disgrace, and death.<sup>23</sup> Despite these many

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*Included under that Title* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), xiv-xv. According to Pieterma and Wright, "One should read the Septuagint *as produced* with one eye on the parent member of the diglot, namely, the Hebrew. Thus what this Septuagint says, and how it says it, can only be understood in its entirety with the help of the Hebrew. This interlinearity with and dependence on the Hebrew may be termed the constitutive character of the Septuagint" (xv).

14. For close critiques of the interlinear theory, see Jan Joosten, "Reflections on the 'Interlinear Paradigm' in Septuagintal Studies," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Rajja Sollamo*, ed. A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta, JSJS 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 163–78; and Tessa Rajak, *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 143–44.

15. From the proverbs (1:2–3; 5:1–12; 25:1); one's parents (1:8; 4:1–11; 15:5; 19:20, 27; 31:1); God (3:11); teachers or instructors (5:13); Lady Wisdom (8:10); observation of the world (24:32).

16. 15:33.

17. Aurally (1:8; 4:1; 5:13; 19:20, 27; 23:12); visually (22:3; 24:32).

18. 1:7; 8:10; 15:33.

19. 4:1; 10:4; 12:1; 13:18; 15:33; 16:17; 19:20.

20. 4:13; 10:17; 16:17, 22.

21. 19:18; 22:15; 28:17; 29:17.

22. 1:7; 5:12–13, 23; 10:17; 12:1; 15:5; 19:27.

23. 5:23; 13:18; 15:10.

similarities, there are several examples where the Greek text differs from the Hebrew with respect to the understanding of *musar* and *paideia*.

In three cases, the Greek translator took a Hebrew text where *musar* was the object of a verb or a predicate nominative and made *paideia* the subject of verb, transforming the concept into an active force. At the same time, in all three cases, the translator seems to put some distance between the concept and reproof/rebuke, which is more explicit in the Hebrew parallelism.

Prov 10:17

ארח לחיים שומר מוסר ועוב תוכחת מתעה  
Whoever heeds *musar* in on the path to life,  
but one who rejects rebuke goes astray.

ὁδοὺς δικαίας ζωῆς φυλάσσει παιδεία,  
παιδεία δὲ ἀνεξέλεγκτος πλανᾶται  
*Paideia* protects the righteous paths of life,  
but *paideia* without refutation goes astray.

Prov 13:18

ריש וקלון פורע מוסר ושומר תוכחת יכבד  
Poverty and disgrace are for the one who ignores *musar*,  
but one who heeds reproof if honored.

πενίαν καὶ ἀτιμίαν ἀφαιρεῖται παιδεία,  
ὁ δὲ φυλάσσω ἐλέγχους δοξασθήσεται  
*Paideia* removes poverty and disgrace,  
but the one who minds refutations will be honored.

Prov 15:10

מוסר רע לעזב ארח שונא תוכחת ימות  
There is severe *musar* for the one who forsakes the way,  
but one who hates reproof will die.

παιδεία ἀκάκου γνωρίζεται ὑπὸ τῶν παριόντων,  
οἱ δὲ μισοῦντες ἐλέγχους τελευτώσιν αἰσχρῶς  
The *paideia* of the simple<sup>24</sup> is known by those passing by,  
but those who hate refutations will die shamefully.

In all three verses, the translator's choice to make *paideia* the subject results in two separate but related outcomes. First, the concept of *paideia* is elevated, becoming an active force working in the universe, much like *sophia*, though not

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24. Fox understands *akakou* as an error of for what should be *kakou*. Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, AB 18b (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 1007. This conjecture seems unnecessary.

quite so lofty.<sup>25</sup> Second, the move serves to distance the concept from the notion of punishment.<sup>26</sup>

Throughout the book of Proverbs, *musar* and *paideia* are linked in some fashion to *tochaḥath* and *elegchos*.<sup>27</sup> The Hebrew parallelism clearly shows that *musar* and *tochaḥath* are inseparable ideas, the former dependent on the latter. The Greek, however, subtly breaks this inseparable connection. In the three cases above, the translator has broken the strict parallelism of the Hebrew text, which is not uncommon in LXX Proverbs<sup>28</sup> but, nevertheless, results in a greater distance between *paideia* and *elegchos*, where *elegchos* may be an aspect of *paideia* but not the defining aspect.<sup>29</sup>

Additionally, the choice of *elegchos* to translate the Hebrew *tochaḥath* introduced a different nuance of meaning. While *tochaḥath* was often connected to severe, perhaps physical, chastisement and punishment, the Greek term had a more natural setting in a judicial or educational sphere, as verbal refutation or cross-examination, either at court or in the philosophical circle.<sup>30</sup> The relationship, therefore, between *paideia* and *elegchos* need not insinuate any form of disciplinary chastisement.

If we are attempting to read the Greek text on its own terms, as a Jew in the Hellenistic Diaspora would have read it, and not in light of the Hebrew, we come to the conclusion that nowhere in the Greek Proverbs does *paideia* mean anything different from the classical Greek sense of the term. The verb, *paideuō*, too, maintains the Greek sense over the Hebrew *ysr*. The notions of physical discipline, rebuke, and chastisement inherent in the Hebrew *musar* are largely absent from the Greek text, and without the Hebrew text open beside the Greek, one would not be led to this understanding.<sup>31</sup>

What the intentions of the original Greek translator(s) were, as mentioned earlier, are of secondary importance. Though, it seems that he was uncomfortable with this close connection between *musar* and *tochaḥath*, and whenever his Greek

25. Cf. 4:3 in both the Hebrew and the Greek.

26. Note that Cook urges caution when interpreting the change in subjects or objects in the Septuagint. See Johann Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs-Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs*, VTSup 69 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 226.

27. 3:11; 5:12; 6:23; 10:17; 12:1; 13:18; 15:5, 10, 32; 16:17; 22:15.

28. See Gillis Gerleman, *Proverbs*, vol. 3 of *Studies in the Septuagint*, LUG 52.3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1956), 18.

29. See also 6:23 and 22:15.

30. Friedrich Büchsel, “ἐλέγχω,” *TDNT* 2:473–476; *LSJ* 531; and T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009), 222.

31. The only clear connections in Greek Proverbs between *paideia* and physical discipline are in 13:24; 22:15; and 23:13, which deal specifically with a parent’s education of children and the need for the rod. I suspect, though, that this would not have been that foreign in a Greek setting either.

strays from the Hebrew in those texts dealing with *musar*, his modifications seemed designed to bring the text more in line with Hellenistic sensibilities. This, of course, does not lead to the conclusion that the translator was any less Jewish than any other Jew of his time.<sup>32</sup>

### 3.2. MUSAR TO PAIDEIA IN JOB

*Musar/ysr* occurs six times in the book of Job. *Musar* is translated with *paideia* only once (20:3). *Paideia* occurs one other time in the text, as a translation of the Hebrew *shevet* (37:13). It appears that the translator of Job consistently tried to distance what happened to Job with divine *paideia*, choosing not to translate *musar* with *paideia* with reference to Job's afflictions. This would make sense with the viewpoint of the text: Job is innocent; his friends are wrong; God can do as he pleases. Making Job's afflictions aspects of God's education would defeat the purpose of the text.

Job 5:17

הנה אשרי אנוש יוכחנו אלוה ומוסר שדי אל־תמאס

How happy is the one whom God reproves;  
therefore do not despise the *musar* of the Almighty.

μακάριος δὲ ἄνθρωπος, ὃν ἤλεγξεν ὁ κύριος·

νουθέτημα δὲ παντοκράτορος μὴ ἀπαναίνου

Happy is the man whom God has reproved;  
so, do not reject the chastisement of the Almighty.

Job 33:16

אז יגלה אזן אנשים ובמסרם יחתם

Then he opens their ears,  
and seals their *musar*.

τότε ἀνακαλύπτει νοῦν ἀνθρώπων,

ἐν εἶδεσιν φόβου τοιοῦτοις αὐτοὺς ἐξεφύβησεν

Then he opens the mind of men;  
he frightens them with such fearful visions.

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32. The very tentative conclusions related to the translator's motivations based only on the specific passages dealing with *musar* and *paideia* would go against those of Anton J. Baumgartner, *Étude critique sur l'état du texte du Livre des Proverbes les principales traductions anciennes* (Leipzig: Drugulin, 1890); Georg Bertram, "Die religiöse Umdeutung altorientalischer Lebensweisheit in der griechischen Übersetzung des AT," *ZAW* NF 13 (1936): 153–67; and, most recently, Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*. The idea, however, of determining one's "Jewishness" based on one's sympathies to Hellenistic culture, is deeply problematic and has been rightly questioned as a valid line of inquiry since at least Hengel.

Job 36:10

ויגל אזנם למוסר ויאמר ביישובן מאון

He opens their ears to *musar*,

and commands that they return from iniquity.

ἀλλὰ τοῦ δικαίου εἰσακούσεται·

✠ καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐπιστραφήσονται ἐξ ἀδικίας.

But he will listen to the righteous;

and he said that they will return from unrighteousness.

Job 37:13

אם־לשבט אם־לארצו אם־לחסד ימצאהו

Whether for chastisement, or for his land,

or for love, he causes it to happen.

✠ ἂν εἰς παιδείαν, ἂν εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ,

✠ ἂν εἰς ἔλεος εὕρησει αὐτόν.

Whether for *paideia*, or for his land,

or for mercy, he will find him.

The only times the author uses *paideia* are in 20:3 where Zophar refers to Job's attempt to educate his friends and in 37:13 where the Greek refers to God's workings in nature as *paideia* instead of the Hebrew *shevet* ("rod"), replacing a chastening aspect with a pedagogical point. There is no hint in Greek Job that *paideia* should refer to some kind of divine punishment or chastening rebuke.<sup>33</sup>

### 3.3. *MUSAR* TO *PAIDEIA* IN THE PENTATEUCH AND THE PROPHETS

As we move away from the wisdom literature, we find a quite different phenomenon in the use of *paideia*, which would be influential in a different way in later Jewish literature, with the Greek term adopting the Hebrew concept.<sup>34</sup> In Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, we find instances where *paideia* simply cannot maintain its classical usage and, instead, looks more and more like *musar*.

33. This point would be strengthened if the translator of Job was the same as that of Proverbs, as several scholars have argued. See Gerleman, *Proverbs*, 59–60; Gerleman, *Book of Job*, vol. 1 of *Studies in the Septuagint*, LUÅ 43.2 (Lund: Gleerup, 1946); and Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, rev. 2nd ed., JBS 8 (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 16.

34. Georg Bertram, "παιδεύω," *TDNT* 5:596–625 (608), described this as the Greek term taking on an "almost alien significance."

Deut 11:2

וידעתם היום כי לא את־בניכם אשר לא־ידעו ואשר לא־ראו את־מוסר יהוה אלהיכם  
את־גדלו את־ידו החזקה וזרעו הנטויה

Remember today that it was not your children (who have not known or seen the *musar* of the LORD your God), but it is you who must acknowledge his greatness, his mighty hand and his outstretched arm.

καὶ γνώσεσθε σήμερον ὅτι οὐχὶ τὰ παῖδια ὑμῶν, ὅσοι οὐκ οἶδασιν οὐδὲ εἶδосαν τὴν  
παιδείαν κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου καὶ τὰ μεγαλεῖα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν κραταιάν  
καὶ τὸν βραχίονα τὸν ὑψηλὸν

And you will know today that it was not your children, who have neither known nor seen the *paideia* of the Lord, your God, and his great works, powerful hand, and lofty arm.

Deut 22:18

ולקחו זקני העיר־ההוא את־האיש ויסרו אותו

The elders of that town shall take the man and punish him.

καὶ λήμψεται ἡ γερουσία τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνον καὶ  
παιδεύσουσιν αὐτὸν,

And the elders of that city shall take that man and punish him.

In several instances in Greek Deuteronomy, the use of the verb *paideuō* does not, out of necessity, stray too far from the classical Greek sense (4:36; 8:5; 21:8; 32:10). But, in these two cases, the translator clearly stretches the meaning of the Greek concept further than was typically possible. In 11:2, it is impossible to read *paideia* in its standard Greek sense, since, from the context of the passage (11:1–7), this *paideia* points to Yahweh's punishments against Egypt and the sons of Eliab which the people had witnessed. There is educational value for the people, but this is a form of education previously foreign to the Greek term. In 22:18, there does not seem to be any real educational value tied to the verb.

Lev 26:18

ואם־עד־אלה לא תשמעו לי ויספתי ליסרה אתכם שבע על־חטאתיכם

And if in spite of this you will not obey me, I will continue to punish you sevenfold for your sins.

καὶ ἐὰν ἔως τούτου μὴ ὑπακούσῃτέ μου, καὶ προσθήσω τοῦ παιδεῦσαι ὑμᾶς  
ἐπτάκις ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν

And if you still do not obey me, I will continue to punish you sevenfold for your sins.

Lev 26:28

והלכתי עמכם בחמת־קרי ויסרתי אתכם אף־אני שבע על־חטאתיכם

I will continue hostile to you in fury; I in turn will punish you myself sevenfold for your sins.

καὶ αὐτὸς πορεύσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐν θυμῷ πλαγίῳ καὶ παιδεύσω ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἐπτάκις  
κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν,  
And I myself will walk with you with treacherous wrath and I will punish you  
myself sevenfold according to your sins.

These examples from the Holiness Code, where Yahweh's "education" of the people involves forcing them to eat their own children (26:29), do not have a likely Greek precedent.

Isa 26:16

יהוה בצר פקדוך צקון לחש מוסרך למו

O Lord, in distress they sought you, they poured out a prayer when your *musar* was on them.

κύριε, ἐν θλίψει ἐμνήσθην σου, ἐν θλίψει μικρῇ ἡ παιδεία σου ἡμῖν.

O Lord, in affliction I remembered you; your *paideia* was on us with small affliction.

Isa 53:5

והוא מחלל מפשענו מדכא מעונותינו מוסר שלומנו עליו ובחברתו נרפא־לנו

But he was wounded for our transgressions, crushed for our iniquities; upon him was the *musar* that made us whole, and by his bruises we are healed.

αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν· παιδεία εἰρήνης ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτόν, τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν.

But he was wounded because of our lawless transgressions and harmed because of our sins; the *paideia* of our peace was upon him; by his bruises we were healed.

Jer 2:30

לְשׁוֹא הִכִּיתִי אֶת־בְּנֵיכֶם מוֹסֵר לֹא לָקְחוּ אֹכְלָה חֲרַבְכֶּם נְבִיאֵיכֶם כְּאֵרִיחַ מִשְׁחִית

In vain I have struck down your children; they accepted no *musar*. Your own sword devoured your prophets like a ravaging lion.

μάτην ἐπάταξα τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, παιδεῖαν οὐκ ἐδέξασθε· μάχαιρα κατέφαγεν τοὺς προφήτας ὑμῶν ὡς λέων ὀλεθρεύων, καὶ οὐκ ἐφοβήθητε.

In vain I have smitten your children; you did not accept *paideia*; a sword has devoured your prophets like a destroying lion, and you did not fear.

Jer 5:3

יהוה עֵינֶיךָ הֲלוֹא לְאִמּוֹנָה הִכִּיתָה אֹתָם וּלְאֶחָלוּ כְּלִיתָם מֵאֵנוּ קָחַת מוֹסֵר חֲזָקוֹ פְּנִיהֶם מִסְלַע מֵאֵנוּ לְשׁוֹב

O Lord, do your eyes not look for truth? You have struck them, but they felt no anguish; you have consumed them, but they refused to take *musar*. They have made their faces harder than rock; they have refused to turn back.



κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου εἰς πίστιν· ἐμαστίγωσας αὐτούς, καὶ οὐκ ἐπόνεσαν· συνετέλεσας αὐτούς, καὶ οὐκ ᾔθελῃσαν δέξασθαι παιδείαν· ἐστερέωσαν τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ πέτρων καὶ οὐκ ᾔθελῃσαν ἐπιστραφῆναι.

O Lord, your eyes are upon belief; you have scourged them, and they did not suffer; you consumed them, and refused to receive *paideia*; they have made their faces harder than rock and they refuse to return.

These few examples from Isaiah and Jeremiah vividly depict *paideia* as God's divine punishment.<sup>35</sup> This divine, punishing education, no matter the severity, is seen as but a small affliction relative to the people's sin and their future redemption. In Isa 27:7–9 and Jer 46:28, it seems that the exile itself could have been included in this *paideia*. Throughout Jeremiah, *paideia*, which has a clear chastening edge, is the purview of God, and the people continually reject God's *paideia*, which is their primary source of wickedness and sin, and which leads to the people's exile to Babylon.

### 3.4. MUSAR TO PAIDEIA SUMMARY

If we read the Greek translations on their own terms without recourse to the Hebrew text, we find that *paideia* in the wisdom literature is entirely consistent with the classical Greek understanding of the concept. This is the understanding that would allow later Jewish authors in the Hellenistic Diaspora to incorporate both the Mosaic law and Greek encyclical studies into the overall educational goals of the individual.

The sense of *paideia* we find in the Pentateuch and the prophetic literature, however, is largely foreign to the original conception. Here we find the Greek term take on an understanding more in line with the Hebrew *musar*, where instruction is instilled via divine reproach. *Paideia* as *musar* is an idea which will be picked up by later authors and integrated into the wider realm of Second Temple Jewish education.

## 4. SECOND TEMPLE JEWISH PEDAGOGY

Our understanding of education and/or the school system through the Persian period, prior to the translation of the Septuagint, is murky at best, with scholars divided over how much we can actually say based on the available literary, epigraphic, or cross-cultural evidence.<sup>36</sup> Taking into account the scarcity of

35. Cf. Jer 7:28; 10:24; 30:14; 31:18; 32:33; 35:13.

36. For a positive assessment, see August Klostermann, "Schulwesen im alten Israel," *Theologische Studien: Theodor Zahn zum 10. Okt. 1908 dargebracht*, ed. N. Bonwetsch, W. Caspari, and R. H. Grütznacher (Leipzig: Deichert [Georg Böhme], 1908), 193–232; Lorenz Dürr, *Das Erziehungswesen*, MVAG 36.2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs,

evidence, the most likely conjectural understanding of education prior to the translation of the Septuagint is twofold: education at home based largely on ancestral, received knowledge and tradition, as evinced in the wisdom literature, and more formal education at the temple, court, or small home “schools” for very few in preparation for scribal or political careers.

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, we witness a dramatic increase in the concern for the education of the individual, as the means to attaining both a productive, happy life now and an immortal life of the soul later. Jewish *paideia*, depending on the author’s own unique worldview and purpose, would come to take on both national and international aspects, allowing for the careful incorporation of Greek education, on the one hand, and the conception of Israelite law as the universally applicable order, which allowed the individual to learn to live according to the universe, on the other. The unique and brilliant conceptions of Jewish *paideia* developed at this time were possible, in part, because of the translation choices originally made by the Septuagint translators.

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1932); Hans-Jürgen Hermisson, *Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit*, WMANT 28 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1968); Bernhard Lang, “Schule und Unterricht im Alten Israel,” *La Sagesse de l’Ancien Testament*, ed. Maurice Gilbert, BETL 51 (Leuven: Peeters, 1990), 186–201; André Lemaire, *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l’ancien Israel*, OBO 39 (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981); Émile Puech, “Les Écoles dans l’Israel préexilique: Données épigraphiques,” in *Congress Volume: Jerusalem 1986*, ed. John A. Emerton, VTSup 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 189–203; E. W. Heaton, *The School Tradition of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994). For a negative assessment, see Fletcher H. Swift, *Education in Ancient Israel from the Earliest Times to 70 A.D.* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1919); Nathan Morris and Nathan Drazin, *The Jewish School from the Earliest Times to the Year 500 of the Present Era* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1937), expanded in Hebrew to two volumes, *History of Jewish Education from the Earliest Times to the Rise of the State of Israel* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Omanut, 1960), and *A History of Jewish Education*, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Education 29 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940); R. Norman Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament*, BZAW 135 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974); Friedemann W. Golka, “Die israelitische Weisheitschule oder ‘Des Kaisers neue Kleider,’” *VT* 33 (1983): 257–70; Stuart Weeks, *Early Israelite Wisdom* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); David W. Jamieson-Drake, *Scribes and Schools in Monarchic Judah: A Socio-archaeological Approach*, JSOTSup 109 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); Nili Shupak, “Learning Methods in Ancient Israel,” *VT* 53 (2003): 416–26. For a review of the history of research, see James L. Crenshaw, “Education in Ancient Israel,” *JBL* 104 (1985): 601–15; Graham I. Davies, “Were There Schools in Ancient Israel?,” *Wisdom in Ancient Israel*, ed. John Day, Robert P. Gordon, and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 199–211; James L. Crenshaw, *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 4–5 n. 6.

## 4.1. PAIDEIA AS GREEK ENCYCLICAL STUDIES

The majority of scholarly studies related to *paideia* within the Second Temple context have focused almost exclusively on Philo of Alexandria and his extensive discussions on the topic of encyclical *paideia*, or the liberal arts.<sup>37</sup> The most common way in which Philo deals with the encyclical studies is in his allegory of Abraham, Hagar, and Sarah. Like the Stoic Ariston of Chios, who argued, τοὺς περὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα πονουμένους, ἀμελοῦντας δὲ φιλοσοφίας, ἔλεγεν ὁμοίους εἶναι τοῖς μνηστῆρσι τῆς Πηνελόπης, οἱ ἀποτυγχάνοντες ἐκείνης περὶ τὰς θεραπαίνας ἐγίνοντο,<sup>38</sup> Philo allegorically understood the encyclical studies, represented as the maid-servant Hagar, as preparatory to wisdom or philosophy, played by Abraham's wife Sarah. Philo often has occasion to review this allegorical interpretation throughout his corpus,<sup>39</sup> and, because he devotes an entire treatise to the encyclical studies, *De congressu eruditionis gratia* (*Cong.*), we know, in some detail, his views on *mesē paideia*, both its benefits and its dangers.

Philo saw this *paideia* as necessary for most people who desire true wisdom: "For we are not as yet capable of becoming the fathers of the offspring

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37. See, e.g., Alan Mendelson, *Secular Education in Philo of Alexandria*, HUCM 7 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1982); Hindy Najman, "Text and Figure in Ancient Jewish *Paideia*," in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. M. Popović (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 253–65; also in Najman, *Past Renewals: Interpretative Authority, Renewed Revelation, and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity*, JSJS 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 243–55; F. H. Colson, "Philo on Education," *JTS* 18 (1917): 151–62; Isaak Heinemann, *Philons Griechische und Jüdische Bildung: Kulturvergleichende Untersuchungen zu Philons Darstellung der Jüdischen Gesetze* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1962); Paul Wendland, *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1907), 114–120; Monique Alexandre, *De congressu eruditionis gratia*, Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 16 (Paris: Cerf, 1967); and T. Conley, "General Education" in *Philo of Alexandria*, Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture 15 (Berkeley: The Center, 1975). One of the rare exceptions is W. H. Wagner, "Philo and *Paideia*," *Cithara* 10 (1971): 53–64, a brief but nevertheless one of the most thorough discussions of Philo's complex views on *paideia*. See also Tae Won Kang, "Wisdom Mythology and Hellenistic *Paideia* in Philo: A Case Study of *De Congressu Quaerendae Eruditionis Gratia*" (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, 1999).

38. *SVF* I:350. Elsewhere the comment is credited to Gorgias (Gnomol. Vatic. 166). See Albert Henrichs, "Philosophy, the Handmaiden of Theology," *GRBS* 9:4 (1968): 437–50 (444). See also K. Freeman, *Ancilla to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 139. According to Pseudo-Plutarch, the statement is the philosopher Bion's: "ἀστέως δὲ καὶ βίων ἔλεγεν ὁ φιλόσοφος ὅτι ὥσπερ οἱ μνηστῆρες τῇ Πηνελόπῃ πλησιάζειν μὴ δυνάμενοι ταῖς ταύτης ἐμίγνυντο θεραπαίνας, οὕτω καὶ οἱ φιλοσοφίας μὴ δυνάμενοι κατατυχεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις παιδεύμασι τοῖς οὐδενὸς ἀξίοις ἑαυτοὺς κατασκελετεύουσι" (*Lib. Ed.* 7d).

39. See, e.g., *Leg.* 3.244–245.

of virtue, unless we first of all have a connection with her handmaiden; and the handmaiden of wisdom is the encyclical knowledge of music and logic, arrived at by previous instruction.... So the encyclical branches of instruction are placed in front of virtue, for they are the road which conducts to her" (*Cong.* 9-10). Yet, the handmaiden must never be confused with the true mistress. The preliminary studies are related to the body, and they, therefore, tend to want to weigh down and oppress the soul and prevent the student from moving on to wisdom or philosophy which is noetic: "For some men, being attracted by the charms of handmaidens, have neglected their true mistress, philosophy, and have grown old, some in poetry, and others in the study of painting, and others in the mixture of colors, and others in ten thousand other pursuits, without ever being able to return to the proper mistress" (*Cong.* 77).<sup>40</sup>

Philo's argument is that the preliminary studies—rhetoric, music, mathematics, et cetera—were necessary and beneficial, as long as they did not interfere with loftier forms of knowledge and wisdom. The consistent importance of *paideia* in Greek Proverbs gave Philo and his fellow Alexandrian Jews all the rationale needed to cautiously incorporate the fundamentals of the Greek educational system.

#### 4.2. *PAIDEIA* AS MOSAIC *NOMOS* AS NATURAL LAW AND JEWISH PHILOSOPHY

The transformation of the instructional concept of *torah* into the juridical concept of *nomos* had a fascinating result in later Jewish thinking, the connection of the particular Jewish *nomos* to universal education through cosmic concepts such as natural law or philosophy, often through the use of allegorical, metaphorical, or typological interpretations of the Mosaic law. This idea would come to full fruition in the first century CE, but we already find the seed of the idea in early Jewish Hellenistic texts like the Letter of Aristeas.

As noted above, the connection between mundane law and the divine or cosmic reality was a topic much discussed in Greek philosophy. In the Letter of Aristeas, the Jewish translators, chosen for their high level of *paideia*, both Jewish and Greek (*Let. Aris.* 121; cf. 287, 321), utilize allegorical interpretation in order to show that the particular Jewish laws have a cosmic significance and are in line with natural law, or *orthos logos*: "For our laws have not been drawn up at random

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40. The neglected mistress will not just sit idly by, but convict the guilty party to his face: "I am treated unjustly, and in utter violation of our agreement, as far as depends on you who transgress the covenants entered into between us; for from the time that you first took to your bosom the elementary branches of education, you have honored above measure the offspring of my handmaiden, and have respected her as your wife, and you have so completely repudiated me that you never by any chance came to the same place with me" (*Cong.* 151–152; see also 158–159).

or in accordance with the first casual thought that occurred to the mind, but with a view to truth and the indication of right reason [ὁρθοῦ λόγου]" (161).<sup>41</sup>

Likewise, the Alexandrian Jew Aristobulus attempts to reconcile a particularistic law code with the very nature of the cosmos:

And I wish to exhort you to receive the interpretations according to the laws of nature [φυσικῶς]<sup>42</sup> and to grasp the fitting conception of God and not to fall in the mythical and human way of thinking about God. For our lawgiver Moses proclaims arrangements of nature and preparations for great events by expressing that which he wishes to say in many ways, by using words that refer to other matters (I mean matters relating to outward appearances). (frag. 2.2-3; trans. Collins, *OTP*)

An example of this is found in Moses's laws concerning the Sabbath:

And the legislation has shown plainly that the seventh day is legally binding for us as a sign of the sevenfold principle which is established around us,<sup>43</sup> by which we have knowledge of human and divine matters (frag. 5.12; see also 5.9–10).

Moses's laws, then, lead the Jews to knowledge of the cosmic reason and universal wisdom.

These ideas, nascent in the earlier Alexandrian authors, would come to full fruition with Philo. Scholars have long discussed the importance of the idea of

41. For one of the few recent discussions of the nature of *paideia* in the Letter of Aristeas, see Gabriele Boccaccini, "The Letter of Aristeas: A Dialogical Judaism Facing Greek *Paideia*," in his *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 161–85. Boccaccini sees in the banquet scenes a meeting between traditional Greek *paideia* and Jewish *paideia* in the form of the Mosaic torah, both valid paths to salvation, the one for gentiles, the other for Jews. See also Benjamin G. Wright III, *Aristeas to Philocrates or On the Translation of the Laws of the Jews*, CEJL (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015).

42. Or, "in their natural sense" according to Holladay, who notes, "For the lack of a better term, 'natural' is used here to render φυσικῶς, not in the sense of 'literal' or 'ordinary,' but rather in the sense that it 'conforms to the nature of things.'... Perhaps 'philosophical,' or even 'ontological,' would suitably capture the sense in that they suggest a more basic, 'essential' level of reality." See Carl Holladay, *Aristobulus*, vol. 3 of *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, SBLTT 39, Pseudepigrapha Series 13 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 206–7 n. 31. M. Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos in der griechischen Philosophie* (Oldenburg: Ferdinand Schmidt, 1872), 186, argued that "φυσικῶς nicht anders als mit allegorisch zu übersetzen ist."

43. ἐνεκεν σημείου τοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐβδόμου λόγου καθεστῶτος. Following Walter, "that the passage should be understood within the context of Stoic cosmology rather than Stoic anthropology or psychology," Holladay renders the section as "that serves as a symbol of the sevenfold principle established all around us" (*Aristobulus*, 185, 230 note 142).

the *nomos phuseos* and the link between the Mosaic law and the unwritten law of nature.<sup>44</sup> Yet, the correlation between this link and *paideia* in Philo's world of thought has gone largely unnoticed.

Philo begins his great treatise *De opificio mundi* by explaining to his readers that the wonder of the Mosaic law is that it is in harmony with the universe and that those under the *politeia* of Moses are citizens of world:

The beginning is, as I just said, quite marvelous. It contains an account of the making of the cosmos, the reasoning for this being that the cosmos is in harmony with the law and the law with the cosmos, and the man who observes the law is at once a citizen of the cosmos, directing his actions in relation to the rational purpose of nature, in accordance with which the entire cosmos also is administered. (*Opif.* 3)<sup>45</sup>

The idea that the Mosaic law is in direct accord with the unwritten law of nature, or ὁ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὸς λόγος, is a recurrent theme found throughout Philo's corpus, crucial in his understanding of the role of the Jewish law and the Jews themselves within the wider Hellenistic world. The proper understanding of the Mosaic law, which then reveals the unwritten law of the universe, is Philo's continual aim and the goal of his allegorical interpretations. Just as Sirach's grandson envisioned his grandfather's work as pertaining to *paideia kai sophia*,<sup>46</sup> so too Philo's own works became tomes dedicated to the education of all those who desired to be true citizens of the cosmos.

In addition to this overarching view of Philo's pedagogical project, in his treatise *De ebrietate*, we find one his more unique and enigmatic discussions on *paideia* and its relationship to the law of nature. Here, Philo describes *paideia* and *orthos logos* as the counterparts of the cosmic parents of the world (God and *episteme/sophia*), the parents in charge of caring for souls willing to learn (*Ebr.* 33). The mother, *paideia*, is here in charge of teaching the soul to follow just, *worldly* customs and laws, like those of individual cities or states. *Orthos*

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44. See, e.g., Koester, "Nomos Phuseos"; Richard Horsley, "The Law of Nature in Philo and Cicero," *HTR* 71 (1978): 35–59; Alan F. Segal, "Torah and Nomos in Recent Scholarly Discussion," 22–24; Adele Reinhartz, "The Meaning of Nomos in Philo's Exposition of the Law," *SR* 15 (1986): 337–45 (esp. 344); Markus Bockmuehl, "Natural Law in Second Temple Judaism," *VT* 45 (1995): 17–44 (39–42); Hindy Najman, "The Law of Nature and the Authority of Mosaic Law," *SPhA* 11 (1999): 55–73; and Najman, "A Written Copy of the Law of Nature: An Unthinkable Paradox?" *SPhA* 15 (2003): 54–63.

45. Translation from David Runia, *On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses*, PACS 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

46. While Ben Sira's understanding of *torah/nomos* as *paideia* would fit perfectly in this section, the issues—not least of which includes the translation from the Hebrew to the Greek—are too complex to deal with briefly and should be the subject of a separate, detailed study.

*logos*, instead, instructs the soul on how to live according to the order of nature, living in harmony with the universal law. These parents have four orders of children: those who obey both parents and are therefore perfect; those who disregard both, thereby ensuring their psychic death; the children who attend only to their father, disregarding the mother; and those who do the opposite, follow only the mother while disregarding the father. The last two groups are “half-perfect” (*Ebr.* 35). This discussion is crucial to the understanding of Philo’s overall worldview, showing that, for Philo, perfection entails working within both the worldly and the other-worldly, a phenomenon paralleled also in his understanding of the contemplative versus the active life, the overarching idea of the body versus the soul, or the senses versus the mind, and the sense-perceptible world versus the noetic cosmos. The perfect children are “the most excellent guardians of the laws which the father [i.e., *orthos logos*] established, and the faithful stewards of the customs which *paideia*, their mother, instituted” (*Ebr.* 80).

#### 4.3. PAIDEIA AS MUSAR

*Paideia* is a complex and pervasive concept in the Wisdom of Solomon. The term and its verbal cognate are used to denote both the educational content and the means by which that content is instilled. When focused on the latter, the author’s views often align more closely with the Hebrew concept of *musar* than the Hellenistic ideals of *paideia* proper. *Paideia* as *musar* or divine discipline is an idea elaborated upon throughout the text and is often portrayed as God’s testing of humanity. In the final third of the text—the so-called “Book of History”—the author transforms the unique history of the Israelites and the Exodus into a universal didactic tale, designed to highlight the differences, not among particular ethnic or cultural groups, but between the righteous and the impious or ungodly. We see this dichotomy through a continuous series of divine tests which God (or *Sophia*) uses to instruct humankind and give them a chance to repent for past, unwitting transgressions.<sup>47</sup>

For example, in chapter eleven, the author makes clear reference to the story of Moses striking the rock at Horeb, providing miraculous water for the people to drink (Exod 17:6; Deut 8:15). Here it is God or *Sophia* who provides the

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47. Winston has described these comparisons as the seven “antitheses,” which illustrate what he argues is the author’s theme, “that Egypt was punished measure for measure, whereas Israel was benefited by those very things whereby Egypt was punished.” But, by focusing on this ethnic dichotomy, I believe that Winston and several other scholars have missed the larger issue. These “antitheses” are not meant to draw attention to some unspoken divine protection of the Israelites. Instead, they are designed to portray divine instruction through testing and the results of passing and failing the tests. See David Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, AB 43 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979), 227.

righteous with water from the flinty rock (11:4). The impious, however, receive a river defiled with blood (11:6). There are two intended lessons in these divine actions. First, the righteous learn both the consequences of impiety and the rewards for enduring God's trials:

You revealed, by the thirst [of the righteous], how you punished their antagonists. For when the righteous were tested, though educated [*παιδευόμενοι*] in mercy, they came to know how the impious were tormented when judged with anger. For you tested them like a reproving father, but the others you examined like a condemning king. (11:8–10)

Second, these two miracles were meant to further instruct and bring back the already impious:

For a twofold grief overtook [the impious] and a groaning over the memories of what had happened. For when they heard that through their own punishments, the righteous had benefited, they took note of the Lord. For the one who had long before been cast out and exposed and whom they had mockingly rejected, at the end of the events, they came to admire, having thirsted in a manner unlike the righteous. (11:12–14)

The impious also come to learn the rewards for endurance and the punishments for a rejection of the divine instruction. Of course, the impious will just as soon forget their lessons and continue in their iniquity and ignorance, while the righteous will heed their teachings.<sup>48</sup>

This notion of *paideia* as *musar* or divine discipline and testing is found not only in the final, pseudo-historical section of the text, but also in the opening chapters, where it takes on a greater, cosmic dimension and where the test can include even bodily death.

The scenario outlined in the first five chapters of the Wisdom of Solomon, depicting the struggle between the anonymous righteous man and the wicked ungodly parallels that between the righteous and the impious which we just examined. Here, we learn about a group of individuals who bring on their own destruction through their ignorance and through their rejection of *paideia*. The impious are those who are completely misguided about the nature of life and death. They think that this life is all that there is and that bodily death leads to extinction and nothingness (2:1–5). This worldview leads them to assume a libertine and anarchic lifestyle (2:6–11). Their views on life and death lead the impious to torment, torture, and eventually murder the righteous man, simply because his righteousness highlights their own iniquity (2:12–20). According to the impious, the righteous man “reproaches us for sins against the law and

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48. See 12:18–27 and 16:4–9 for similar depictions of a twofold didactic test of the righteous and the impious.



charges us with sins against our *paideia*” (2:12). These impious men who have ignored or rejected their previous *paideia*, go on to test the righteous man’s claims about God and about life and death by torturing and killing him (2:16-20). Yet, because of their continued ignorance, they did not know that they were not truly the ones putting the righteous man to the test. God was the one doing the testing, both of the righteous man and the impious.

At the start of chapter three, we see that this scenario was part of God’s divine, educative test. While, to the ignorant, the righteous appear to die, we find out that this was not actually the case:

The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God and no torment will ever touch them. In the eyes of the foolish they seem to have died, and their departure was considered a misfortune, and their going away from us their destruction, but they are at peace. For though in the sight of men they were punished, their hope is full of immortality. And, having been educated a little, they will receive great good, because God has tested them and found them worthy of himself [καὶ ὀλίγα παιδευθέντες μεγάλα εὐεργετηθήσονται ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐπείρασεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εὗρεν αὐτοὺς ἀξιόους ἑαυτοῦ]. Like gold in a furnace, he tried them, and like a sacrificial burnt offering, he accepted them. (3:1–6)

Just like the righteous who had to endure the desert and thirst before receiving their reward, the righteous here have to endure torment, torture, and even death before receiving the ultimate reward. The stakes are clearly higher this time; the righteous must have total faith in God and total faith that the life of the body is not the true life and that the death of the body will release the soul and allow it to live the immortal life in nearness to the divine.

Just as the impious in the desert received a river of gore in return for their decree to kill the innocent and a plague of irrational animals in exchange for their worship of the creatures, the impious here are punished exactly according to their ignorant reasoning (3:10). They believed that this life was the only life and that death meant extinction, and this is what they receive in return for their ignorant and wicked actions, the death of their souls even during their somatic existence.<sup>49</sup>

The notion that God’s divine pedagogy could include even corporeal death is an idea inherited from the Greek translation of Isaiah and Jeremiah, where *paideia* came to take on the notion of *musar* and the idea that the current

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49. See Jason M. Zurawski, “Hell on Earth: Corporeal Existence as the Ultimate Punishment of the Wicked in Philo of Alexandria and the Wisdom of Solomon,” in *Heaven, Hell, and the Afterlife: Eternity in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. J. Harold Ellens, 3 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013), 1:193–226.

troubles of the righteous are nothing more than God's "small affliction," designed to test and educate.<sup>50</sup>

## 5. CONCLUSION

In the Hellenistic Diaspora of the Second Temple period, the Jews were able to incorporate the best of Greek education together with their ancestral laws and customs. By learning to correctly interpret and live by their traditions, they could achieve the goal of philosophical Greeks everywhere, becoming citizens of the cosmos. These innovative means of integrating into the wider intellectual and social cultures were possible, in part, because of the bold choices made by the original Greek translators. Instead of choosing Greek terms probably more compatible with the Hebrew, they chose terms imbued throughout with Greek, philosophical connotations. The translation was neither based on nor resulted in a sort of super-legalized form of Judaism in the Diaspora. Instead, *nomos* for *torah* and *paideia* for *musar* allowed the Jews the possibility of entering into a mutually understandable dialogue with the wider Hellenistic community.

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50. Philo also conceived of *paideia* at times in this manner (though without death). Often this form of *paideia* is allegorized as either Jacob's or Moses's rod or staff (ῥάβδος, see *Leg.* 2.89–92), which fits particularly well with Philo's typical allegorization of Jacob as the soul as "athlete" or "trainer" (ἀσκητής), one who acquires wisdom or virtue through practice. The source of this *paideia* as discipline, the tester, is generally one of the supreme God's *dunameis*, such as *orthos logos* in *Leg.* 3.168. For more on the importance of *paideia* in the Wisdom of Solomon, see now Jason M. Zurawski, "*Paideia*: A Multifarious and Unifying Concept in the Wisdom of Solomon," in *From Musar to Paideia: Education in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Matthew Goff and Karina Martin Hogan (Atlanta: SBL Press, forthcoming).

# Legal Hermeneutics and the Tradition Underlying the Septuagint

*Jan Joosten*

**Abstract:** Exegetical renderings in the Septuagint have often been presented as evidence indicating the influence of “Palestinian exegesis” on the translators. This has at times led to a skewed interpretation of the Greek version. By the help of a test case, the present study illustrates the importance of looking first for the coherence of the Septuagint in its own right. Some of its most elaborate exegetical elements may owe little to influence from the home country but instead reflect traditions of diaspora Judaism.

The Letter of Aristeas relates that the translators of the Pentateuch were brought especially from Jerusalem to give the Jews in Egypt, and King Ptolemy, a Greek version that would be as faithful as possible to the best native traditions. Ever since, there has been a strong tendency to relate the Septuagint to Jerusalem. In modern scholarship, it is not rare to find the claim that the translators themselves, or at least their exegetical knowledge, came from Judea.<sup>1</sup> The underlying idea seems to be that if the Septuagint is Jewish, it must be related to Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

The tendency to stress links with the homeland underplays the notion that a genuine Judaism of a specific type may have existed in the western diaspora.

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1. See recently Emanuel Tov, “Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations,” in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Karrer, and Martin Meiser, WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 3–22; Johann Cook and Arie van der Kooij, *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom: On the Provenance of Translators and Their Books in the Septuagint Version*, CBET 68 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012).

2. Tov (“Reflections,” 5 n. 9) writes: “Jewish exegesis is visible wherever a special interpretation of the LXX is known also from rabbinic literature. Such exegesis reveals the Palestinian background or influence of at least some of the translators.”

When the Pentateuch was translated into Greek—at some time during the third century—Jews had been in Egypt for a long time. Although there will have been exchanges with the homeland at every point, some of which are actually attested in the Elephantine papyri, it is not unreasonable to think the diaspora communities developed distinct habits and a distinct interpretation of their religious experience over time. One should allow, of course, for diversity among Egyptian Jews. But one should also admit that Judaism of the western diaspora may have been distinct globally. The piety, theology and religious practice of Judaism in Egypt will have differed somewhat from that of other Jews. The Septuagint could be expected to echo the distinct traditions of the western diaspora.

The two notions are not mutually exclusive. Some religious traditions underlying the Septuagint may have been imported from Jerusalem, while other traditions may be of local origin. It is important, however, to keep the two approaches apart in theory and to recognize the legitimacy of both. A case study taken from the area of legal exegesis will illustrate what is at stake.

#### 1. THE LAW OF THE HEBREW SLAVE IN EXODUS 21:2–11

According to Exod 21:2–6, a Hebrew who has sold himself into slavery will serve his master for six years, after which period he must be given the option of becoming free again. Although עברי (“Hebrew”) may originally have meant something different, in its present context the law almost certainly refers to Israelite debt slaves.<sup>3</sup> Exodus 21:2–6 is a “law of mercy,” unenforceable in a human court but commanded to the Israelite people on the basis of God’s great liberating act narrated in the preceding chapters of Exodus. Israelites should not be slaves.<sup>4</sup> This does not mean the law is wholly theoretical. In fact, the largest part of the passage is devoted to the practical application of the law. The principle of liberation had to be balanced against the economic rights of the slave owner. Thus, if the Hebrew slave has married a slave girl belonging to the master’s household, the law stipulates he will have a choice to make: to be freed after six years or to stay with his wife and children in servitude.

The second part of the law in verses 7 to 11 also seeks to strike a balance between two fundamental exigencies. An Israelite girl sold into slavery by her father may normally be expected to become a concubine to her master or one of his household.<sup>5</sup> Freeing her after six years would lead to dissolving the marital bond formed in servitude. For this reason, it seems, the girl is excluded from the rule that applies to men: she will not be liberated in the sixth year. Instead, her

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3. See the major commentaries.

4. Note that in Exod 1–10, the term Hebrews is used frequently to refer to the Israelites enslaved to Pharaoh.

5. Note the term יעד, “to appoint, to designate as a wife,” in vv. 8 and 9 and the term ענה, “duty of marriage,” in v. 10.

rights are defined differently: she must be treated as a wife, and if her owner gets tired of her, she must be sold back to her own family. Freeing her for no money is only a last resort.

The Septuagint version of Exod 21:2–11 generally corresponds to the received Hebrew text, but there are two important divergences.<sup>6</sup> The most striking one occurs in verse 7 where “she shall not go out as the (male) slaves do” is translated as: “she shall not go out as the female slaves do.”

Exod 21:7

לֹא תֵצֵא כַּצֹּאת הָעֲבָדִים  
οὐκ ἀπελεύσεται ὥσπερ ἀποτρέχουσιν αἱ δοῦλαι

A second, less visible divergence, finds expression in the vocabulary. The Hebrew nouns עֶבֶד and אִמָּה are very often paired as masculine and feminine meaning “male and female slave.” In the Septuagint, the pair is usually rendered παῖς and παιδίσκη and more rarely δοῦλος and δούλη.<sup>7</sup> In the present passage, the Greek renderings vary: עֶבֶד is rendered παῖς in verse 2 and δοῦλαι in verse 7. The variation of equivalents is surprising, but on the lexical level, both renderings conform to regular expectation. What is unexpected, however, is the rendering of אִמָּה in verse 7 as οἰκέτις, a rare word to which we will get back later.

These divergences suggest that the law on the Hebrew slave was not just translated word for word, but that the Greek version reflects an interpretation. What that interpretation was is not self-evident.

## 2. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SEPTUAGINT IN LIGHT OF RABBINIC HALAKAH

In his acclaimed work on the influence of “Palestinian exegesis” on the Seventy, Zecharia Frankel argued forcefully that the Greek translator interpreted Exod 21:7 in a way consonant with rabbinic halakah.<sup>8</sup> According to the halakah, verses 7 to 11 do not concern the female counterpart of the Hebrew slave of verses 2 to 6, but the special case of the daughter who was a minor—less than twelve years of age—when her father sold her. Such a girl is liberated in the seventh year, according to the halakah (although she is liberated for many other reasons as well, notably when she reaches puberty, so that the six-year limit of servitude may be considered rather theoretical). The “going-out of slaves” is therefore interpreted as applying to non-Israelite slaves. The statement: “she shall not go out as the male slaves do” means: in respect to going out, she is not like Canaanite male

6. A few exegetical renderings are faithful to the intended meaning of the passage and as such irrelevant to the present study. See notably in v. 3.

7. For παῖς and παιδίσκη, see, e.g., Exod 21:20, 32; for δοῦλος and δούλη, see Lev 25:44.

8. Zecharia Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der Palästinensischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik* (Leipzig: Barth, 1851), 91.

slaves—she will be liberated for many reasons that do not affect them.

In Frankel's view, a similar interpretation underlies the Septuagint version of Exod 21:2–11. His main evidence is the use of the term *δοῦλος* in verse 7—the feminine gender is not important in Frankel's reasoning.<sup>9</sup> In the Greek Pentateuch, *δοῦλος* is used for the deepest form of servitude only, that of Israel in Egypt and that of non-Israelites in Israel.<sup>10</sup> The word could not therefore, according to Frankel, designate the Hebrew slave in Exod 21:7 but only the Canaanite slave.

A few years after Frankel, Abraham Geiger argued similarly that the Greek translation of Exod 21 agreed with Jewish halakah.<sup>11</sup> Unlike Frankel, his main argument is not drawn from the vocabulary but from the feminine gender of *αἱ δοῦλαι*. The statement “she shall not go out as the female slaves do” shows, in Geiger's view, that the opposition is not between a female Israelite and male Israelites, as in the Hebrew text. In the Greek, the female Israelite slave is contrasted to other female slaves, which can therefore only be non-Israelites. Otherwise, Geiger's argument is similar to Frankel's: Exod 21:7 means that the Israelite girl sold into slavery by her father will not be freed as Canaanite slaves are, “for a tooth or an eye.”<sup>12</sup> She does go free, however, in the seventh year.

More recently, Geza Vermes, in a wide-ranging discussion on the interpretation of Exod 21:7–11 in antiquity, essentially came to the same conclusion.<sup>13</sup> Citing both Frankel and Geiger, he accepted the claim that the Septuagint opposed the Israelite slave girl to gentile slaves, like rabbinic halakah, thus diverging from the original intent of the text of Exodus.

### 3. EVALUATION

Today, specialists of halakah have become more cautious in regard to the possibility of dating rabbinic traditions to the early Hellenistic period. The

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9. In Frankel's view, the feminine is a mistake due to “unwissende Diaskeuasten”; he proposes to correct the Greek text so as to read the masculine *δοῦλοι*.

10. See Lev 26:13 and 25:44.

11. Abraham Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judentums*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Mada, 1928), 187–88.

12. The halakic rule concerning the tooth and the eye is derived from Exod 21:26–27, where it is established that an owner who destroys a slave's eye or knocks out his tooth must let the slave go free. This is interpreted as referring to Canaanite slaves only. Neither the Hebrew text nor the Septuagint explicitly states that a non-Israelite slave is meant, however. If Frankel's theory were correct, one might expect the slave of Exod 21:26–27 to be referred to as *δοῦλος*, but this is not the case (see below, n. 18).

13. Geza Vermes, “Bible and Midrash: Early Old Testament Exegesis,” in *Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. by P. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, vol. 1 (Cambridge: CUP, 1970), 199–231.

discoveries in Qumran have confirmed that some legal interpretations of the Mishnah were already known in the first century BCE.<sup>14</sup> But it has also become clear that many rabbinic rules and distinctions must have emerged later. In light of these developments in scholarship, the approach championed by Frankel and Geiger would today seem more problematic than it did a hundred or even fifty years ago.<sup>15</sup>

In the case at hand, the explanation of the Septuagint on the basis of rabbinic writings is not to be rejected from principle, but because it does not do justice to the data. The connection between the Greek version of Exod 21:2–11 and the halakah is tenuous. The use of the term *δοῦλος* (or rather: *δοῦλαι*) in verse 7 cannot bear the weight of the argument Frankel builds on it. Both *δοῦλος* and *παῖς* are regular equivalents of Hebrew *עבד*, sometimes being used even in the same verse.<sup>16</sup> There is probably a semantic nuance to each noun, *παῖς* being a more general term and *δοῦλος* stressing more the juridical aspect. But the “referent” of the nouns is the same. To distinguish the Hebrew *παῖς* of verse 2 from the allegedly gentile *δοῦλαι* of verse 7 on the basis of the vocabulary alone, is simply far-fetched. As to the use of the feminine underscored by Geiger, this is indeed striking. But it can hardly be interpreted as pointing to the non-Israelite identity of the *δοῦλαι*.

#### 4. THE COHERENCE OF THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION

When the Greek version of the law on Hebrew slaves is read with an open mind, a different interpretation would seem to emerge. A good place to start is the phrase “the female slaves” in verse 7. Who are these female slaves? A first possibility would be to define their identity on the basis of the preceding verses. In Exod 21:3, it is stated that if a Hebrew slave has been bought with his wife, they will both become free after six years of servitude. Perhaps the daughter sold into slavery is compared to these wives: “she [the *οἰκέτις*] shall not go out as the female slaves do.” Wives sold as slaves together with their husbands go out in the seventh year, but daughters sold individually do not. This is a possible reading of the Greek version of the law. It is not entirely satisfactory, however. The wives are mentioned in passing only. Although they are liberated in the seventh year, this is presented as a right of their husbands. Their sex seems to be a feeble reason for singling them out for contrast. It would have been easier to

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14. See, e.g., Aharon Shemesh, *Halakhah in the Making: The Development of Jewish Law from Qumran to the Rabbis* (Berkeley: University of California, 2009).

15. This does not mean their work should be dismissed completely. Preliminary stages of what would later become rabbinic halakah may have been established early enough to influence the translation of the Pentateuch. Some instances of Septuagint renderings following the halakah signaled by Frankel retain a certain probability.

16. See Lev 25:44. Note also that what the Hebrew slave does for his master is expressed with the verb *δουλεύω* (v. 2).

say, like in the Hebrew text, that the daughter does not regain her freedom as the male Hebrew slaves do. In other words, if αἱ δοῦλαι refers to the wives of Hebrew slaves, the divergence in the translation hardly entails an interpretation at all. This begs the question of the *raison d'être* of the divergence.

It is preferable, then, to look further afield for the identity of the “female slaves” referred to in the Greek version of Exod 21:7. As is well known, Deut 15:12–18 rewrites the law of the Hebrew slave in a way that establishes equality between the sexes. The introductory verse states: “If your brother, a Hebrew man *or a Hebrew woman*, is sold to you, he will work for you six years, but in the seventh year you shall set him free” (v. 12).<sup>17</sup> Further on in the Deuteronomic law, the principle is repeated: “you shall do the same with regard to your female slave” (v. 17). The provision on the daughter sold into slavery is absent in Deuteronomy: Deut 15:12–18 is parallel, roughly, to Exod 2:2–6, but there is no Deuteronomic parallel to Exod 2:7–11.

The slave law in Deuteronomy may originally have been intended to replace that of Exodus. But when both versions ended up in the composite Pentateuch, they had to be harmonized in one way or another. The Septuagint version of Exod 21:2–11 appears to reflect one stage in that process. Verses 2–6 on the Hebrew slave were interpreted, in light of Deut 15, as applying to Hebrew slaves of both sexes. Since laws applying to both sexes are often, in the Bible, formulated in regard to men only, this explanation was not particularly far-fetched. But it did leave the second part of the law, on the Hebrew daughter, dangling as an anomaly. If the Hebrew slave, both male and female, is to be liberated after six years, what is to be made of the law that seems to exclude the daughter from this rule? The exegetical solution to this problem was to treat this case as a special kind of slavery that did not allow for liberation in the seventh year. When a father sold his daughter to become the *concubine* of another Israelite, the liberation in the seventh did not apply.

This reconstruction accounts for almost all the peculiarities of the Greek version. The “female slaves” (αἱ δοῦλαι) in verse 7 is a reference to the slaves of verses 2–6. Hebrew men *and women* (according to the harmonizing exegesis underlying the translation) sold into slavery must normally be liberated after six years. The daughter sold by her father falls into a different category: she will not go out as other female slaves do.

As to the word οἰκέτις, in Greek lexicography it is usually viewed simply as the feminine of οἰκέτης (“household slave”). The Septuagint data indicate a different usage, however. In the Greek version, the feminine equivalent of

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17. The tortured syntax of this verse shows that the phrase “or a Hebrew woman” was inserted into a base text that did not include the female slave explicitly. The same conclusion can be drawn from v. 17, where the clause “you shall do the same with regard to your female slave” is probably also an addition.



οικέτης is *θεράπεινα*.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, while *οικέτης* is frequent in the Greek Pentateuch, the word *οικέτις* is found only twice, in our verse and in Lev 19:20. In the latter passage, it refers to a female slave (שפחה in Hebrew) who has been designated to a man but has not yet had sexual relations with him. In the other books of the Greek Bible, the word occurs again in Prov 30:23, commenting on the scandal that arises if an *οικέτις* drives out her mistress. The verse implies that the female slave takes the place of her mistress in relation to the husband. Philo, in all his preserved works, uses the word only once, *Congr.* 152, in reference to Hagar, the slave-wife of Abraham (though in a heavily allegorical context). We may conclude that in the language of the Septuagint, this specific word defines the girl as a concubine. In our passage, the rare word reveals the reason why the girl is not to be liberated in the seventh year.

Admittedly, one problem remains. Why the female slaves are referred to with the word *δοῦλαι* while the male slave is called *παῖς* has not been explained. As was already stated, the words often co-occur and may refer to the same reality. Perhaps the use of *δοῦλαι* was triggered, because the verse contrasts two forms of slavery: one of servitude and one of concubinate. Or perhaps the variation is merely stylistic.

## 5. THE ORIGIN OF THE SEPTUAGINTAL INTERPRETATION

Let us recapitulate. The meaning of the Greek version of Exod 21:2–11 diverges globally from what was originally intended in the Hebrew text. The Hebrew text opposes male Israelite slaves, who will serve for six years, to unattached female Israelite slaves, who will become concubines and cannot therefore become free again. The Greek opposes male and female Hebrew slaves, who will serve and be freed, to nubile Hebrew slaves designated as concubines. The divergence is expressed discretely, in a way that permits the translator to observe his usual word-for-word translation technique. The underlying reinterpretation flows from the necessity to read the laws of Exodus in way that does not contradict the laws of Deuteronomy.

The harmonization was almost certainly elaborated in Greek. It is expressed by slight retouches that can hardly be attributed to the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Both the change of “slaves” to “female slaves” and the choice of the rare word *οικέτις* must have happened in the process of translation. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to ascribe the harmonization to ad hoc exegesis on the part of the translator. The interpretation surfacing in the Septuagint translation resulted from much study and reflection. It almost certainly represents an interpretive tradition handed down to the translator. The way of expressing it in Greek may be the translator’s work. But the distinction between the two legal cases in the light of Deut 15 must have been established previously.

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18. See Exod 21:26–27.

The Septuagint rendering of the slave law is traditional, but it is not rabbinic. The legal interpretation underlying the Septuagint differs from what later became Jewish halakah. The rabbinic writings also harmonize the two versions of the law on Hebrew slaves, but they do so on different principles and with different results. Crucially, the case of the daughter mentioned in Exod 21:7–11 is not opposed to that of the Hebrew slave in verses 2–6: the daughter is to be liberated in the seventh year like other Hebrew slaves. In order to achieve this interpretation, a whole new category is imported into the law, namely, that of gentile slaves, whose liberation is ruled by very different principles. The category of non-Israelite slaves pays no part in the Septuagintal interpretation of the present passage. One can only speculate about the origin of the Septuagint interpretation, which appears not to be attested in any other ancient writing. Reason suggests it must have emerged among Jews of the Egyptian diaspora. The interpretation may have originated in a school setting, where learned Jews tried to make sense of the composite Pentateuch. Alternatively, it may reflect some type of jurisprudence, if indeed Jews in Egypt practiced the biblical slave laws in day-to-day life.<sup>19</sup>

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

Our case study has shown that an approach of the Septuagint from the vantage point of Rabbinic Judaism runs the risk of skewing the data. Frankel's and Geiger's hypotheses opened up new avenues of research in the nineteenth century. In the present case, however, their approach was wrongheaded.

An important methodological principle has also emerged. Before one attempts to interpret it in the light of other early readings, the Septuagint is to be read as a coherent text with its own authority. In the present state of research on ancient Jewish texts, the most obvious *comparandum* for the Septuagint is Qumran literature. The Qumran writings are coeval with the Septuagint in a way rabbinic writings are not. Much interesting research has been done on Qumran and the Septuagint, and one wishes much more of it will be done in the future. However, the comparative approach can only be helpful if each text is first given a proper hearing. Only when the inner logic of the Greek text has been explored does it become possible to compare its reading with other traditions.

The Septuagint is a Jewish work. But this general fact says very little about the precise contents one may expect to find in the version. Judaism of the

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19. The recently recovered documents from the archive of a Jewish *politeuma* in Heracleopolis suggest some form of application of biblical law in the limited area of family law, see, e.g., Joseph Méléze-Modrzejewski, "La fiancée adultère: A propos de la pratique matrimoniale du judaïsme hellénisé à la lumière du dossier du politeuma juif d'Hérakléopolis (144/3–133/2 avant n.è.)," in *Actes de la journée d'études du 7 février 2004*, ed. J.-C. Couvenhes, B. Legras (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), 103–18.

Hellenistic period was notoriously diverse. Although they shared many central values, Jews in antiquity also transmitted a great variety of traditions, including traditions in the realm of religious law. This is perhaps true for any period in history, but it is particularly true for Hellenistic times. Beyond the evaluation of individual readings, the Septuagint needs to be given its rightful place in a history-of-religions perspective. The group that produced the Septuagint added a unique shade of diversity to the variegated forms of Judaism of its epoch. Of course, this group was not impermeable to influences from the homeland. There were exchanges and relationships. But the group also developed traditions particularly its own. Its unique contribution needs to be taken into account.



## Literary and Textual History of Joshua 2

Michaël N. van der Meer

**Abstract:** Ever since Samuel Holmes identified the recurring pluses in MT Josh 2 as elements of a re-edition of the Hebrew book of Joshua, scholars have studied the quantitative variants between the MT and the LXX of Joshua in light of the presumed process of literary editing of biblical books evidenced by the oldest textual witnesses. Whereas the extant Qumran scrolls for this chapter (i.e., 4QJosh<sup>b</sup> and XJosh) do not lend support for such a thesis, the character of the Greek translation is more ambiguous and judged as either witness to the process of reformulation of the book or rather straightforward rendering and hence witness to a deviating, shorter Hebrew *Vorlage*. In this paper, I will readdress this issue in the light of a literary-critical analysis of the book in its own right.

Joshua 2 contains the well-known story of the spies at Rahab's house at Jericho, their oath to let her and her family live when the Israelites conquer the city, and the spies' safe escape from the city. As in so many other chapters in the book of Joshua, the extant Hebrew and Greek texts differ at many relatively small instances.<sup>1</sup> A synopsis of the two versions makes this clear:<sup>2</sup>

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1. See the discussion of Josh 1; 5:2–12; 8:1–29; and 8:30–35 in Michaël N. van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation: The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses*, VTSup 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2004). For Josh 6:2–25, see van der Meer, ““Sound the Trumpet!”: Redaction and Reception of Joshua 6:2–25,” in *The Land of Israel in Bible, History, and Theology: Studies in Honour of Ed Noort*, ed. Jacques van Ruiten and J. Cornelis de Vos, VTSup 124 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 19–43. For Josh 18:1–10, see van der Meer, “Clustering Cluttered Areas: Textual and Literary Criticism in Joshua 18,1–10,” in *The Book of Joshua*, ed. Ed Noort, BETL 250 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 87–106.

2. I have used the following conventions: where the Hebrew text of the MT lacks an equivalent in the LXX, I have marked such a minus in the Greek text by means of one em dash for each missing Hebrew lexeme. Where the Greek text is longer than or different

Table 1: Synopsis of MT and LXX Josh 2

| Vs. | LXX (Rahlfs) <sup>3</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | MT                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Vs. |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1   | Καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυη ἐκ Σαττιν<br>δύο νεανίσκους<br>κατασκοπεῦσαι —<br>λέγων<br>Ἀνάβητε<br>καὶ ἴδετε τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν Ἱεριχώ<br>καὶ πορευθέντες<br>εἰσῆλθουσιν <sup>A</sup> οἱ δύο νεανίσκοι εἰς Ἱεριχώ<br>καὶ εἰσῆλθουσιν εἰς οἰκίαν γυναικὸς πόρνης<br>— ἥ ὄνομα Ρααβ,<br>καὶ κατέλυσαν ἐκεῖ. | וּשְׁלַח יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן נֹון מִן הַשָּׂטִים<br>שְׁנַיִם אַנְשִׁים<br>מִרְגָּלִים חָרָשׁ<br>לֵאמֹר<br>לִכּוּ<br>רְאוּ אֶת הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת יְרִיחוֹ<br>וְיָבֹאוּ בֵּית אִשָּׁה זֹנָה<br>וְשָׁמָּה רָחַב<br>וְיִשְׁכְּבוּ שָׁמָּה | 1   |
| 2   | καὶ ἀπηγγέλη τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἱεριχώ<br>λέγοντες<br>—<br>Εἰσπεπóρευνται ὧδε — ἄνδρες τῶν υἱῶν<br>Ἰσραὴλ<br>κατασκοπεῦσαι τὴν γῆν.                                                                                                                                                                               | וַיֹּאמֶר לְמֶלֶךְ יְרִיחוֹ<br>לֵאמֹר<br>הִנֵּה<br>אֲנָשִׁים בָּאוּ הֵנָּה הַלִּילָה מִבְּנֵי<br>יִשְׂרָאֵל<br>לְחַפֵּר אֶת הָאָרֶץ                                                                                           | 2   |
| 3   | καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἱεριχώ<br>καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς Ρααβ<br>λέγων<br>Ἐξάγαγε τοὺς ἄνδρας<br>τοὺς εἰσπεπορευμένους — —<br>— — εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν σου τὴν νύκτα<br>κατασκοπεῦσαι γάρ — τὴν γῆν<br>ἥκασιν.                                                                                                        | וַיִּשְׁלַח מֶלֶךְ יְרִיחוֹ אֶל רָחַב<br>לֵאמֹר<br>הֲצִיאִי הָאֲנָשִׁים<br>הַבָּאִים אֵלַיִךְ<br>אֲשֶׁר בָּאוּ לְבִיתְךָ<br>כִּי לְחַפֵּר אֶת כָּל הָאָרֶץ<br>בָּאוּ                                                          | 3   |
| 4   | καὶ λαβοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ τοὺς — ἄνδρας<br>ἔκρυψεν αὐτούς,<br>καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς<br>λέγουσα<br>— Εἰσεληλύθασιν πρὸς με οἱ ἄνδρες<br>— — — —                                                                                                                                                                        | וַתִּקַּח הָאִשָּׁה אֶת שְׁנֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים<br>וַתַּצְפֵּנוּ<br>וַתֹּאמֶר<br>כֵּן בָּאוּ אֵלַי הָאֲנָשִׁים<br>וְלֹא יָדַעְתִּי מֵאִין הֵמָּה                                                                                   | 4   |
| 5   | ὥς δὲ ἡ πύλη ἐκλείετο ἐν τῷ σκότει,<br>καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐξῆλθον.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לִסְגֹּר בַּחֹשֶׁךְ<br>וְהָאֲנָשִׁים יָצְאוּ                                                                                                                                                                | 5   |

from MT, I have marked such variant by means of italics. The Hebrew and Greek texts are divided in (single) clauses.

3. The Greek text for this paper is based on the edition of Alfred Rahlfs, which for this chapter is almost completely identical to that of Max L. Margolis, *The Book of Joshua in Greek according to the Critically Restored Text with an Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Principal Recensions of the Individual Witnesses*, Publications of the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation (Paris: Geuthner, 1931–1938; Philadelphia: Annenberg Research Institute, 1992). See also my *Formation and Reformulation*, 22–32.

4. Margolis reconstructs ἡλθόσαν without the prefix on the basis of the P C witnesses.

|    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |  |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
|    | οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι<br>ποῦ πεπόρευνται —·<br>καταδιώξατε — ὀπίσω αὐτῶν,<br>εἰ καταλήμψεσθε αὐτούς.                                                                                                                                                                                   | לא ידעתי<br>אנה הלכו האנשים<br>רדפו מהר אחריהם<br>כי תשיגום<br>והיא העלתם הגגה<br>ותטמנם בפשתי העץ<br>הערכות לה על הגג                                                                                                                             |  |
| 6  | αὐτὴ δὲ ἀνεβίβασεν αὐτούς ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα<br>καὶ ἔκρυψεν αὐτούς ἐν τῇ λινοκαλάμῃ<br>τῇ ἐστοιβασμένῃ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος.                                                                                                                                                          | 6 והאנשים רדפו אחריהם דרך<br>הירדן על המעברות<br>והשער סגור                                                                                                                                                                                        |  |
| 7  | καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες κατεδίωξαν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ὁδὸν<br>τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ιορδάνου ἐπὶ τὰς διαβάσεις,<br>καὶ ἡ πύλη ἐκλείσθη.<br>καὶ ἐγένετο<br>ὡς ἐξήλθοσαν οἱ διώκοντες ὀπίσω αὐτῶν.                                                                                                          | 7 והאנשים רדפו אחריהם דרך<br>הירדן על המעברות<br>והשער סגור                                                                                                                                                                                        |  |
| 8  | καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὶν ἢ κοιμηθῆναι αὐτούς,<br>καὶ αὐτὴ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα πρὸς αὐτούς                                                                                                                                                                                               | 8 והמה טרם ישכבון<br>והיא עלתה עליהם על הגג<br>ותאמר אל האנשים                                                                                                                                                                                     |  |
| 9  | καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς<br>Ἐπίσταμαι<br>ὅτι δέδωκεν ὑμῖν κύριος τὴν γῆν,<br>ἐπτιέπτωκεν γὰρ ὁ φόβος ὑμῶν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.<br>— — — — —                                                                                                                                                  | ידעתי<br>כי נתן יהוה לכם את הארץ<br>וכי נפלה אימתכם עלינו<br>וכי נמגו כל ישרי הארץ מפניכם                                                                                                                                                          |  |
| 10 | ἀκηκόαμεν γὰρ<br>ὅτι κατεξήρανε κύριος ὁ θεὸς — — — — — τὴν<br>ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν<br>ὅτε ἐξεπορεύεσθε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου<br>καὶ ὅσα ἐποίησεν τοῖς θυσι βασιλεῦσιν τῶν<br>Ἀμορραίων<br>οἱ ἦσαν πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου, τῷ Σηων καὶ<br>Ὡγ,<br>οὓς ἐξωλεθρεύσατε αὐτούς. | 10 כי שמענו את<br>אשר הוביש יהוה את מי ים סוף<br>מפניכם<br>בצאתכם ממצרים<br>ואשר עשיתם לשני מלכי האמרי<br>אשר בעבר הירדן לסיחן ולעוג<br>אשר החרמתם אותם<br>ונשמע<br>וימס לבבנו<br>ולא קמה עוד רוח באיש מפניכם                                      |  |
| 11 | καὶ ἀκούσαντες ἡμεῖς<br>ἐξέστημεν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἡμῶν,<br>καὶ οὐκ ἔσθη ἔτι πνεῦμα ἐν οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν ἀπὸ<br>προσώπου ὑμῶν·<br>ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν --- θεὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ<br>ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω.                                                                                    | 11 כי יהוה אלהיכם הוא אלהים<br>בשמים ממעל ועל הארץ<br>מתחת<br>ועתה<br>השבועו נא לי ביהוה<br>כי עשיתי עמכם חסד<br>ועשיתם גם אתם עם בית אבי<br>חסד<br>ונתתם לי אות אמת<br>והחיתם את אבי ואת אמי ואת<br>אחי ואת (אחותי) [אחיותי]<br>ואת כל<br>אשר להם |  |
| 12 | καὶ νῦν<br>ὁμόσατέ — μοι κύριον τὸν θεόν,<br>ὅτι ποιῶ ὑμῖν ἔλεος,<br>καὶ ποιήσετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔλεος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ<br>πατρός μου.<br>— — — — —                                                                                                                                   | 12 והחיתם את אבי ואת אמי ואת<br>אחי ואת (אחותי) [אחיותי]<br>ואת כל<br>אשר להם                                                                                                                                                                      |  |
| 13 | καὶ ζωγρήσετε τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ<br>τὴν μητέρα μου καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου<br>καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκόν μου καὶ πάντα<br>ὅσα ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς,                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |  |

|    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                           |    |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 14 | καὶ ἐξελεῖσθε τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐκ θανάτου.<br>καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῇ οἱ ἄνδρες<br>Ἦ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν ἀνθ' ὑμῶν εἰς θάνατον.<br>— — — — —<br>καὶ αὐτὴ εἶπεν<br>— — —<br>Ὡς ἂν παραδῶ κύριος ὑμῖν τὴν πόλιν<br>ποιήσετε εἰς ἐμέ ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθειαν.                                                                                                   | והצלתם את נפשתינו ממות<br>ויאמרו לה האנשים<br>נפשנו תחתכם למות<br>אם לא תגידו את דברנו זה<br>והיה<br>בתת יהוה לנו את הארץ<br>ועשינו עמך חסד ואמת<br>ותורדם בחבל בעד החלון | 14 |
| 15 | καὶ κατεχάλασεν αὐτοὺς — — — — — διὰ τῆς<br>θυρίδος.<br>— — — — —<br>— — — — —                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | כי ביתה בקיר החומה<br>ובחומה היא יושבת                                                                                                                                    | 15 |
| 16 | καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς<br>Εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν ἀπέλθετε,<br>μὴ συναντήσωσιν ὑμῖν οἱ καταδιώκοντες,<br>καὶ κρυβήσεσθε ἐκεῖ τρεῖς ἡμέρας<br>ἕως ἂν ἀποστρέψωσιν οἱ καταδιώκοντες<br>ὀπίσω ὑμῶν,<br>καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπελεύσεσθε εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν<br>ὑμῶν.                                                                                            | ותאמר להם<br>ההרה לכו<br>פן יפגעו בכם הרדפים<br>ונחבתם שמה שלשת ימים<br>עד שוב הרדפים<br>ואחר תלכו לדרככם                                                                 | 16 |
| 17 | καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἄνδρες πρὸς αὐτήν<br>Ἀθῶοί ἐσμεν τῷ ὄρκῳ σου τούτῳ·<br>— — —                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | ויאמרו אליה האנשים<br>נקים אנחנו משבעתך הזה<br>אשר השבעתנו                                                                                                                | 17 |
| 18 | ἰδοὺ<br>ἡμεῖς εἰσπορευόμεθα εἰς μέρος τῆς πόλεως<br>καὶ θήσεις τὸ σημεῖόν,<br>τὸ σπαρτίον τὸ κόκκινον τοῦτο ἐκδήσεις εἰς<br>τὴν θυρίδα,<br>δι' ἧς κατεβίβασας ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτῆς,<br>τὸν δὲ πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου καὶ<br>τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκον<br>τοῦ πατρός σου συνάξεις πρὸς σεαυτὴν εἰς<br>τὴν οἰκίαν σου. | הנה<br>אנחנו באים בארץ<br>את תקות חוט השני הזה תקשרי<br>בחלון<br>אשר הורדתנו בו<br>ואת אביך ואת אמך ואת אחיך<br>ואת כל בית אביך תאספי<br>אליך הביתה                       | 18 |
| 19 | καὶ ἔσται<br>πᾶς,<br>ὃς ἂν ἐξέλθῃ τὴν θύραν τῆς οἰκίας σου ἔξω,<br>ἐνοχος ἑαυτῷ ἔσται,<br>ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀθῶοι τῷ ὄρκῳ σου τούτῳ·<br>καὶ ὅσοι<br>ἐὰν γένωνται μετὰ σοῦ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου,<br>ἡμεῖς ἐνοχοὶ ἐσόμεθα.<br>— — — — —                                                                                                           | והיה<br>כל<br>אשר יצא מדלתו ביתך החוצה<br>דמו בראשו<br>ואנחנו נקים<br>וכל<br>אשר יהיה אתך בבית<br>דמו בראשו<br>אם יד תהיה בו                                              | 19 |
| 20 | ἐὰν δέ τις ἡμᾶς ἀδικήσῃ<br>ἢ καὶ ἀποκαλύψῃ τοὺς λόγους ἡμῶν τούτους<br>ἐσόμεθα ἀθῶοι τῷ ὄρκῳ σου τούτῳ.<br>— — —                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | ואם תגדי את דברנו זה<br>והיינו נקים משבעתך<br>אשר השבעתנו                                                                                                                 | 20 |



|    |                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                         |    |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 21 | καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς<br>Κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα ὑμῶν<br>οὕτως ἔστω·<br>καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτούς.<br>— — — — —                                                                               | ותאמר<br>כדבר־כם<br>כן הוא<br>ותשלחם<br>וילכו<br>ותקשר את תקות השני בחלון<br>וילכו      | 21 |
| 22 | καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν<br>καὶ ἤλθοσαν εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν,<br>καὶ κατέμειναν ἐκεῖ τρεῖς ἡμέρας·<br>— — — — —<br>καὶ ἐξεζήτησαν οἱ καταδιώκοντες πάσας τὰς<br>ὁδοὺς<br>καὶ οὐχ εὔροσαν. | ויבאו ההרה<br>וישבו שם שלשת ימים<br>עד שבו הרדפים<br>ויבקשו הרדפים בכל הדרך<br>ולא מצאו | 22 |
| 23 | καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν οἱ δύο νεανίσκοι<br>καὶ κατέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους,<br>καὶ διέβησαν<br>— — πρὸς Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν Ναυη,<br>καὶ διηγῆσαντο αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ<br>συμβεβηκότα αὐτοῖς.         | ויספרו לו את כל המצאות אותם<br>ויבאו אל יהושע בן נון<br>ויספרו לו את כל המצאות אותם     | 23 |
| 24 | καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς Ἰησοῦν<br>ὅτι παρέδωκεν κύριος πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐν χειρὶ<br>ἡμῶν,<br>καὶ κατέπεττεν πᾶς ὁ κατοικῶν τὴν γῆν<br>ἐκείνην ἀφ' ἡμῶν.                                 | ויאמרו אל יהושע<br>כי נתן יהוה בידנו את כל הארץ<br>וגם נגמו כל ישבי הארץ מפנינו         | 24 |

The extant fragments of the Qumran scrolls of Josh 2, that is, 4QJosh<sup>b</sup> and XJosh,<sup>5</sup> support the MT over against the LXX. Hence it is possible to discuss in general terms the variants between the Greek and Hebrew (MT and Qumran) texts of Joshua. In Josh 2:4, the plus שני (“two”) vis-à-vis the LXX is supported by XJosh:

| Table 2: Synopsis of Josh 2:4–5 in XJosh, MT, and LXX |     |                                    |                         |            |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| No.                                                   | Vs. | LXX                                | MT                      | XJosh      |
| 1                                                     | 2:4 | καὶ λαβοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ τοὺς — ἄνδρας   | ותקח האשה את שני האנשים | אֶת שְׁנֵי |
| 2                                                     | 2:4 | — Εἰσεληλύθασιν πρὸς με οἱ ἄνδρες  | כן באו אלי האנשים       | האנשִׁים   |
| 3                                                     | 2:5 | ὥς δὲ ἡ πύλη ἐκλείετο ἐν τῷ σκότει | ויהי השער לסגור בחשך    | [לסגן]ר    |

In Josh 2:11–12, the fragments support the shorter reading of the MT באיש vis-à-vis the longer Greek phrase ἐν οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν. In 2:12, 4QJosh<sup>b</sup> seems to differ

5. See Emanuel Tov, “4QJosh<sup>b</sup>,” in *Qumran Cave 4.LX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*, ed. E. Ulrich et al., DJD XIV (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 153–60; James Charlesworth, “XJosh,” in *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert*, ed. J. Charlesworth et al., DJD XXXVIII (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 231–39. See further the discussion in my *Formation and Reformulation*, 93–105.

from both the MT (ועתה) and the LXX (καὶ νῦν), but the variant depends on the identification of a single letter (*resh* instead of *he*).<sup>6</sup>

| Table 3: Synopsis of Josh 2:11–12 in 4QJosh <sup>b</sup> , MT, and LXX |      |                                            |                           |                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| No.                                                                    | Vs.  | LXX                                        | MT                        | 4QJosh <sup>b</sup>        |
| 1                                                                      | 2:11 | καὶ οὐκ ἔσθη ἔτι πνεῦμα ἐν<br>οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν  | ולא קמה עוד רוח<br>באיש   | [ו]לֹא קמה עוד רוח<br>באיש |
| 2                                                                      | 2:12 | καὶ νῦν ὁμόσατέ — μοι<br>αὐτίστον τὸν θεόν | ועתה השבעו נא לי<br>ביהוה | [ותאמ]ר השבעו [ ]          |

In the case of Josh 2, some 63 out of the 404 words of the Hebrew text of the MT are absent from the LXX. This number amounts to some 15 percent. In a few cases, the minuses in the LXX are paralleled by minuses in other ancient translations, such as the Peshitta (Pesh) and the Vulgate (Vg). These pluses in the MT vis-à-vis the LXX are the following 26 instances:

| Table 4: Phrases in the MT that Are Lacking in the Greek Text of Josh 2 |      |                                                          |                                                                     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| No.                                                                     | Vs.  | plus in MT                                               | translation                                                         |
| 1                                                                       | 2:1  | חָרַשׁ                                                   | secretly (cf. Pesh)                                                 |
| 2                                                                       | 2:2  | הִנֵּה                                                   | see                                                                 |
| 3                                                                       | 2:2  | הַלֵּילָה                                                | at night                                                            |
| 4                                                                       | 2:3  | (הַבָּאִים) אֵלֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר בָּאוּ<br>(לְבֵיתְךָ)         | (the men who have come) to you, who have<br>come (to your house)    |
| 5                                                                       | 2:3  | (לְחַפֵּר אֶת) כָּל (הָאָרֶץ)                            | (to search out the) whole (land) (cf. Pesh.)                        |
| 6                                                                       | 2:4  | (אֵת) שְׁנֵי (הָאֲנָשִׁים)                               | (the) two (men) (cf. Vg.)                                           |
| 7                                                                       | 2:4  | כֵּן (בָּאוּ אֵלַי הָאֲנָשִׁים)                          | Surely (the men have come to me)                                    |
| 8                                                                       | 2:4  | וְלֹא יָדַעְתִּי מֵאֵין הֵמָּה                           | and I do not know where they came from                              |
| 9                                                                       | 2:5  | (לֹא יָדַעְתִּי אֵנָּה הֵלְכוּ)<br>הָאֲנָשִׁים           | (and I do not know whither) the men (went)<br>(cf. Pesh, Vg)        |
| 10                                                                      | 2:5  | (רַדְפוּ) מִהֵרָ (אַחֲרֵיהֶם)                            | (pursue) quickly (after them)                                       |
| 11                                                                      | 2:9  | וְכִי נִמְגּוּ כָל יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ<br>מִפְּנֵיכֶם       | and that all the inhabitants of the land melt in<br>fear before you |
| 12                                                                      | 2:10 | מִי (אֲשֶׁר הוּבֵשׂ יְהוָה) אֶת מֵי<br>(יָם סוּף)        | (that Yhwh dried up) the waters (of the Red Sea)                    |
| 13                                                                      | 2:11 | (כִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם) הוּא<br>(אֱלֹהִים בַּשָּׁמַיִם) | (that Yhwh your God) is (God in heavens above)                      |
| 14                                                                      | 2:12 | נָא (הַשְׁבַּעוּ)                                        | please (swear)                                                      |
| 15                                                                      | 2:12 | וְנָתַתָּ לִּי אֹת אֱמֶת                                 | and you will give me a sign of honesty                              |
| 16                                                                      | 2:13 | (וְאֵת אַחֵי) וְאֵת אַחֹתִי                              | (my brothers) and my sisters                                        |
| 17                                                                      | 2:14 | אִם לֹא תִגִּידוּ אֶת דְּבָרֵנוּ זֶה                     | if you do not report this case of ours                              |

6. See the remarks of Klaus Bieberstein, *Lukian und Theodotion im Josuabuch: Mit einem Beitrag zu den Josuarollen von Hirbet Qumrān*, BN 7 (Munich: Urlaub, 1994), 86: “doch kann es sich nach Ausweis der klaren Aufnahmen ebenso auch um ein ה handeln, was M ועתה und G<sup>escp</sup> καὶ νῦν entspräche.”

|    |      |                                     |                                                                                 |
|----|------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 18 | 2:14 | והיה                                | and it will be                                                                  |
| 19 | 2:15 | (ותורדם) בחבל (בעד החלון)           | (and she let them down) by a rope (through the window)                          |
| 20 | 2:15 | כי ביתה בקיר החומה ובחומה היא יושבת | because her house was on top of the wall and she was living on the wall         |
| 21 | 2:17 | אשר השבעתנו                         | that you have made us swear                                                     |
| 22 | 2:19 | אם יד תהיה בו                       | if a hand will be upon him (i.e., if somebody touches anyone of Rahab's family) |
| 23 | 2:20 | אשר השבעתנו                         | that you have made us swear                                                     |
| 24 | 2:21 | וילכו ותקשר את תקות השני בחלון      | they went and she tied the scarlet cord at the window                           |
| 25 | 2:22 | עד שבו הרדפים                       | until the pursuers had returned                                                 |
| 26 | 2:23 | (ויעברו) ויבאו (אל יהושע בן נון)    | they crossed over (the Jordan?) and came to Joshua son of Nun                   |

It is striking that the same clause *אשר השבעתנו*, “[the oath] that you have made us swear,” appears twice as plus in the MT in verses 17 and 20. Some of the details of the narrative of the spy story are unique to the MT, for instance, the location of Rahab's house (2:15) and the presence of her sisters there (2:13), as well as Rahab's alleged lack of knowledge of the provenance of the two men who had come to her. In other cases, the plus in the MT has a parallel in the text common to both the MT and the LXX, for instance, the long plus in 2:9 *וכי נמנו* “and that all the inhabitants of the land melt in fear before you,” has a parallel in verse 24b: *וגם נמנו כל ישבי הארץ מפנינו* “and all the inhabitants of the land melt in fear before us.”

Although the Greek text is generally shorter than the Hebrew text of the MT, it too has a number of pluses vis-à-vis the MT, that is, some 49 out of about 586 words in the Greek text, that is, some 8 percent of the Greek text. In most cases, these pluses consist of only a single or a few words:

| Table 5: Phrases in the LXX that Lack a Counterpart in the MT of Josh 2 |     |                                                        |                                                                  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| No.                                                                     | Vs. | plus in LXX                                            | translation                                                      |
| 1                                                                       | 2:1 | (καὶ πορευθέντες) εἰσῆλθον οἱ δύο νεανίσκοι εἰς Ιεριχώ | (and having gone) the two youths went into Jericho               |
| 2                                                                       | 2:3 | καὶ εἶπεν (πρὸς Ρααβ)                                  | and he said (to Rahab)                                           |
| 3                                                                       | 2:3 | (τοὺς εἰσπεπορευμένους εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν σου) τὴν νύκτα   | (the men who have come to your house) by night (cf. Pesh. ܠܠܝܠܬ) |
| 4                                                                       | 2:4 | (καὶ εἶπεν) αὐτοῖς λέγουσα                             | (and she said) to them saying                                    |
| 5                                                                       | 2:7 | καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς (ἐξῆλθον)                               | and it happened (when they went)                                 |
| 6                                                                       | 2:9 | (ὅτι κατεξήρανεν κύριος) ὁ θεός                        | (that the Lord) God (dried up the Red                            |

|    |      |                                                    |                                                                                      |
|----|------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|    |      | (τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν)                             | Sea)                                                                                 |
| 7  | 2:10 | (ὅτε ἐξεπορεύεσθε ἐκ) γῆς<br>(Αἰγύπτου)            | (when you went out of) the land (of<br>Egypt) (cf. MT MS de Rossi 345 <sup>7</sup> ) |
| 8  | 2:10 | (οἱ) ἦσαν (πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου)                     | (who) were (beyond the Jordan)                                                       |
| 9  | 2:11 | (ἐν οὐδενί) ἡμῶν                                   | (nobody) of us                                                                       |
| 10 | 2:12 | (ὁμόσατέ μοι κύριον) τὸν θεόν                      | (swear to me by the Lord) God                                                        |
| 11 | 2:13 | (καὶ ζωγρήσετε τὸν) οἶκον τοῦ<br>(πατρός μου)      | (and you will spare) the house (of my<br>father)                                     |
| 12 | 2:13 | (καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου καὶ)<br>πάντα τὸν οἶκόν μου | (... and my brothers) and my whole<br>house                                          |
| 13 | 2:14 | καὶ αὐτὴ εἶπεν                                     | and she said                                                                         |
| 14 | 2:16 | (οἱ καταδιώκοντες) ὀπίσω ὑμῶν                      | (the pursuers) behind you                                                            |
| 15 | 2:18 | καὶ θήσεις τὸ σημεῖον                              | and you will set the sign                                                            |
| 16 | 2:18 | (εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν) σου                               | (to) your (house)                                                                    |
| 17 | 2:19 | (ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀθῶοι) τῷ ὅρκῳ σου<br>τούτῳ              | (we shall be relieved) from this oath of<br>yours                                    |
| 18 | 2:20 | ἐὰν δέ τις ἡμᾶς ἀδικήσῃ                            | but if anyone should wrong us                                                        |
| 19 | 2:20 | (ἐσόμεθα ἀθῶοι τῷ ὅρκῳ σου)<br>τούτῳ               | (we shall be relieved from) this (oath of<br>yours)                                  |
| 20 | 2:21 | (καὶ εἶπεν) αὐτοῖς                                 | (and she said) to them                                                               |

Here too, we find recurrence of the same phrase, for instance, the introduction to direct speeches in verses 2, 3, 14, and 15. In verse 13, we find twice a plus referring to Rahab's house, that is, family. In both verses 9 and 12, we find the plus ὁ θεός after ὁ κυρίως. In a number of cases, a plus in the MT has a parallel in a plus in the LXX somewhat further in the text. The temporal indication "by night" is lacking in the LXX in verse 2 but present as plus vis-à-vis the MT in verse 3. Likewise, the notion of giving a sign appears as a plus in the MT in verse 12 in the mouth of Rahab but as a plus in the LXX in verse 18, now from the mouth of the two spies. Whereas in verse 13, Rahab makes the spies swear to spare also her sisters in the MT, the LXX has instead her ask to spare her whole house. At the turn of verses 19 and 20, the MT has a plus consisting of the idiomatic phrase **אם יד תהיה בו**, "if a hand will be upon him," whereas the LXX has a somewhat similar plus *ἐὰν δέ τις ἡμᾶς ἀδικήσῃ*, "but if anyone should wrong us."

Apart from these quantitative variants between the MT and the LXX of this relatively short chapter, there are a number of qualitative variants. The most striking variant is the indication of the spies, which are referred to in the MT consistently as "(two) men" (**אנשים** [שנים]) but are called "youths" (*νεανίσκοι*) at the beginning (v. 1) and end (v. 23) of the narrative in the LXX and simply as

7. Johannes B. de Rossi, *Variae Lectiones Veteris Testamenti Librorum 2 : Libri Numeri, Deuteronomium, Josue, Judices, Samuel, Reges* (Parma: Typographia regia Parma, 1784–1786 ; repr. Amsterdam: Philo, 1969), 74a.

“them” (αὐτούς) in verse 9. Only in MT Josh 6:23 do we read the corresponding Hebrew designation נֶעֱרִים. Other quantitative variants between the two versions include the following instances:<sup>8</sup>

| Table 6: Quantitative Variants between MT and LXX in Josh 2 |      |                                                                                          |                                                                                        |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| No.                                                         | Vs.  | MT                                                                                       | LXX                                                                                    |
| 1                                                           | 2:1  | מְרַגְלִים (wandering)                                                                   | κατασκοπεῦσαι (spying)                                                                 |
| 2                                                           | 2:1  | וּשְׁכְּבוּ שָׁמָּה (and they lay there)                                                 | καὶ κατέλυσαν ἐκεῖ (and they lodged there)                                             |
| 3                                                           | 2:2  | וַיֹּאמֶר (and it was told)                                                              | καὶ ἀπηγγέλη (and it was reported)                                                     |
| 4                                                           | 2:4  | וַתְּצַפְנוּ (and she hid him)                                                           | ἐκρυψεν αὐτούς (she hid them)                                                          |
| 5                                                           | 2:5  | וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לִסְגּוֹר (and it happened when the gate was to be closed)             | ὥς δὲ ἡ πύλη ἐκλείετο (now when the gate was closed)                                   |
| 6                                                           | 2:5  | כִּי תִשְׁיֹגּוּ (because [or: surely] you will overtake them)                           | εἰ καταλήμψεσθε αὐτούς (if you [want] to overtake them)                                |
| 7                                                           | 2:7  | וַהֲשַׁעַר סָגַר (and they closed the gate)                                              | καὶ ἡ πύλη ἐκλείσθη (and the gate was closed)                                          |
| 8                                                           | 2:8  | וַהֲיָא עָלְתָה עֲלֵהֶם עַל הַגֶּגֶץ (and she went upon them upon the roof)              | καὶ αὐτὴ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα πρὸς αὐτούς (and she went upon the roof to them)            |
| 9                                                           | 2:14 | וַיְהִי בַתָּה יְהוָה לָנוּ אֶת הָאָרֶץ (and it will be when Yhwh gives the land to you) | Ὡς ἂν παραδῷ κύριος ὑμῖν τὴν πόλιν (when the Lord will give the city to you)           |
| 10                                                          | 2:14 | וַעֲשִׂינוּ עִמָּךְ חֶסֶד (and we will do you favor)                                     | ποιήσετε εἰς ἐμέ ἔλεος (you will do me favor)                                          |
| 11                                                          | 2:18 | אֵנָכֵם בָּאִים בָּאָרֶץ (we are coming in the land)                                     | ἡμεῖς εἰσπορευόμεθα εἰς μέρος τῆς πόλεως (we will come into a part of the city)        |
| 12                                                          | 2:19 | כָּל אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִדֹּלְתָי (everyone who will come out of the doors [pl.])             | πᾶς, ὃς ἂν ἐξέλθῃ τὴν θύραν (everyone who goes out of the door [sg.])                  |
| 13                                                          | 2:19 | דָּמוֹ בְּרֹאשׁוֹ (his blood [will be] on his [own] head)                                | ἐνοχος ἑαυτῷ ἔσται (he shall be liable on his own account)                             |
| 14                                                          | 2:19 | דָּמוֹ בְּרֹאשֵׁינוּ (his blood [will be] on our heads)                                  | ἡμεῖς ἐνοχοὶ ἐσόμεθα (we shall be liable)                                              |
| 15                                                          | 2:20 | וְאִם תִּגִּיד אֶת דְּבָרֵנוּ זֶה (and if you will report this word of ours)             | ἢ καὶ ἀποκαλύψῃ τοὺς λόγους ἡμῶν τούτους (or when you will reveal these words of ours) |
| 16                                                          | 2:22 | וַיֵּשְׁבוּ שָׁם שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים (they stayed there three days)                         | καὶ κατέμειναν ἐκεῖ τρεῖς ἡμέρας (they remained there three days)                      |

8. Not included in this list are the variants in names (Yhwh [MT]—the Lord [LXX]; Jehoshua [MT]—Iesous [LXX]; Nun [MT]—Naue [LXX]; Shittim [MT]—Sattin [LXX]; Rahab [MT]—Raab [LXX]) and the position of the causal clause connector (כִּי and ו at the front position of the clause in Hebrew vis-à-vis the postpositive position of Greek γάρ and δέ) since they are ubiquitous in the LXX.

|    |      |                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                      |
|----|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 17 | 2:22 | וּבְקֶשׁוֹ הָרַדְפִּים בְּכָל הָדָרֶךְ (the pursuers searched on the whole way)                            | καὶ ἐξεζήτησαν οἱ καταδιώκοντες πάσας τὰς ὁδοὺς (and the pursuers searched out all the ways)                         |
| 18 | 2:23 | וַיְסַפְּרוּ לוֹ אֶת כָּל הַמִּצְאוֹת אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ (and they told him all the things they had found [out]) | καὶ διηγήσαντο αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτοῖς (and they related to him all the things that had come about to them) |

Again some patterns can be discerned. For instance, the MT in both verse 14 and 18 reflects the expansive view that the Israelites are coming to the land, whereas we find a more accurate statement in the LXX that the Israelites are coming to the city or even a part (μέρος) of it. Furthermore, the Greek version is in two instances more precise than the MT when it comes to reports of the subordinates to their superiors, either the king of Jericho (v. 2, ἀπαγγέλλω) or Joshua (v. 23, διηγέομαι).

The number of these variants as well as the recurrence of the same pluses in the Hebrew and Greek texts almost render it impossible to ascribe these variants to incidental errors in the process of textual transmission, such as *haplography*, *homoioteleuton*, and *homoioarcton*. It is far more likely that one version is a deliberate reworking of the other. This brings me therefore back to the question I dealt with in my previous research: Is the longer text of the MT the result of a long-stretched process of the formation of the authoritative text, or is the different Greek text the result of reformulation of the redundant and layered Hebrew text?

## 1. STATUS QUAESTIONIS

The first scholar to treat these variants in a comprehensive way was Samuel Holmes in his epoch-making study *Joshua: The Hebrew and Greek Texts*.<sup>9</sup> Whereas scholars before (and after) him had dealt with the variants between the Hebrew and Greek texts on an individual basis and had treated them as “interpolations” (*Glossen*) in the Hebrew text<sup>10</sup> or deliberate curtailments or occasional expansions introduced by the Greek translator,<sup>11</sup> Holmes approached the pluses in the MT in a comprehensive way, which, in his view, “display the work of a Hebrew reviser who imagined he was improving the text.”<sup>12</sup> The fact

9. Samuel Holmes, *Joshua: The Hebrew and Greek Texts* (Cambridge: University Press, 1914).

10. See most critical commentaries on Joshua.

11. Johannes Hollenberg, *Der Charakter der alexandrinischen Uebersetzung des Buches Josua und ihr textkritischer Werth untersucht* (Moers: Eckner, 1876); August Dillmann, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua*, KEH 13 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1886), 445–49.

12. Holmes, *Joshua*, 3.

that the phrase אשר השבעתנו, “[the oath] that you have made us swear,” appears twice as plus in the MT in verses 17 and 20 excludes the possibility of incidental omissions. The fact that the Greek translator added the phrase τῷ ὅρκῳ σου τούτῳ in the clause ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀβήσοι τῷ ὅρκῳ σου τούτῳ in 2:19, makes it highly probable that the Greek translator was only responsible for amplifying additions, not drastic curtailments, thus Holmes.<sup>13</sup>

In more recent times, Holmes’s thesis of a second edition of the Hebrew text of Joshua as reflected by the variants (mainly: pluses) in the MT vis-à-vis the LXX has been elaborated by Harry Orlinsky, A. Graeme Auld, and especially Emanuel Tov.<sup>14</sup> Tov argues that the variants in the book of Joshua reflect a second edition of the book akin to what he considers to be the re-edition of the book of Jeremiah in the MT and related witnesses vis-à-vis an earlier edition of the book attested by Qumran scrolls (4QJer<sup>b</sup> and 4QJer<sup>d</sup>) and the LXX version of that book.<sup>15</sup> Comparable to the many small pluses in the MT of Jeremiah, which Tov labels as exegetical, harmonizing and amplifying additions,<sup>16</sup> the pluses in the MT of Josh 2 are characterized by him as “harmonizing additions” (e.g., the plus שני, “two,” in v. 4 imported from v. 1; the plus האנשים, “the men,” in v. 5b taken from 5a; the plus in 2:9 וכי נמנו כל, “and that all the inhabitants of the land melt in fear before you,” taken from 2:24; and the plus in 2:21 וילכו ותקשר את תקות השני בחלון, “they went and she tied the scarlet cord at the window,” taken from 2:18), “contextual additions” (e.g., the plus חרש, “secretly,” in 2:1, and the plus בחבל, “by a rope,” in 2:15), and “emphasis” (e.g., the plus מהר, “quickly,” in 2:5; and the plus אשר השבעתנו, “that you have made us swear,” in 2:17 [and 2:20 as well]). According to Tov, the additional information provided by the plus in 2:4 ולא ידעתי מאין המה, “and I do not know where they came from”)

13. Ibid., 3, 21.

14. Harry M. Orlinsky, “The Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint of the Book of Joshua,” in *Congress Volume, Rome 1968*, VTSup 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 187–95; A. Graeme Auld, “Joshua: The Hebrew and Greek Texts,” in *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament*, ed. John A. Emerton, VTSup 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 1–14; repr. in *Joshua Retold: Synoptic Perspectives*, ed. A. Graeme Auld, OTS (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 7–18; A. Graeme Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Nauē in Codex Vaticanus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 94–102.

15. Emanuel Tov, “The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,” in *Studies in Bible 1986*, ed. Sara Japhet, ScrHier 31 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986), 321–39; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 294–99; see further my *Formation and Reformulation*, 50–58.

16. Emanuel Tov, “The Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in Light of Its Textual History,” in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, ed. Jeffrey H. Tigay (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 211–237; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 286–94.

should be labeled as a substantial addition aiming to provide Rahab an opportunity to justify her deeds. Likewise, the information provided by the plus in 2:15 *כי ביתה בקיר החומה ובחומה היא יושבת*—“because her house was on top of the wall and she was living on the wall”—in itself already a tautological remark—should also be seen as a secondary addition by the Hebrew editor responsible for layer II meant to explain how the spies could leave the city unseen. The picture that emerges from Tov’s analysis of the alleged re-edition as a harmonizing and amplifying addition of relatively harmless details corresponds neatly what in modern historical-literary criticism has become known as “*Fortschreibung*” or “progressive supplementation”: the idea that the formation of biblical books is a rather gradual and long-stretched anonymous process of successive additions of small elements and subsequent expansions.

Plausible as this theory in itself may seem, it does not quite fit the data provided by the Hebrew and Greek texts of Joshua. For one, the theory of a re-edition of Josh 2 provided by the pluses in the MT does not account for all the literary-critical tensions and doublets, out of which the repetition of the oath-making and sending away of the spies before and after verse 15 is probably the most striking. One wonders what could have been the purpose of several redundant and contradicting alleged additions in verse 3 (the reduplication of the element of the spies coming to Rahab), in verse 21 (the scarlet cord at the window), and in verse 22 (the return of the pursuers). More important, this theory does not seem to take into full account the creative contribution of the Greek translator, which not only applies to the numerous small additions in the Greek text of Joshua, but also to several examples of stylistic shortening of which Tov also provides a striking example in Josh 4:14 (*ויראו אתו כאשר יראו* ) *ואλ ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν ὡς περ Μωυσῆς*—*את משה*—*אλ ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν ὡς περ Μωυσῆς*).<sup>17</sup> In an earlier article, Tov had demonstrated examples of what he calls “midrash-type exegesis in the Septuagint of Joshua.”<sup>18</sup> The fact that the Greek translator identifies the two spies as “youths” (*νεανίσκας*) in LXX Josh 2:1, 23 as well as in 6:22, whereas only in 6:23 does the Hebrew text specifies these men (*אנשים*) as youths (*נערים*), testifies not only to his thorough familiarity of the whole book, but also to his willingness to harmonize these references across whole chapters of the book, akin to the *gezarah šavah* principle known from rabbinic sources.<sup>19</sup>

If, however, the change of “men” to “youths” can be attributed to the Greek translator, one wonders why the omission of the contextual somewhat superfluous references to these same two men in the cases that Tov dubs as harmonizing additions in verses 4 and 5 cannot also be attributed to the same creative reformulation of the Greek translation. This is precisely the point where

17. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 119.

18. Emanuel Tov, “Midrash-Type Exegesis in the Septuagint of Joshua,” *RevB* 85 (1978): 50–61.

19. Ibid., 52 (155); cf. Hollenberg, *Charakter*, 5; Holzinger, *Josua*, 3.



the analysis of the variants in Josh 2 by Klaus Bieberstein sets in.<sup>20</sup> Although Bieberstein explains this variant in terms of a later leveling of the MT, he too takes many individual variants together, but—contrary to Tov—finds evidence for shortening and leveling on the Greek level for most of the variants in Josh 2. In the case of the long plus in 2:15, which locates Rahab's house at the city wall, Bieberstein is able to explain the shorter Greek text with the aid of archaeology: the Hebrew text presupposes the Iron Age casemate wall four-room livings which had become obsolete in the Persian and Hellenistic periods and were unknown in the Egyptian Delta where cities usually lacked city walls. Hence the clause was omitted as cumbersome by the Greek translator.<sup>21</sup> In other cases, the Greek translator tried to avoid the numerous duplications and redundancies of the parent Hebrew text as attested by the MT and reflects "eine sehr deutliche Tendenz zu Kürzungen und Zusammenfassungen," according to Bieberstein.<sup>22</sup>

In the most recent contribution to the Greek version of Josh 2, Theo van der Louw scrutinizes rather harshly Septuagint scholars for not taking into account the work done in the field of translation studies.<sup>23</sup> On the basis of a comparison of the Greek versions of the Rahab narrative in the Septuagint and in Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* (5.1-15) and on the basis of a study of (the absence) of typically Classical Greek syntactical constructions such as *hypotaxis*, *participium coniunctum*, *genitive absolute*, and clause coordinating particles like μέν ... δέ, and τέ ... καί, van der Louw concludes that the competence of the Greek translator is rather poor and that "the professed admiration for Joshua's translator has no scholarly basis, but is rather a scholar's self-congratulation on the worthiness of his research topic."<sup>24</sup> Although it is true that Josh 2 lacks the genuine Greek syntactical constructions that can be found elsewhere in LXX Joshua,<sup>25</sup> one wonders whether it is fair to judge both the Greek translator of

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20. Klaus Bieberstein, *Josua—Jordan—Jericho: Archäologie, Geschichte und Theologie der Landnahmeerzählungen Josua 1–6*, OBO 143 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 105–24.

21. Ibid., 116.

22. Ibid., 123.

23. Theo A. W. van der Louw, "Translator's Competence and Intention in LXX-Joshua 2," in van Ruiten and de Vos, *Land of Israel in Bible, History, and Theology*, 3–18. See also van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*, CBET 47 (Louvain: Peeters, 2007).

24. Van der Louw, "Translator's Competence," 6.

25. See Cornelis G. den Hertog, "Studien zur griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua" (Ph.D. thesis, Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, 1996); Jaqueline Moatti-Fine, *Jésus (Josué)*, La Bible d'Alexandrie 16 (Paris: Cerf, 1996); Seppo Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom: Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Joshua and Judges regarding the Clause Connections Introduced by ו and וְ*, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 75 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999).

Joshua and modern Septuagint scholars on the basis of literary Greek texts of the Classical and so-called Second Sophist period instead of the Greek attested in contemporary *Koine* documentary papyri and Greek inscriptions, which also lack these literary features. One might even wonder whether the absence of these features is indeed the result of an “easy technique,” as formulated by James Barr, or rather a not-so-easy effort to avoid such indispensable clause connectors.<sup>26</sup>

Although van der Louw too ascribes quite a number of the variants between the MT and the LXX in Josh 2 to the Greek translation, he argues that these transformations are not due to the competence and intention of the Greek translator, but rather the result of translation universals. In his view, for instance, the transformation in 2:4 from the Hebrew phrase וַתֹּאמֶר בֶּן (into the Greek phrase καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς λέγουσα instead of \*καὶ εἶπεν Οὕτως as well as the plus in 2:10 ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου are the result of “the translator’s familiarity with the Pentateuch and its phraseology,”<sup>27</sup> which apparently has nothing to do with his competence or intention, but is seen as unconscious influence upon a translator, who, in van der Louw, “had no previous experience in translating or interpreting, as witnesses his unfamiliarity with linguistic translation problems and his untrained short term memory” and who apparently did not look beyond “the boundaries of the segment (read: clause) he was working on.”<sup>28</sup> The latter point is proven, according to van der Louw, by the fact that the addition of the word αὐτοῖς in 2:4 (see above) grammatically refers to the spies instead of the agents of the king.

Although van der Louw denies much competence and intention to the Greek translator of Joshua, he does attribute to him a certain disapproval for rendering the third person demonstrative pronoun הוּא in 2:11 in the phrase (כִּי יְהוֹה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם) הוּא (אֱלֹהִים בְּשֵׁמִים) as the options chosen by the Greek translators of Deuteronomy (7:9 καὶ γινώσῃ ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεός σου οὗτος θεός) or Psalms (99[100]:3 ὠνῶτε ὅτι κύριος αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ θεός) was dismissed, “probably because he found it awkward.”<sup>29</sup> If the Greek Pentateuch exerted unconscious influence upon the Greek translator of Joshua, it must have been rather selective.

According to van der Louw, many omissions in the Greek text of Josh 2 can be explained as the result of logical reasoning by the Greek translator. The omission of a rendering for Hebrew הֵנָּה in verse 2 is due to the simple fact that there is nothing to see for the king of Jericho. The absence of a rendering for הלילה, which in Hebrew not only means “night” but also “nightfall” or

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26. See Michaël N. van der Meer, “The Use and Non-Use of the Particle οὐν in the Septuagint,” in *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus*, ed. Kristin De Troyer, Timothy Michael Law, and Marketta Liljeström, CBET 72 (Louvain: Peeters, 2014), 151–71.

27. Van der Louw, “Translator’s Competence,” 9–10.

28. Ibid., 17–18.

29. Ibid., 11.

“evening,” can be explained from the fact that the spies arrived at Jericho before the city gates were closed at night. A literal translation of הלילה by Greek νύξ would not have worked but should have been substituted by ὀψίας (thus Josephus) or τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ.<sup>30</sup> A literal rendering of the word מי in 2:10 (כי הוביש) would have created an *oxymoron*, since the word καταξηραίνω already implies the notion of drying up water and does not appear in collocation in ancient Greek sources with ὕδωρ, which would have been the literal translation of the Hebrew word מי.<sup>31</sup> Something similar would account for the omission of the notion of secrecy in 2:1 (חרש), which is already implied in the meaning of the equally rare Greek verb κατασκοπεύω.<sup>32</sup> In 2:1, the translator added the short clause (καὶ πορευθέντες) εἰσῆλθον οἱ δύο νεανίσκοι εἰς Ιεριχώ in order to avoid the impression that the two men disobeyed Joshua’s orders and went straightaway to the prostitutes as soon as they had the opportunity. In 2:22, the Greek translator probably omitted the Hebrew phrase עד שבו הרדפים because the hiding spies could not have known when their pursuers had returned and because the search is mentioned in the Hebrew text (ויבקשו הרדפים בכל) (הדרך) after this sentence.<sup>33</sup>

Van der Louw concludes that if intention is to be attributed to the Greek translator, it must have been more or less the same intention as he himself as Bible translator has when trying to render the authoritative text in an understandable manner and avoid possible misunderstandings.<sup>34</sup> The method of omission is then the quickest solution of a not-so-very competent translator. Although van der Louw discusses several other omissions in the Greek text, he does not discuss the larger pluses in the MT in 2:4 (ולא ידעתי מאין המה) 2:17, 20 (וכי נמגו כל ישרי הארץ מפניכם) 2:9 (אשר השבעתנו)

30. Ibid., 12.

31. Ibid., 12–13. The Greek verb καταξηραίνω occurs in the Septuagint only here, in Jdt 5:13 and LXX Hos 13:15. Outside the Septuagint, the verb occurs in the works of Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Plutarch, Hippocrates, Galenus, Athenaeus, and later Greek writers but not in direct collocation with ὕδωρ.

32. A TLG search on this lemma shows that it occurs almost exclusively in the Septuagint (LXX Gen 42:30; LXX Exod 2:4; LXX Deut 1:24; LXX Jos 2:1, 2, 3; 6:22, 23, 25, 25; 14:7; and 1 Macc. 5:38), the Alexander Romance, and later patristic literature. Joachim J. Krause, “Vor wem soll die Auskundschaftung Jerichos geheim gehalten werden? Eine Frage zu Josua 2:1,” *VT* 62 (2012): 454–56, discusses the suggestions made in the past to interpret the apparently tautological phrase “secretly” as referring to Joshua’s aim to keep the reconnaissance of the land secret to the Israelites. But the Hebrew adverb חרש does not qualify the verb שלח, and רגל and the latter verb does not mean primarily “to spy,” but rather “to move,” *HALOT* 1184a, hence the Hebrew expression is not tautological.

33. Van der Louw, “Translator’s Competence,” 13–14.

34. Ibid., 17–20.

Holmes, Tov, and others attribute to a second Hebrew edition.<sup>35</sup> Illuminative and convincing as van der Louw's observations in many instances may be, it does not solve my question of formation versus reformulation completely.

## 2. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Thus far, we have seen two main positions regarding the question whether the numerous quantitative variants between the MT and the LXX in Josh 2 should be attributed to the process of formation of the Hebrew text or to reformulation from the part of the Greek translator. Holmes, Tov, and others have opted for the first possibility, Bieberstein and van der Louw have adduced arguments for the second option. Since, however, no scholar has defended a single exclusive interpretation that would fit all the variants, but also have allowed for the alternative solution in a few cases,<sup>36</sup> the question remains how to discern a redaction or re-edition of the Hebrew text of Joshua on the basis of ambivalent textual data? Holmes, Tov, and others define such a re-edition on the basis of coherence and quantity. In Tov's words, "It is assumed that large-scale differences displaying a certain coherence were created at the level of literary growth of the books by persons who considered themselves actively involved in the literary process of composition."<sup>37</sup> Hence, what constitutes the difference between individual cases of anonymous interpolations (*Glossen*) and a re-edition is the size and coherence of the various variants. Whereas such a coherence is marked by a distinctive ideology expressed by a distinctive vocabulary, as is, for instance, apparent from the Deuteronomistic and Priestly layers in the books Genesis to 2 Kings and in the book of Jeremiah, such coherence is rather weak in the case of perceived tendencies as "emphasis," "addition of small details," "contextual exegesis," and "harmonization," as adduced by Tov.

In earlier studies, I proposed to tackle the redaction-critical problem at stake here by taking the rather unusual measure to invert the traditional order of so-

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35. Ibid., 11, n. 49, leaves the possibility open that these larger pluses in MT are the result of additions on the Hebrew level.

36. Holmes, *Joshua*, 20, allows for the possibility of condensed Greek rendering in the case of 2:6 מֵהָרֶם—καταδύσας. Tov, "Midrash-Type Exegesis," attributes some interpretative creativity to the Greek translator in the case of 2:1, 23, 6:22 where אֲנִישִׁים is rendered by νεάνισκοι (= נַעֲרִים 6:23), whereas in the case of the quantitative variants he denies such freedom to the Greek translator. Bieberstein, on the other hand, ascribes almost all the quantitative variants to curtailment by the Greek translator, but denies him this specific qualitative variant. Van der Louw attributes most of the variants to "economy of labour rather than a principle of curtailment" ("Translator's Competence, 17) and leaves the possibility of additions in MT open.

37. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 2nd ed. (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 314. Cf. 3rd ed. 283–85.

called lower and higher criticism and search for an answer to the text-critical issues on the basis of a redaction-critical passage of the Hebrew text as shared by the MT and the LXX *in its own right*.<sup>38</sup> Although the question of the literary formation of the chapter is no less complicated as its textual history, a survey of several attempts to describe the literary history of Josh 2 will show that it is possible to establish an intersubjective basis for assessing the question whether the variants reflect yet another redactional layer in the literary history of the book or turn the Greek version into a new formulation of the narrative.<sup>39</sup>

### 3. THE LITERARY HISTORY OF JOSHUA 2

Johannes Hollenberg's 1874 examination of the Deuteronomistic portions in the book of Joshua provides a good starting-point for such a survey.<sup>40</sup> Hollenberg found a Deuteronomistic redaction in the sense of "Hinzufügung" and "Überarbeitung" in Josh 2:9-11. Rahab's confession in 2:11b is almost identical to that of Deut 4:39 (as well as 1 Kgs 8:23):

Table 7: Comparison of Deuteronomistic Confessions

|            |                                         |                          |
|------------|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Josh 2:11b | אלהים בשמים ממעל ועל הארץ מתחת          | כי יהוה אלהים (הוא)      |
| Deut 4:39  | האלהים בשמים ממעל ועל הארץ מתחת אין עוד | כי יהוה הוא              |
| 1 Kgs 8:23 | אלהים בשמים ממעל ועל הארץ מתחת          | יהוה אלהי ישראל אין כמוך |

Rahab's reference to the fate of the kings of Sihon and Og (ואשר עשיתם לשני מלכי) (אשר החרמתם אותם) corresponds in vocabulary and portrayal with the version presented in Deut 2:31-3:10 by means of the notion of the "ban" (חרם Hiph'il; Deut 2:34; 3:6, 6), whereas the apparently older account in Num 21:10 does not relate such complete destruction. Likewise, the idea of the fear befalling the autochthonous inhabitants of Canaan as expressed in 2:9 has a counterpart in Deut 2:25, although even closer parallels are provided by Exod 15:16 and 23:27:

Table 8: Comparison of Expressions Concerning Fear Befalling the Canaanites

|           |                                                                                        |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Josh 2:9  | וכי נפלה אימתכם עלינו (וכי נמגו כל ישבי הארץ מפניכם)                                   |
| Deut 2:25 | היום הזה אחל תת פחדך ויראתך על פני העמים תחת כל השמים אשר ישמעון שמעך ורגזו וחלו מפניך |

38. See Arie van der Kooij, "Zum Verhältnis von Textkritik und Literarkritik: Überlegungen anhand einiger Beispiele," in *Congress Volume, Cambridge 1995*, ed. John A. Emerton, VTSup 66 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 185–202 and further my *Formation and Reformulation*, 155–59.

39. For a survey of past scholarship see Bieberstein, *Josua*, 101–5, and Ed Noort, *Das Buch Josua: Forschungsgeschichte und Problemfelder*, EdF 292 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998), 131–46.

40. Hollenberg, "Deuteronomistischen Bestandtheile," esp. 490–91.

Exod 15:16

תפל עליהם אימתה ופחד בגדל זרועך ידמו כאבן

Exod 23:27 את אימתי אשלח לפניך והמתי את כל העם אשר תבא בהם ונתתי את כל איביך

אליך ערף

On the basis of the parallel between Josh 2:9 and 2:24, Hollenberg concluded that the latter verse also belongs to the same Deuteronomistic redaction. Hollenberg's conclusions were adopted by Abraham Kuenen and Julius Wellhausen. They ascribed the remainder of the chapter to the pre-Deuteronomistic JE source on the basis of the location Shittim mentioned in Num 25:1, whereas the Deuteronomistic and Priestly layers of the Pentateuch place the camp of the Israelites closer to the river Jordan in the fields of Moab. Many other adherents to the Newer Documentary hypothesis adopted Hollenberg's ascription of verses 9–11 and 24 to a Deuteronomistic redactor but found highly divergent solutions for the attribution of the pre-Deuteronomistic material either JE (Wellhausen); J and E (August Dillmann, E. Albers, S. Oettli, Heinrich Holzinger); E, J<sub>1</sub>, and J<sub>2</sub> (Rudolf Smend sr.); or L and J (Otto Eißfeldt).<sup>41</sup> As many observed, the speech of Rahab to the spies in verses 17–21 duplicate much of the preceding verse 12–14 and lag behind the narrative sequence as verse 15 already reports that Rahab had helped escape the spies through her window. A long conversation out of the window (or either in the streets of Jericho or outside the city wall) fits rather awkwardly in the narrative. Hence Carl Steuernagel, Holzinger, Wilhelm Rudolph, and others considered verses 17–21 to be later additions to the original narrative.<sup>42</sup>

Although Martin Noth's thesis of a Deuteronomistic History work drastically changed Old Testament scholarship, it had little consequences for the analysis of Josh 2. Noth ascribed the Deuteronomistic passages to his Deuteronomistic author and the remainder to the older work of his ninth century BCE Gilgal *Sammler* (compiler) with later additions (9b, 10b, 14a<sub>2</sub>, 14b, and 17b).<sup>43</sup> A very thorough but to many scholars hyper-critical fresh redaction-critical analysis was offered by Johannes Floß in his aforementioned dissertation

41. See Bieberstein, *Josua*, 101–5.

42. Carl Steuernagel, *Übersetzung und Erklärung der Bücher Deuteronomium und Josua und allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, HKAT 1.3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900), 156–59: E<sup>1</sup>: basic narrative; E<sup>2</sup>: 17–21; Rd (Deuteronomistic redaction): 9b–11, Heinrich Holzinger, *Das Buch Josua*, KHCAT 6 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1901), 3–6: J: 4a, 8a, 12b, 17–21\*; E: 1–3\*, 4b–7, 8b, 12a, 13–16, 22–23; D: 9b–11, 24, and numerous *Glossen*; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Josua*, BZAW 68 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1938), 165–69: J: 1–9a, 12a, 13–16, 20, 22–23; D ("deuteronomistische Zutat"): 9b–11, 24; later addition: 17–21.

43. Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im alten Testament*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1957), 41–42; Martin Noth, *Das Buch Josua*, 2nd ed., HAT 1.7 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), 29–31.

*Kunden oder Kundschafter?*<sup>44</sup> Floß distinguishes three successive literary layers each with their own literary accretions and secondary interpolations: layer I consists of verses 1-3, 4b, 5-6, 15-16, 22-23, with additions 4b, 7; layer II: verses 8-9a, 11a, 12, 13b-14, with additions 9b-10, 11b, 13a; and layer III: 17a, 18-19, 21, with additions 17b, 20, and with 24 as even later addition.<sup>45</sup> After delimiting these successive layers, Floß examines the syntactic structure of these layers and tentatively combines the three layers with the Göttingen Deuteronomistic History hypothesis, which discerns besides a Deuteronomistic history basic layer (DtrH) a prophetic layer (DtrP) and a nomistic layer (DtrN).<sup>46</sup>

Although Floß differs in many details with his predecessors, his redaction-critical analysis too is based upon the observation that between verses 16 and 17 a major literary-critical tension can be discerned and that the theologically imbued verses 9b-11 and 24 somehow reflect later additions to the original narrative. These observations apparently remain fundamental to the redaction-critical analysis of this chapter, whether one pleads for a return to the Hexateuch hypothesis (François Langlamet),<sup>47</sup> a premonarchical *massot* festival (Eckart Otto),<sup>48</sup> dismisses the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis as “ein Irrweg der Forschung” precisely on the basis of this chapter and its preparation in Num 20:14ff, 21:21, 22-24; 25:1; and Deut 34:5ff. (Reinhard Kratz),<sup>49</sup> or defends its existence by considering all non-Deuteronomistic (*olim* J) elements to be post-Deuteronomistic additions (John Van Seters).<sup>50</sup>

44. Johannes P. Floss, *Kunden oder Kundschafter? Literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung zu Jos 2*, Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 16, 26 (St Ottilien: EOS, 1982, 1986).

45. Floß, *Kunden*, 1:79; 2:144–56.

46. Rudolph Smend jr., *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments*, 2nd ed., Theologische Wissenschaft 1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1981); see also my *Formation and Reformulation*, 121–34; 145–52.

47. François Langlamet, “Josué II et les traditions de l’hexateuque,” *RevB* 78 (1971): 5–17, 161–83, 321–54.

48. Eckart Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal*, BWANT 107 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1975), 87–88; J: 1–10a, 11–24. Otto considers only v. 10b to be a Deuteronomistic addition, whereas the remainder could easily be ascribed to J on the basis of the correspondence between Josh 2:17, 19, 20, and Gen 24:41 regarding the indemnity clause (נָקִים אֲנַחְנוּ מִשְׁבַּעֲתָךְ).

49. Reinhard G. Kratz, *Die Komposition der erzählenden Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 10, 112, 118, 129–38, 152, 193–221 (“Irrweg der Forschung”). According to Kratz the original Hexateuch narrative of Josh 2 consists of vv. 1–7, 15–16, 22–23.

50. John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 325. Cf. Martin Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist: Untersuchungen zu den Berührungspunkten*

When one studies the redaction-critical seam in Josh 2:17ff., one wonders whether the literary history of this chapter is really adequately served by distracting a pristine narrative and depleting everything that seems to disturb a logical reading of the passage when one starts from the beginning, because such procedure does not explain why verses 17–21 were added.<sup>51</sup>

A fresh look at the literary history of Josh 2 makes clear that the tensions and doublets are not restricted to parts of verses 17–21 only, nor that the universally recognized Deuteronomistic addition is restricted to the core of verse 10b. In fact, only the outer frame of the narrative, that is, the arrival of the spies in Jericho and their hiding by Rahab and Rahab's deceit of the king's men (vv. 1–6) and the hiding of the spies outside Jericho and their safe return to the camp (vv. 22–23a), is narrated only once in this chapter. Both the discourse between Rahab and the spies (v. 7–21) and the discourse between the spies and Joshua (vv. 23b–24) are presented twice in this chapter, as the following synopsis makes clear:<sup>52</sup>

| Table 9: Comparison Josh 2:9–15 (“Version I”) and Josh 2:16–21 (“Version II”) |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |     |                      |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|
| Subject                                                                       | Version I (2:9–15)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Vs. | Version II (2:16–21) | Vs. |
| Rahab to spies                                                                | ותאמר אל האנשים [להם]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |     | ותאמר להם            | 16  |
| exposition                                                                    | ידעתי<br>כי נתן יהוה לכם את הארץ<br>וכי נפלה אימתכם עלינו<br>(וכי נמגו כל ישבי הארץ<br>מפניכם)<br>כי שמענו את<br>אשר הוביש יהוה את (מי) ים<br>סוף מפניכם<br>בצאתכם ממצרים<br>ואשר עשיתם לשני מלכי<br>האמרי<br>אשר בעבר הירדן לסיחון ולעוג<br>אשר החרמתם אותם | 10  |                      |     |

*beider Literaturwerke*, AThANT 67 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1981), 132–46; José Luis Sicre, *Josué*, Nueva Biblia Española (Estella: Verbo Divino, 2002), 116(–119).

51. This applies also to the redaction-critical analysis by Bieberstein, *Josua-Jordan-Jericho*, 124–35, who considers vv. 17–21 together with 10c–11a to be “Zusätze” to a pristine narrative (C<sub>1</sub>) in vv. 1–9c, 12–16 22–24 with a Priestly redaction (R<sub>p</sub>) in vv. 9d–11.

52. I have bracketed ( ) in the unvocalized Hebrew text of Josh 2 all elements in MT that are absent from LXX. Where LXX has a different or longer reading I have placed my own retroversion of the Greek into Hebrew between square brackets []. Since the doublets mainly pertain to direct speech, I have marked all direct speech by means of two vertical lines at the right-hand side of the Hebrew texts.



|                   |                                                                                                                                             |    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                   | ונשמע<br>וימס לבבנו<br>ולא קמה עוד רוח באיש<br>מפניכם<br>כי יהוה אלהיכם (הוא) אלהים<br>בשמים ממעל ועל הארץ<br>מתחת                          | 11 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Rahab's message   | ועתה<br>השבעו נא לי ביהוה<br>כי עשיתי עמכם חסד<br>ועשיתם גם אתם עם בית אבי<br>חסד<br>ונתתם לי אות אמת                                       | 12 | ההרהר לכו<br>פן יפגעו בכם הרדפים<br>ונחבתם שמה שלשת<br>ימים<br>עד שוב הרדפים ]<br>+אחריכם]                                                                                                                                                                            |
|                   | והחיתם את אבי ואת אמי ואת<br>אחי ואת אחותי ואת כל<br>אשר להם<br>והצלתם את נפשתינו ממות                                                      | 13 | ואחר תלכו לדרככם                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| response of spies | ויאמרו לה האנשים                                                                                                                            | 14 | 17 ויאמרו אליה האנשים                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| indemnity clause  |                                                                                                                                             |    | נקים אנחנו משבעתך<br>הזה<br>(אשר השבעתנו)                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| instruction       |                                                                                                                                             |    | 18 הנה<br>אנחנו באים בארץ<br>[בקצה העיר]<br>[ונתתה את אות]<br>את תקות חוט השני הזה<br>תקשרי בחלון<br>אשר הורדתנו בו<br>ואת אביך ואת אמך ואת<br>אחיד ואת כל בית<br>אביך תאספי אליך<br>הביתה<br>והיה<br>כל<br>אשר יצא מדלת(י) ביתך<br>החוצה<br>דמו בראשו<br>ואנחנו נקים |
| vouching by spies | נפשנו תחתיכם למות<br>(אם לא תגידו את דברנו זה)<br>והיה [ותאמר]<br>בתת יהוה לנו [לכם] את הארץ<br>[עיר]<br>ועשינו עמך [ועשיתם לי] חסד<br>ואמת |    | 19 וכל<br>אשר יהיה אתך בבית<br>דמו בראשו                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

|                  |                                                                           |    |                                                                                                                      |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| indemnity clause | (אם יד תהיה בו) [אם ירשענו]                                               |    |                                                                                                                      |
|                  | ואם תגיד את דברנו זה והיינו נקים משבעתך (אשר השבעתנו)                     | 20 |                                                                                                                      |
| Rahab's reply    | ותאמר [להם]                                                               | 21 |                                                                                                                      |
|                  | כדברים כן הוא                                                             |    |                                                                                                                      |
| spies leave      | ותורדם בחבל בעד החלון (כי ביתה בקיר החומה ובחומה היא יושבת)               | 15 | ותשלחם (וילכו ותקשר את תקות השני בחלון)                                                                              |
| spies hide       |                                                                           | 22 | וילכו ויבאו ההרה וישבו שם שלשת ימים עד שבו הרדפים ויבקשו הרדפים בכל הדרך ולא מצאו וישבו שני האנשים וירדו מההר ויעברו |
| report to Joshua | ויאמרו אל יהושע כי נתן יהוה בידנו את כל הארץ וגם נמגו כל ישבי הארץ מפנינו | 24 | ויבאו אל יהושע בן נון ויספרו לו את כל המצאות אותם                                                                    |

The two versions share the following items: both start with a speech from Rahab directed to the spies (I: 9-13; II: 16), note the spies reply (I: 14; II: 17-20) by pledging their lives (I: 14b; II: 19b), and contain a report to Joshua (II: 23b; I: 24). More important than this global correspondence is the inner coherence in presentation and vocabulary of the two distinct versions.

Version II centers around the pledge (שבועה) of the spies to Rahab with a relatively short introduction and reply by Rahab (2:16). Although in the present context this oath seems to refer back to verse 12, it is also possible to interpret the demonstrative pronoun *הזה* in verse 17 as kataphorically, that is, referring to what follows immediately afterwards, rather than anaphorically.<sup>53</sup> Likewise, the perfect in the clause *אשר השבעתנו* in the same verse 17 can be understood as performative, rather than perfect.<sup>54</sup> The translation of 2:17b should thus be: "We will be relieved from the following pledge which we hereby swear."

53. Wolfgang Schneider, *Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch: Ein Lehrbuch*, 6th ed. (München: Claudius, 1985) § 52.6.3.4; Bruce K. Waltke and Michael O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), § 17.3d.

54. Schneider, *Grammatik*, § 48.6.2; Waltke-O'Connor, *Syntax*, § 30.5.1d.

The pledge itself is relatively long (2:17-20) and starts and concludes with a sort of escape clause characterized by the threefold use of the word נקי ("relieved") for which a striking parallel is provided by the Yabneh Yam (Meshad Hashavyahu) ostrakon dating from the (last third of the) seventh century BCE:<sup>55</sup>

KAI 200, 11: בל אחי יענו לי אמן נקתי, "[All] my colleagues will testify for me (that) truly I am innocent of guilt."

The pledge is further characterized by the twofold use of the expression דם בראש, "(my/his) blood will be on (my/his) head." This version ties in with the subsequent narrative by means of the word repetitions of ההר, "the mountain(eous region)" (2:16, 22-23) and רדף, "pursue" (2:16, 22). This version centers around the theme of escape: the two men want to escape from their pursuers, but also from their oath to a prostitute who helps them with their physical escape.

The other version (I: 2:9-14), by contrast, places all emphasis on the pledge by Rahab in which she expresses Deuteronomistic expressions of faith. The oath by the spies is formulated here (2:14) by means of another formula: נפשנו תחתיכם למות. What is more important is that in contradistinction to version II, which relates a purely secular arrangement, version I transforms the story into a theological one by introducing no less than five times the divine name. The Deuteronomistic expression that Yhwh gives the land (2:9 נתן יהוה את הארץ) frames this passage as it returns both in verse 2:14 (בתת לנו את הארץ) and at the end of the whole chapter in verse 24 (כי נתן בידנו את כל הארץ).<sup>56</sup> Together with this theological dimension, a universal dimension is introduced. Whereas version II has a very local scope, version I introduces heaven and earth (2:11). Whereas version II can be read as a meeting that takes place somewhere within the city (a place where one normally would expect the house of a prostitute), version I locates the story at the border between pagan Canaan and triumphant Yahwistic Israel.

The logical inference from these observations would then be that verses 17ff. do not constitute a disturbing, secondary addition, but the continuation of the original story and that the Deuteronomistic redaction of this narrative (version I) constitutes not only verse 10, verses 9-11, or the like, but the whole of verses 9-15 as well as verse 24. An original trickster narrative of outsiders

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55. See F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, J. J. M. Roberts, C. L. Seow, R. E. Whitaker, *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 357–70; HALOT 720b–721; G. Warmuth, "נָקִי nāqī נִקְיָן nīqqājōn," *ThWAT* 5:591–602).

56. See Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 341–43.

finding shelter and refuge on the roof of the house of another outsider was transformed into a conversion story that encompasses the whole country, the whole Israelite nation and their God who rules heaven and earth. Whereas in the older version Rahab presents herself as pretty ignorant (2:4-5: ידעתי “no idea where they came from or where they went”), in the later Deuteronomistic version Rahab knows (ידעתי) all she needs to know to save herself and her family. The notion of fear for discovery that permeates the older narrative is transformed into fear of the foreigners for the Israelites.

Historical or narrative plausibility was apparently not a major concern for this Deuteronomistic redactor. Not only does this redactor leave his reader wonder how Rahab could have known all she confesses to know, but he also introduces gross exaggerations when he let the spies claim that “all the inhabitants of the land tremble before the Israelites.” As José Luis Sicre acutely remarks, the spies who were supposed to scout unknown territory have done nothing else but hiding (either on the roof or in the mountains).<sup>57</sup> What they report in verse 24 is something Joshua had learnt in the previous chapter from a much more reliable source, namely, Yhwh himself.

In light of this, it is not difficult to see verse 15, including the plus in the MT, as a somewhat fanciful creation of this redactor. Read without the explanation in verse 15, the הלון of verse 18 through which the spies ask to escape, might just as well be the back door of the house instead of the window in a tower chamber. The reference in verse 19 (cf. 6:23) to חוצה, “outdoors,” ἔξω, or “on the street” fits better with such a location of the house of the prostitute in the city. The knot of scarlet threads (תקות [חוט] השני) by which the escape door is marked (2:18, 21) becomes in this Deuteronomistic redaction (2:15) a cord strong (חבל) enough to carry two men.

Although verses 17 and 18 in their present context seem to presuppose verses 9-15, since the phrase משבעתך הזה (אשר השבעתנו) in verses 17 and 20 seems to refer back to verse 14 (Dtr) and the perfect tense in verse 18 (הורדתנו) seems to refer back to what is told in verse 15 (Dtr), it is also possible to read verse 17 and 18 in a kataphoric and performative sense as referring to a vow and escape that is about to take place.

While more could and probably should be said about the literary history of Josh 2, enough is said to demonstrate that the formation of Josh 2 can fairly easily and verifiably be reconstructed on the basis of a model that includes no more than two stages: an earlier trickster narrative and a theological Deuteronomistic transformation. No multiplicity of sources or progressive supplementary literary layers correcting, expanding, and harmonizing the Hebrew text need to be postulated. When the stage of harmonization does appear

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57. Sicre, *Josué*, 110.

in the literary history of the chapter, it is no longer on the Hebrew level, but on the level of the Greek translation.

#### 4. THE GREEK VERSION AS REFORMULATION

On the basis of this fresh literary-critical examination of the Hebrew text of Josh 2, we can see even clearer than before how the Greek translator tried to strengthen the inner coherence and narrative progression of this redactionally layered text.

- He did so by presenting the two men as youngsters on the basis of Josh 6:24.
- The scarlet cord, which in the original version of the Hebrew text served only as a sign for the Israelites not to kill the inhabitants of Rahab's house but became a cord for escape from the city walls in the Deuteronomistic addition verse 15, is restored to its original function by the Greek translator, who omitted the cord (חבל) and the unlikely location of Rahab's house on the city wall. Since this scarlet cord is to serve as a sign, the Greek translator transposed the phrase *לִי אוֹת אֲמַת* from verse 12 (Dtr addition) to verse 18 (pre-Dtr) in the mouths of the spies: *καὶ θήσεις τὸ σημεῖον*.
- As a result, the statement in verse 21 that Rahab actually did bind such a scarlet knot on her door interrupts the narrative sequence line dealing with the departure of the spies (2:21-22 *וילכו ... וילכו*) is left untranslated, whereas the repetition of the word *וילכו*, "and they went," is condensed into a single clause: *καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν*.
- Since the Greek translator dismissed the problematic idea of a flight from the city walls created by the Deuteronomistic redactor in verse 15, the Greek translator specified the Hebrew clause in verse 18 *אֲנַחְנוּ בָּאִים בְּאֶרֶץ* into the more accurate clause *ἡμεῖς εἰσπορευόμεθα εἰς μέρος τῆς πόλεως*, "we will enter a part of the city."
- In verse 14, the Greek translator tones down in a similar manner the bold Deuteronomistic expression that the Lord gives the land to the Israelites by means of the Greek phrase *Ὡς ἂν παραδῶ κύριος ἡμῖν τὴν πόλιν*, "when the Lord will give you *the city*," which sticks closer to the narrative context of the clause.
- The absence of a rendering of *כל* in the clause *לִחְפֹּר אֶת כָּל הָאָרֶץ* in 2:3 (*κατασκοπεῦσαι γὰρ — τὴν γῆν*) may reflect the same tendency.
- In a similar vein, out of the two instructions of the spies to the prostitute to hold her tongue, in the Hebrew text both in the pre-Dtr version (2:20) and in the Dtr elaboration (2:14), the Greek translator reserved his translation only for the second time in what he apparently considered to be the stipulation of limited liability to the main oath made at the beginning and interpreted the preceding Hebrew clause in 2:19 as part of this stipulation: *ἐὰν δέ τις ἡμᾶς ἀδικήσῃ ἢ καὶ ἀποκαλύψῃ τοὺς λόγους ἡμῶν τούτους*.
- Likewise, the Greek translator reserves his translation of the Deuteronomistic statement that all the inhabitants of the land tremble from before the Israelites (2:9, 24) for the conclusion of the story.

- The translator harmonized the two enumerations of Rahab's relatives, one from the older pre-Dtr narrative in 2:18 and the other in the Deuteronomistic expansion in verse 13, by substituting the Deuteronomistic mentioning of Rahab's sisters by even more inclusive language: *καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκόν μου*.
- On a smaller level, the Greek translator condensed Hebrew idiomatic expressions or specified them by means of a more precise rendering in Greek:

| Table 10: Condensed Hebrew Expressions in the Greek Translation of Josh 2 |      |                                                                                      |                                                                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| No.                                                                       | Vs.  | MT                                                                                   | LXX                                                                             |
| 1                                                                         | 2:1  | חרש מרגלים (wandering inconspicuously)                                               | κατασκοπεῦσαι (spying)                                                          |
| 2                                                                         | 2:3  | הבאים אליך אשר באו לביתך (the men who have come to you, who have come to your house) | τοὺς εἰσπεπορευομένους εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν σου (the men who have come to your house) |
| 3                                                                         | 2:5  | רדפו מהר אחריהם (pursue quickly after them)                                          | καταδιώξατε ὀπίσω αὐτῶν (pursue after them)                                     |
| 4                                                                         | 2:23 | ויעברו ויבאו אל יהושע (they crossed (the river Jordan) and came to Joshua)           | καὶ διέβησαν πρὸς Ἰησοῦν (they went over to Jesus)                              |

In light of these observations as well as in the light of the observations brought together in table 6 (“Qualitative Variants”), which even more clearly betray the reformulation—however modest—of the Hebrew text from the part of the Greek translator, as well as in the light of the numerous observations made by Bieberstein, van der Louw, and others, I think it is safe to conclude that the quantitative variants between the MT and the LXX—including the twofold repetition of *אשר השבעתנו* that was so important for Holmes's thesis of a Hebrew revision of a shorter Hebrew *Vorlage* reflected by the LXX—should all be ascribed to the Greek translator.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The conclusion with regard to this chapter in the book of Joshua does not differ from my findings in chapters 1, 5, 6, 8, and 18: the pluses in the MT are not the result of small elucidating scribal additions by scribes standing in a long tradition of progressive supplementation, nor is the Greek translation a straightforward translation of an alleged earlier stage in this tradition preceding the edition now known as the MT. When Hebrew redactors did expand an earlier text edition, it was in a far more comprehensive and theologically outspoken way. It is true that we find harmonizing additions in Hebrew biblical manuscripts and it may even be true that the MT of Josh 20 also belongs to this type of late Second Temple scribal activity, but in the case of Josh 2 we have neither actual proof of such Hebrew activity since the extant Qumran fragments do not support

the LXX, nor are there convergent conclusions from a redaction-critical analysis of the Hebrew text in its own right.

It is equally true that the result of the Greek translator does not live up to the standards of Classical and Second Sophist Greek literature, as van der Louw points out. Apparently literary taste was as little concern to him as it was to contemporary Greek translators of demotic texts.<sup>58</sup> Inner logic and historical plausibility apparently did matter, hence the numerous minor alterations. Whether these interests were motivated by neo-orthodox piety towards the authoritative text, as van der Louw would have it, or political concerns of the Ptolemaic court in the period of the Syrian Wars during the last decades of the third century BCE, as I have argued before,<sup>59</sup> is difficult to tell from the extant data.

When the spies returned to Joshua, they had not done all that they were supposed to do, and they had even burned their fingers in a somewhat reluctant and hostile environment. They had been buried under masses of raw materials for papyrus and countless books. Nevertheless, they were able to tell their leader that the time was ripe for a new approach. The metaphor may perhaps not be completely apt for this setting, but I do think there is reason to reconsider the complex relation between literary and textual history and hope to have provided another reconnaissance of this promising land.

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58. See the contribution by James K. Aitken in the present volume.

59. Michaël N. van der Meer, "Provenance, Profile, and Purpose of the Greek Joshua," in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Leiden, 2004*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 54 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 55–80.





# „Und Gideon starb in einem guten Greisenalter“ Ein Fall von *theological exegesis* in LXX Ri 8,32a?

Sven Lesemann

Abstract: The Greek translation of the book of Judges is in most cases a *translatio verbo ad verbum*. Nevertheless each of the four main groups of manuscripts in the book of Judges, that is, the Alexandrian, Antiochean, *καίτε*-, and *κοινή*-group, shows a particular interaction with the Hebrew *Vorlage* and associated Greek traditions. Most often readings are due to translational decisions, variants of style, or text corruptions. But sometimes intertextual influences, for example, rabbinical, parabiblical, or patristic exegesis, are the best assumption especially in cases of unusual, but meaningful variants without a comprehensible text-critical explanation. Such a case could be LXX Judg 8,32a and the denial of Gedeons proper death in parts of the *καίτε*- and *κοινή*-group that corresponds with early rabbinical and parabiblical exegesis.

Das Richterbuch ist eines der textgeschichtlich komplexesten Bücher der Septuaginta. Spätestens in nachorigenianischer Zeit lag es nachweislich in vier Haupt- und zwei Nebentexttraditionen vor,<sup>1</sup> die sich im Wesentlichen in zwei

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1. Unter Berücksichtigung der Codex Sinaiticus-Funde (S) sind diese mit den Siglen von Brooke / McLean:

|                          |                                 |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Gruppe <b>B</b> :        | B S e f j (m) q s z + i r u a z |
| Gruppe <b>A</b> [/AI]:   | A G a b c (k) x                 |
| Gruppe <b>L</b> [/AII]:  | K Z g l n (o) w + d p t v       |
| Gruppe <b>K</b> [/AIII]: | M N y (h) b z;                  |

vgl. z.B. auch die Gruppierungen bei Walter R. Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments*, HSM 23 (Chico: Scholars, 1980), 45; Paul Harlé, *Les Juges. Traduction des textes grecs de la Septante*, La Bible d’Alexandrie 7 (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 25–28; Julio Treballe Barrera, „The Text-Critical Value of the Old Latin and Antiochean Greek Texts in the Books of Judges and Joshua,“ in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Marc

voneinander zu unterscheidenden LXX-Textformen gruppieren lassen. Letzteres ist durch den Abdruck eines jeweils separaten „A“- und „B“-Textes in der oberen und unteren Seitenhälfte durch Rahlfs-Hanhart versinnbildlicht<sup>2</sup> und hat in LXX.D, *La Bible d'Alexandrie* und NETS Niederschlag gefunden.<sup>3</sup> Die Unterscheidung zwischen „A“ und „B“ ergibt sich aus den semantisch-lexikalischen Unterschieden zwischen beiden Textformen, die ca. 25% des Gesamtwortbestandes ausmachen.<sup>4</sup> Die Varianten betreffen zumeist einzelne Wörter wie flektierte Verben, Substantive oder Pronomen; verhältnismäßig selten sind größere, zusammenhängende syntaktische Abweichungen festzustellen. Stark hebraisierende Satzstrukturen und Transkriptionen besonders von Personen- und Ortsnamen sowie eine äußerst eng an den hebräischen Konsonantentext

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Vervenne, BETL 192 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 401–13, bes. 401–2; Julio Treballe Barrera, „Textual Variants in *4QJudg*“ and the Textual and Editorial History of the Book of Judges,“ *RB* 14 (1989), 229–45, bes. 234–35; Treballe Barrera, „Édition préliminaire de *4QJuges*<sup>b</sup>: Contribution des manuscrits qumrâniens des Juges à l'étude textuelle et littéraire du livre,“ *RevQ* 15 (1991): 79–100, bes. 97–99; Julio Treballe Barrera, „Textual Affiliation of the Old Latin Marginal Readings in the Books of Judges and Kings,“ in *Biblische Theologie und gesellschaftlicher Wandel. FS. Norbert Lohfink*, ed. Georg Braulik, Walter Gross, and Sean McEvenue (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 315–29, bes. 315–16.

2. Vgl. Alfred Rahlfs, Robert Hanhart, eds., *Septuaginta: Id est Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), 405–95; bereits 1705 druckte Grabe einzelne Kapitel synoptisch einander gegenüber, um so die Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen *Cod. Alexandrinus* und *Cod. Vaticanus* im Richterbuch zu verdeutlichen (vgl. Grabe, *Epistola ad Clarissimum Virum, ... Quâ ostenditur, Libri Iudicum Genuinam LXX: Interpretum Versionem eam esse, quam MS. Codex Alexandrinus exhibet; Romanam autem Editionem, quod ad dictum Librum, ab illa prorsus diversam, atque eandem cum Hesychiana esse* (Oxford: Sheldon, 1705), 1–56; vgl. auch Otto F. Fritzsche, *Liber Iudicum secundum LXX interpretes: Triplicem textus conformationem recensuit; Lectionis varietates enotavit interpretationis veteris latinae fragmenta* (Turici: Libraria Schabelitziana [Cæsar Schmidt], 1867), 22–29 [nur Ri 5]).

3. Vgl. Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010), 244–94; Harlé, *Juges*, 72–269; Albert Pietersma, Benjamin G. Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint: And the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 200–38; bei Henry B. Swete, ed., *Genesis–IV. Kings*, bd. 1 of *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1887), 475–537, ist lediglich eine Textform, nämlich „B“, angegeben.

4. Nach J.H. Ludlum bietet A, d.i. der *Cod. Alexandrinus*, in ca. 25,7% der Fälle ein anderes Lexem als B, d.i. der *Cod. Vaticanus*, wohingegen dieser in ca. 23,9% aller Lexeme nicht mit jenem übereinstimmt. Die Differenz ergibt sich aus den Auslassungen und Zufügungen beider Handschriften zueinander. „Specifically, at 850 places Codex A has 1,251 words, where B has nothing to correspond. And at 659 places Codex B has 841 words, where nothing is found at the corresponding positions in A“ (J. H. Ludlum, „The Dual Greek Text of ‚Judges‘ in Codices A and B“ [PhD diss., Yale, 1957], 8–9).

angelegte Satzteilfolge lassen dabei jeweils eine prä- oder protomasoretische, d.h. *hebräische* Textvorlage wahrscheinlich machen. Im Anschluss an die Studien von de Lagarde<sup>5</sup> (1827–1891)—ohne aber seine Bemerkungen zum Richterbuch zu beachten<sup>6</sup>—wird dabei in der neueren Forschung von *einem* griechischen Urtext, einer *Old Greek* des Richterbuches, ausgegangen.<sup>7</sup>

Die Vielgestaltigkeit der Textformen des Richterbuches, mithin dessen Aufschlüsselung in die sog. alexandrinische, antiochenische, *καίτε*- und *κοινή*-Gruppe, gründet auf ausgangs- und zielsprachlichen Voraussetzungen und Absichten, Revisionen und Rezensionen, Textverderbnissen und Emendationen. Die Textformen zeichnen sich durch eine Vielzahl unterschiedlicher Vorzugslesarten aus, die sich im Spannungsfeld von Ausgangs- und Zieltext, wörtlicher und sinngemäßer Wiedergabe, linguistischen Erfordernissen und Möglichkeiten bewegen. Es sind Zeugen einer eigenen, nicht aber unbedingt eigenständigen Wirkungsgeschichte des biblischen Textes in den ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten; es handelt sich um geistes- und theologiegeschichtlich determinierte Manifestationen einer fluiden griechischen Texttradition, die in ihren Ursprüngen dem hebräischen Referenztext im Allgemeinen formal-syntaktisch verantwortete *verbo ad verbum*-Übersetzungen waren. Umgekehrt ist die Verwendung von Lexemen in der Zielsprache nicht allein von Standardäquivalenzen abhängig, sondern hat spätestens dann exegetische Konsequenzen, wenn die Polysemie der hebräischen Vorlage zu einer Ausdehnung des potentiellen Wort- und Bedeutungsfeldes führt. Unter Berücksichtigung translativer Aspekte können *hapax legomena*, Transkriptionen und Neologismen daher auf die den Textformen zugrundeliegenden theologischen Konzeptionen hinweisen, die über eine rein linguistische Ebene hinausreichen.

Wesentlich ist dabei spätestens seit Barr zwischen verschiedenen Strategien und Arten der LXX-Übersetzungen im Spannungsfeld von wörtlicher und

5. Vgl. Paul A. de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1863), passim, bes. 2–4.

6. Vgl. Paul A. de Lagarde, *Septuagintastudien: Erster Theil*, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 37 (Göttingen: Dietrich, 1891), 72.

7. Vgl. z.B. Natalio Fernández Marcos, „The B-Text of Judges: Kaige Revision and Beyond,” in *After Qumran. Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts: The Historical Books*, ed. Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, und Julio Trebolle Barrera, BETL 246 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 161–69, bes. 162–63; Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 64–66; Karen H. Jobes, Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), 45–46; Siegfried Kreuzer, „Übersetzung—Revision—Überlieferung: Probleme und Aufgaben in den Geschichtsbüchern,” in *Die Septuaginta—Text, Theologien, Einflüsse: 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23.–27.7.2008*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus und Martin Karrer, WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 101–16, bes. 105–6.

sinngemäßer Übersetzung, von *translatio verbo ad verbum* und *translatio ad sensum*, zu unterscheiden.<sup>8</sup> Ersteres meint eine schematische, syntaktisch eng am Ausgangstext orientierte Übersetzung, die jenen Wort-für-Wort ohne besondere Rücksicht auf die linguistischen Möglichkeiten des Zieltextes abbilden möchte;<sup>9</sup> syntaktische wie lexikografische Hebraismen sind Folgen einer derartigen Übersetzungspraxis.<sup>10</sup> Demgegenüber ist eine *translatio ad sensum* eine an der Zielsprache ausgerichtete Übersetzung,<sup>11</sup> die hierdurch grundsätzlich offen für textinterne und -externe Einflüsse ist.

Sind, wie im Richterbuch, die jeweiligen Übersetzungstechniken deskriptiv nicht sinnvoll von der *Old Greek* her zu entfalten—die Rekonstruktion der *Old Greek* ist hier methodisch problematisch<sup>12</sup>—, so ist von den in den Hand-

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8. Kategorisiert bei James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, MSU 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 20–49; Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 17–29; einen guten Überblick über die neuere Forschung hierüber bietet Edward Glenney, *Finding Meaning in the Text: Translation Technique and Theology in the Septuagint of Amos*, VTSup 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 31–42.

9. Vgl. dazu Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 17–29; Barr, *Typology*, 31–40.

10. Vgl. dazu Emanuel Tov, „Septuagint,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin J. Mulder und Harry Sysling, CRINT 3.1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 161–88, bes. 178–80.

11. Für einen Überblick über beide Ansätze vgl. z.B. Bénédicte Lemmelijn, „Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint,” in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint. Proceedings of the IOSCS Congress in Helsinki 1999*, ed. Raija Sollamo und Seppo Sipilä, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 82 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 43–63; ein dritter, „content-related“ Ansatz findet sich bei Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn für LXX Ri 3,12–30 entfaltet (vgl. Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, „Characterizing the LXX Translations of Judges on the Basis of Content-Related Criteria: The Greek Renderings of Hebrew Absolute *Hapax Legomena* in Judges 3,12–30,” in Ausloos, Lemmelijn, und Trebolle Barrera, *After Qumran*, 171–92).

12. Dass Fernández Marcos dennoch einen solchen Versuch für LXX\* Ri 11,29–40 unternimmt (vgl. Natalio Fernández Marcos, „Jephthah’s Daughter in the Old Greek [Judges 11:29–40],“ in *Die Septuaginta—Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte: 3. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch [LXX.D], Wuppertal 22.–25. Juli 2010*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, und Marcus Sigismund, WUNT 286 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012], 478–88, bes. 487–88), liegt in der Annahme begründet, dass die *Old Greek* des Richterbuches wesentlich in der antiochenischen Texttradition vorliegt, die übrigen Textformen mithin kaum originäres Material bewahrt hätten (vgl. *ibid.*, 479–80); freilich muss auch Fernández Marcos anerkennen, dass „the restoration of G [*sc.* *Old Greek*] is extremely difficult since no group of manuscripts is free from horizontal, particularly Hexaplaric, contamination“ (Natalio Fernández Marcos, „The Genuine Text of Judges,” in *Sófer mahîr: Essays in Honour of Adrian Schenker Offered by Editors of Biblia Hebraica Quinta*, ed. Yohanan A. P. Goldman, Arie van der Kooij, und Richard D. Weis, VTSup 110 [Leiden: Brill, 2006], 33–45, bes. 35).

schriftengruppen vorliegenden Textformen auszugehen, gleichwohl diese Ergebnis von Rezension und Revision sind.<sup>13</sup> Die im Richterbuch deutlich ausgeprägte Nähe zwischen LXX und Proto-MT ermöglicht dabei eine komparativ-deskriptive Analyse der griechischen Textformen vorbehaltlich des unklaren Verhältnisses von Rezension, Revision und (hebräischer wie griechischer) Vorlage. Im Hintergrund steht dabei bspw. die Frage, ob der Übersetzer, Redaktor oder Rezensionist Standardäquivalenzen dann aufbricht, wenn der Kontext dieses (z.B. durch Präpositionen oder feste Fügungen) ermöglicht und inwiefern das nicht nur Variante oder Verlegenheitsübersetzung ist, sondern ein theologisches Programm inhäriert.<sup>14</sup>

Die Wahl von Lexemen in einer Zielsprache hängt dabei wesentlich von den Fähigkeiten und vom Wissen des Übersetzers und Bearbeiters sowie seinen Möglichkeiten auf entsprechende Vorlagen zurückgreifen zu können ab;<sup>15</sup> näherer und fernerer Kontext, (hebräische / aramäische) Etymologie und exegetische Traditionen bestimmen die Übersetzung.<sup>16</sup> Ursprung und geistes- sowie theologiegeschichtlicher Kontext einer Lesart bzw. Textvariante sind somit unentscheidbar Emendation oder Tradition. Als Emendation kann die Lesart vor dem Hintergrund möglicher Standardäquivalenzen, kontextuell motivierter Stilvarianten und Textverderbnissen entstanden sein. Nicht selten lassen gerade die antiochenische und *κοινῆ*-Tradition des Richterbuches auch zielsprachlich motivierte Paraphrasierungen erkennen, die den linguistischen Möglichkeiten des Griechischen entspricht und im Sinne einer *translatio ad sensum* zu deuten sind.<sup>17</sup> Da sich die Stilmittel einer durch (Auslegungs-)Tra-

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13. Gegen Staffan Olofsson, *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis. Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version*, ConBOT 57 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 18.

14. Umgekehrt ist häufig unklar, ob hier tatsächlich ein hebräischer Bezugstext im Hintergrund stand oder es sich vielleicht doch um innergriechische Stilvarianten handelt; letzteres ist in LXX Richter wohl häufig anzunehmen (vgl. dazu besonders die Arbeiten von Josef Schreiner, *Septuaginta-Massora des Buches der Richter: Eine textkritische Studie*, AnBib 7 [Rome: Pontificio Istituto biblico, 1957]; Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches*, AASF 72.1 [Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1951]).

15. Vgl. Chaim Rabin, „The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint“, *Text* 6 (1968): 1-26, esp. 5; Emanuel Tov, „Did the Septuagint Translators Always Understand Their Hebrew Text?“, in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Albert Pietersma und Claude Cox (Mississauga: Benben, 1984), 53–70, bes. 53–54.

16. Vgl. Tov, „Septuagint“, 169–71.

17. Vgl. dazu grundsätzlich J. Heller, „Grenzen sprachlicher Entsprechung der LXX: Ein Beitrag zur Übersetzungstechnik der LXX auf dem Gebiet der Flexionskategorien“, *MIOF* 15 (1969): 234–48, bes. 246–48; John William Wevers, „The Use of Versions for

ditionen bestimmten Lesart nicht wesentlich von denen einer formal-ästhetisch orientierten, aber theologisch-exegetisch unmotivierten Emendation unterscheiden, muss notwendig die Auslegungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte des näheren wie fernerer Kontextes überprüft werden.

## 1.

Im Kontext der die Gideon-Episoden abschließenden Notizen und der Überleitung zur Abimelech-Erzählung kommt Ri 8,32 eine in theologischer wie textkritischer Hinsicht besondere Aufmerksamkeit zu.

Direkt im Anschluss an die Stiftung und Aufstellung eines aus den goldenen Schmuckgegenständen der besiegten Midianiter hergestellten Efods durch Gideon (Ri 8,24-27) und dem (editorischen) Hinweis, dass dieses Verhalten ihm und seinem Haus למוקש wurde, folgt ein mit Rahmenformeln durchsetzter und dadurch an Ri 6,1a–2a.6b anschließender Epilog. Die nach dem Sieg über die Midianiter beginnende vierzig-jährige Ruhe- und Friedenszeit unter der Führung Gideons bringt diesem eine Fülle von Söhnen von verschiedenen Frauen (Ri 8,30f) und eine lange verdienstvolle<sup>18</sup> Zeit in seiner Heimat Ophra, wo er schließlich im Grab seines Vaters begraben wird (Ri 8,29.32). Der daraufhin einsetzende Abfall Israels von Jhwh offenbart sich im *Hinterherhuren der Baalim* ([הבעלים] זנה אחרי) und der Anbetung Baal-Berits (Ri 8,33). Die zunächst bei holistischer Lesung irritierend-ironische Bemerkung, Israel habe Gideons Haus trotz all des von ihm geleisteten *Guten* (הטובה) nicht die angemessene *Güte* (חסד) erwiesen (Ri 8,35), greift bereits auf Ri 9,16 vor<sup>19</sup> und gehört so gesehen wie Ri 8,31 als Konnex zur Abimelech-Erzählung.

Ri 8,32a

MT יומת גדעון בן יואש בשיבה טובה

B S e f j o q s z:

καὶ ἀπέθανεν Γεδεων υἱὸς Ιωας ἐν πόλει αὐτοῦ

A N a b c d g h i l n p r t v w x y:

καὶ ἀπέθανεν Γεδεων υἱὸς Ιωας ἐν πολιᾷ ἀγαθῇ

M k m u a<sub>2</sub> b<sub>2</sub>:

καὶ ἀπέθανεν Γεδεων υἱὸς Ιωας ἐν πόλει ἀγαθῇ

Es lassen sich in LXX Ri 8,32a im Wesentlichen drei Varianten feststellen, die in ihrer jeweiligen Bezeugung die o.g.<sup>20</sup> Grenzen der vier Haupt- und zwei

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Text Criticism: The Septuagint,” in *La Septuaginta en la Investigacion Contemporanea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)*, ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos, Textos y estudios «Cardenal Cisneros» 34 (Madrid: CSIC, 1985), 15–24, bes. 16–19.

18. Zwar fehlt im Gegensatz zu Otniël (Ri 3,10), Jiftach (12,7) und Simson (Ri 15,20; 16,31) die aus Ri 2,16-19 bekannte שפט-Formel, doch steht dieses Wirken Gideons im in דין בית der frühen rabbinischen Schriftauslegung außer Zweifel (vgl. *t. Roš. Haš.* 1,18, *b. Roš. Haš.* 25a–b, *y. Roš. Haš.* 58b sowie sekundär *KohR* 1,4).

19. Vgl. dazu Walter Gross, *Richter*, HThK.AT (Freiburg: Herder, 2009), 463.

20. Siehe Anm.1.

Nebentextformen sprengen. Dabei sind folgende Tendenzen erkennbar: Die Haupttextform der *καίγε*-Gruppe (= **B**) bezeugt ἐν πόλει αὐτοῦ (Hss. B S e f j o q s z), wohingegen die Nebentextform (= **B'**) uneinheitlich ἐν πολιᾷ ἀγαθῇ (*i r*) bzw. ἐν πόλει ἀγαθῇ (Hss. u a<sub>2</sub>) liest. Mit Ausnahme der Hs. k bezeugt die alexandrinische Tradition (= **A**) ἐν πολιᾷ ἀγαθῇ (Hss. A a b c x). Bis auf die ohnehin häufig mit **B** übereingehende Hs. o bezeugt die antiochenische bzw. lukianische Tradition (= **L**) in Haupt- und Nebentextform ebenfalls ἐν πολιᾷ ἀγαθῇ (Hss. g l n w + d p t v). Die von der alexandrinischen wie *καίγε*-Gruppe abhängige *κοινη*-Tradition (= **K**) liest ἐν πόλει ἀγαθῇ (Hss. M b<sub>2</sub>) bzw. ἐν πολιᾷ ἀγαθῇ (Hss. N h y). Die im Mehrheitstext der alexandrinischen und antiochenischen Tradition sowie Hss. N h i r y bezeugte Lesart entspricht MT: *Und Gideon, Sohn von Ioas, starb in gutem Alter*. Vor dem Hintergrund, dass neben der Hs. m die *καίγε*-Untergruppe mit den Hss. i r u a<sub>2</sub> mit **A** **K** **L** ἀγαθῇ lesen, wo MT טובה [בשיבה] (V.32<sup>a</sup>) bezeugt, die Verschreibung von [ἐν] πολ[ε]ιᾷ (**A**\* **K**\* **L**\* *i r*) zu [ἐν] πόλει (**B**\* M k m o u a<sub>2</sub> b<sub>2</sub>) vor ἀγαθῇ aber leicht vorstellbar ist, wird in der neueren wie älteren Forschung durchweg von einer durch Verschreibung entstandenen minderwertigeren *καίγε*-Lesart ausgegangen.<sup>21</sup> Zwar mag auf der Ebene der *καίγε*-Vorlage ΠΟΛΕΙ[ΑΓΑΘΗ / -ΥΤΟΥ] haplografisch aus ΠΟΛΕΙΑ[ΑΓΑΘΗ] entstanden sein—eine solche Vermutung legt die in den Hss. M k m u a<sub>2</sub> b<sub>2</sub> bezeugte Lesart nahe—, doch ist eine Verlesung von ΑΥΤΟΥ aus ΑΓΑΘΗ in derselben nur schwer nachzuvollziehen, will man nicht eine kontextuell motivierte Emendation unterstellen.<sup>22</sup> Dieser Interpretation liegt die gängige Meinung einer der **B**- und **A/K/L**-Gruppe gemeinsamen Vorlage zugrunde, ohne jedoch den eigenständigen Rückgriff der frühen **B**-Handschriften auf prämasoretische oder alternative griechische Texttraditionen genügend zu berücksichtigen. Deshalb sollen nun zunächst die frühen rabbinischen und parabiblischen Text- und Auslegungstraditionen herangezogen werden.

## 2.

Bereits Genesis Rabba (*GenR*) (Endredaktion ca. 400 n.Chr.)<sup>23</sup> nimmt die rabbinische Schriftauslegung zu Ri 8,32a auf, wie sie auch schon in *ARN* 43

21. Vgl. z.B. Bodine, *Text*, 58–59, Anm. 19; Harlé, *Juges*, 163; Philip E. Satterthwaite, “To the Readers of Judges,” in Pietersma und Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, 195–200 (196); Schreiner, *Septuaginta-Massora*, 131; Isaac L. Seeligmann, “Indications of Editorial Alteration and Adaptation in the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint,” *VT* 11 (1961): 201–22, 463; Soisalon-Soininen, *Textformen*, 17.

22. Vgl. vor allem LXX Ri 12,7; LXX 1Kön 28,3; vgl. aber auch LXX Ri 8,27 ([καὶ ἐστήσεν αὐτο] ἐν πόλει αὐτοῦ ἐν Εφραθα).

23. Weiterführend vgl. Chanoch Albeck, „מבוא“, in *Midrash Bereshit Rabba: Critical Edition with Notes and Commentary*, ed. Chanoch Albeck und Judah Theodor, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Wahrman, 1965), 1–138; Jacob Neusner, ed., *Genesis Rabbah: The*

(Ende 3.Jh. n.Chr.)<sup>24</sup> und deutlicher kritischer in *RutR* 1 (ca. 500 n.Chr.)<sup>25</sup> bezeugt ist.

In *GenR* 44,20 sowie *GenR* 62,2 wird dasselbe Thema mit derselben rabbinischen Autorität in Verbindung gebracht und auf fast identische Art und Weise dargestellt.<sup>26</sup> Während in *GenR* 44,20 der hier zu behandelnde Abschnitt allein das Inyan-Lemma Gen 15,15 kommentiert, weist *GenR* 62,2 eine vor dem Hintergrund von Gen 25,8 umfangreichere und mit zahlreichen Petiḥot durchsetzte Inyan-Auslegung auf. Zitiert wird Ri 8,27a.

|                                                    |                                       |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| [R.] Resch Laqisch sagte: Es (sind) drei,          | 1 אמר ריש לקיש <sup>27</sup> שלשה הם  |
| von denen gesagt wird „in einem guten Alter“.      | 2 שנאמר בהם בשיבה טובה                |
| Abraham ist es gemäß.                              | 3 אברהם היה שוה לו                    |
| David (ist) es gemäß.                              | 4 דוד שוה לו                          |
| Gideon (ist) es nicht gemäß. Warum?                | 5 גדעון לא שוה לו <sup>28</sup> למה   |
| „Und daraus machte Gideon ein Efod.“ <sup>29</sup> | 6 ויעש אותו גדעון לאפוד <sup>30</sup> |

Der vorliegende Abschnitt aus *GenR* 44,20 par *GenR* 62,2 schreibt R. Resch Laqisch *alias* R. Simon b. Laqisch (Mitte bis Ende des 3.Jh.s n.Chr) eine konkordant auf בשיבה טובה (Z.1f) rekurrierende Evaluierung der alttestamentlichen Gestalten Abraham, David sowie Gideon zu.<sup>31</sup> Der Tod בשיבה טובה, wie er Abraham in Gen 15,15 vorhergesagt und David in 1Chr 29,28 zugeschrieben wird, sei deren beider Bedeutung angemessen (vgl. Z.3f). Allein Gideons hohes Alter und lebenssattes Sterben<sup>32</sup> sei לא שוה לו (Z.5). Die in dieser Zuschreibung implizierte Darstellung eines gotterfüllten und frommen Lebens, wie es sonst

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*Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis; A New American Translation* 1–3, BJS 104–6 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985); Günter Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 8th. ed. (München: Beck, 1992), 275; Günter Stemberger, *Midrasch: Vom Umgang der Rabbinen mit der Bibel* (München: Beck, 1989), 39.

24. Weiterführend vgl. Louis Finkelstein, *מבוא למסכתות אבות ואבות דרבי נתן* (New York, 1950), xxxii; Jacob Neusner, *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 591–92; Stemberger, *Einleitung*, 215–17.

25. Weiterführend vgl. Neusner, *Introduction*, 487–509; Stemberger, *Einleitung*, 311.

26. Vgl. auch *RutR* 1 und *ARN* 43.

27. Selten in *GenR* 62,2 statt Resch Laqisch auch R. Levi (vgl. August Wünsche, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica: Eine Sammlung alter Midraschim; Zum ersten Male ins Deutsche übertragen* [Leipzig: Schulze, 1880–1884; Nachdr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967], z.St.).

28. *GenR* 62,2 formuliert für Z.2f: לא שוה לו גדעון ולא שוה לו (GenR 62,2: Abraham—und es ist ihm gemäß—, David—und es ist ihm gemäß—[sowie] Gideon—ihm aber ist es nicht gemäß).

29. Vgl. Ri 8,27a.

30. Die Ausgabe Theodor-Albeck fügt z.St. לעבודה זרה (zum Götzendienst) hinzu.

31. In *ARN* 43 jeweils mit Schriftzitat; in *ARN* 43 wird auch Zedekia dieser Tod vor dem Hintergrund von Jer 34,5 nachgesagt.

32. Vgl. Ri 8,32a.



alttestamentlich nur noch Abraham und David zuerkannt wird, schien für Gideon vor dem Hintergrund von Ri 8,27a (vgl. Z.6) nicht treffend gewesen zu sein.<sup>33</sup> Die in der kanonischen Abfolge vorgegebene Sequentialität der Protagonisten wird gesprengt und mittels der der Hervorhebung dienenden Konstruktion *לֹא גִדְעוֹן לֹא* (Z.5) auf Gideon hingeführt. Die nachgeschobene Schriftstelle Ri 8,27a (vgl. Z.6) begründet dabei die Beurteilung Gideons. Als einziges in diesem Abschnitt genanntes alttestamentliches Zitat kommt Ri 8,27a dabei nicht nur eine disqualifizierende, sondern auch eine Abraham und David qualifizierende Funktion zu.

Insgesamt kann man *GenR* 44,20 par *GenR* 62,2 eine auf Ri 8,27a gründende skeptische Beurteilung von Ri 8,32a zusprechen, wie sie in *RutR* 1 noch ausgebaut wird. Aufgrund seines idolatrischen Verhaltens<sup>34</sup> habe Gideon ein Sterben *בְּיָמָיו טוֹבָה* (Z.1f) nicht verdient.

### 3.

Im pseudo-philonischen *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (LAB) aus der zweiten Hälfte des ersten Jahrhunderts n.Chr.<sup>35</sup> schließt Ri 8,32a als freies Schriftzitat und theologischer Höhepunkt der Gideon-Episode LAB 34,1-36,4 ab. In LAB 36,4 heißt es:

Et dixit Deus: Una via posita est, ut non redarguam Gedeonem in vita sua, eo quod dissipaverat sacrarium Baal, quia dixerunt tunc omnes: Vindictet se Baal. Erit nunc si castigavero eum propter quod inique gessit in me, dicitis: Non Deus castigavit eum sed Baal, quoniam ante peccavit in eum. Et ideo nunc morietur Gedeon in bona senectute, ut non habeant quod loquantur. Sed postea cum mortuus fuerit Gedeon castigaboeum semel, eo quod deliquerit in me. Et mortuus est Gedeon in senectute bona, et sepultus est in civitate sua.

Aber Gott sprach: „Es steht fest,<sup>36</sup> dass ich Gideon nicht Lügen strafe in seinem Leben, darum weil er zertrümmert hat den Altar Baals, weil damals alle gesagt

33. Warum dann Ri 8,27a Gideon trotzdem ein solches zugesteht, bleibt nach *GenR* 44,20 par *GenR* 62,2 ungelöst.

34. Hier ist allein Ri 8,32a gemeint, nicht aber das sonstige kultische Handeln Gideons (vgl. bes. Ri 6,24a–c.25a–27f).

35. Vgl. Christian Dietzfelbinger, „Pseudo-Philo *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*“, (PhD diss.; Göttingen, 1964), 188–95; Howard Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum with Latin Text and English Translation*, AGJU 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 199–210; Eckart Reinmuth, *Pseudo-Philo und Lukas: Studien zum Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum und seiner Bedeutung für die Interpretation des lukanischen Doppelwerks*, WUNT 74 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1994), 17–26.

36. Übersetzung hier nach Christian Dietzfelbinger, *Pseudo-Philo: Antiquitates Biblicae (Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum)*, 2nd ed., JSHRZ 2.2 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1979),

haben: ‚Es möge sich Baal rächen‘; (und) es wird jetzt geschehen, wenn ich ihn züchtigen werde wegen (dem), was er böse gegen mich gehandelt hat, sprech ich: ‚Nicht Gott hat ihn gezüchtigt, sondern Baal, weil er vorher gegen ihn gesündigt hat.‘ Und darum soll Gideon jetzt in gutem Greisenalter sterben, damit sie nichts haben, was sie sagen (könnten). Aber nachdem Gideon gestorben sein wird, werde ich ihn ein für allemal züchtigen, darum weil er sich gegen mich vergangen hat.“ Und Gideon starb in gutem Greisenalter und wurde in seiner Stadt begraben.

Im Hintergrund steht die *in extenso* in der rabbinischen Schriftauslegung<sup>37</sup> behandelte Frage nach der Qualifikation Gideons, welche ihm ein Sterben בשיבה טובה ausweislich Ri 8,32a einräumt, ein sonst nur Abraham und David zugestandenes Zeichen göttlichen Wohlwollens.<sup>38</sup> Jhwhs Unwillen, Gideons Handeln *Lügen zu strafen* (*redarguo*), d.h. die Herstellung und Anbetung<sup>39</sup> der Kultgegenstände unmittelbar zu ahnden,<sup>40</sup> wird dabei dessen Rede vorangestellt und im Folgenden mit Verweis auf Ri 6,25a–32c begründet: *Una via posita est, ut non redarguam Gedeonem in vita sua eo quod dissipaverat sacrarium Baal, quia dixerunt tunc omnes: Vindicet se Baal* (LAB 36,4). Der retrospektive Verweis auf die Zerstörung des Baals- und Aschera-Altars durch Gideon (Ri 6,25–28), der für die weitere Argumentation Jhwhs keine Bedeutung hat, dürfte kaum auf Gideon als Kämpfer für Jhwh und im Prinzip loyaler Anhänger hinweisen; indem Pseudo-Philo auf den Abriss des Fremdheiligtums sowie den daraus hervorgegangenen Konflikt zwischen dem Haus Gideons und den Anhängern Baals hinweist, ist ein erster Vorwand der (temporären) Vergebung des Frevels Gideons genannt. [*Dixerunt tunc omnes: Vindicet se Baal* (LAB 36,4) nimmt Ri 6,32a–b auf, deutet also ירב בו הבעל—verlesen zu ירב לו הבעל?<sup>41</sup>

204; vgl. aber Paul Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel* (Freiburg: Kerle, 1928), 735–861, bes. 812; Charles Perrot, Daniel J. Harrington, Jacques Cazeaux, und Paul-Maurice Bogaert, *Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités bibliques; Introduction littéraire, commentaire et index*, SC 230 (Paris: Cerf, 1976), 181.

37. Vgl. *GenR* 44,20 par *GenR* 62,2; *ARN* 43; *RutR* 1.

38. Vgl. *Gen* 15,15; 25,8; *1Chr* 29,28; neben Gideon wird in LAB allein Abraham noch explizit das Erreichen eines Greisenalters (*senectus*) zuerkannt (vgl. LAB 32,1.6).

39. Vgl. *y. Šabb.* 11d.

40. Augustin kommt vor diesem Hintergrund zu dem Schluss, dass Gideons *Sünde* (*tantum nefas*) erst am Ende seines Lebens, d.h. nach der 40-jährigen Friedenszeit (vgl. Ri 8,28) geschehen sein müsse (vgl. Augustin, *Quaest. Iud.* 42; vgl. aber Augustin, *Quaest. Iud.* 49); weiterführend vgl. Simon Légasse, „Exégèse juive et exégèse patristique: Le cycle biblique de Gédéon“, *LASBF* 50 (2000): 181–262, bes. 260.

41. Jacobson weist auf eine mögliche Verschreibung aus διχασάσθω ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ Βααλ hin, welche sodann Eingang in die lateinische Tradition gefunden habe (vgl. Jacobson, *Commentary*, 927). Diese Vermutung findet in der entsprechenden Lesart in weiten Teilen der *xarye*-Tradition von LXX.B Ri 6,32b Unterstützung, gleichwohl

—im Sinne einer Rache Baals (an Gideon). Würde Jhwh Gideon nun bestrafen, so müssten nach pseudo-philonischer Lesart die Israeliten darin die Heim-suchung Baals, nicht aber das Gericht Gottes erkennen, was es zu vermeiden gelte; Baal würde damit im Konflikt mit Jhwh sogar gegenüber dem Auserwählten Gottes Macht zuerkannt werden. Indem Pseudo-Philo den Rezipienten an den Gedanken Gottes teilhaben lässt und dadurch Ursachen sowie Folgen seiner Entscheidungen transparent macht, vermag er Auswege aus biblischen Aporien durch schriftgelehrte Reflexionen anzubieten. Macht und Autorität Jhwhs als einzig wahrer Gott bleiben ebenso unangetastet wie das biblisch geoffenbarte Wort Gottes.<sup>42</sup> Erst im Anschluss wird das Ziel und Zentrum des Abschnitts offenbar, nicht ohne nochmals die Applikabilität des göttlichen Ratschlusses hervorzuheben: *Et ideo nunc morietur Gedeon in bona senectute, ut non habeant quod loquantur* (LAB 36,4). Freilich fordert die Art des Vergehens eine Reaktion Gottes. So überrascht es kaum, wenn das Gericht *post mortem*<sup>43</sup> an Gideon oder mittelbar an dessen Nachkommen dennoch vollzogen wird: *Sed postea cum mortuus fuerit Gedeon castigabo eum semel, eo quod deliquerit in me* (LAB 36,4).<sup>44</sup> Ein doppeltes freies Schriftzitat schließt LAB 36,4: *Et mortuus est Gedeon in senectute bona, et sepultus est in civitate sua* (LAB 36,4). Zu Recht weist Feldman auf den hierin enthaltenen doppelten Bezug, einerseits aus MT und andererseits aus der *καρυε*-Tradition zu Ri 8,32a hin.<sup>45</sup> Mit Blick auf die Nähe des Kontextes zur *καρυε*-Tradition des Richterbuches dürfte es sich hierbei kaum um „a coincidence ..., a variant reading“<sup>46</sup> handeln. Möglicherweise muss eine Beeinflussung zumindest der lateinischen Edition vorausgegangen griechischen Übersetzung von LAB durch entsprechende LXX-Texttraditionen angenommen werden—*aut vice versa*.

Als Zeitgenosse Pseudo-Philos verarbeitet Flavius Josephus in seinen *Antiquitates Judaicae* (A.J.) Ri 8,32a–b in einer kurzen Notiz. In A.J. 5,232 umgeht er das o.g. Problem durch die Verwendung eines josephinischen Topos:

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dort zwischen absichtlicher Mehrdeutigkeit und unabsichtlicher Verschreibung kaum unterschieden werden kann.

42. Vgl. ähnlich Ex 32,12–14.

43. Ob hier tatsächlich die Vorstellung einer jenseitigen Bestrafung für begangenes Unrecht im Hintergrund steht, ist unklar (vgl. aber 2Makk 7,29.36; 4Makk 9,8–9; 10,11; 12,12; 13,15).

44. Eine davon leicht abweichende Konzeption findet sich in Augustin *Quaest. Iud.* 42–43.

45. Vgl. Louis H. Feldman, „Prolegomenon,“ in *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo. Now First Translated from the Old Latin Version*, ed. M. R. James, Texts of Early Documents, Library of Biblical Studies (New York: Ktav, 1971), ix–clxix, clxvi.

46. Jacobson, *Commentary*, 928–29.

καὶ ὁ μὲν γηραιὸς τελευτήσας  
ἐν Ἐφρά[ν] τῇ πατρίδι θάπτεται

Und als er hochbetagt starb, wurde er  
in Ephra[n], seiner Vaterstadt, begraben.

Die Verwendung von γηραιός, wo MT *טובה בשיבה* bzw. LXX.A *ἐν πολιᾷ ἀγαθῇ* (Ri 8,32a) lesen, ist ein josephinischer Topos und nicht Alleinstellungsmerkmal Gideons.<sup>47</sup> Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit Ri 8,32a, wie sie z.B. in *GenR* 44,20 par *GenR* 62,2 in der rabbinischen Tradition<sup>48</sup> und LAB 36,4 kennzeichnend ist, findet in *A.J.* 5,232 nicht statt; das positive Gesamtbild Gideons, welches Flavius Josephus in *A.J.* 5,213–233 zu vermitteln bemüht ist, setzt sich hier fort. Das Grab Gideons wird vor dem Hintergrund von Ri 6,11c–d.24d; 8,27b.32b; 9,5a und mit Blick auf *A.J.* 5,229 *ἐν Ἐφρά[ν] τῇ πατρίδι* lokalisiert und ist allenfalls implizit auch das Grab Joas‘, seines Vaters.

#### 4.

Die Durchsicht der frühen rabbinischen wie parabiblischen Text- und Auslegungstradition zu Ri 8,32 lässt folgende Schlussfolgerungen zu: (1) Sowohl der Bezugstext Pseudo-Philos—und augenscheinlich auch die nachfolgenden Übersetzer—in LAB 36,4 als auch der Flavius Josephus in *A.J.* 5,232 stimmt wesentlich mit MT überein, wie es auch in den Hss. A N a b c d g h i l n p r t v w x y bezeugt ist; (2) Sowohl *L.A.B.* 36,4 als auch *A.J.* 5,232 lassen einerseits durch Explikation und andererseits durch Reduzierung und Nivellierung ein Problembewusstsein erkennen; (3) Dieses Problembewusstsein findet ebenfalls Ausdruck an verschiedenen Orten der frühen rabbinischen Schriftauslegung, was darauf schließen lässt, dass die Thematik spätestens in flavischer Zeit in schriftgelehrten Kreisen Israels virulent war.

Mit Blick auf die verschiedenen Texttraditionen in LXX Ri 8,32 lässt sich ein ähnliches Problembewusstsein möglicherweise auch in der Haupttextform der *καίγε*-Gruppe annehmen, wo zuvor allein textkritisch gegen diese Lesart argumentiert wurde.<sup>49</sup> Maßgeblich für die *καίγε*-Lesart ist die in der Bezeugung von *ἐν πόλει αὐτοῦ* (Hss. B S e f j o q s z) inhärierte Weigerung, Gideon ein Sterben *in einem guten Alter* zu verweigern; der Gideon der Haupttextform der *καίγε*-Gruppe stirbt stattdessen *in seiner Stadt*, namentlich in Ophra bzw. *Εφραθα*,<sup>50</sup> wo er auch begraben wird. Bedenkenswert ist hier die Vermutung von

47. So erreichen auch Isaak, Mose, Josua, Jaïr, Jefta, Abdon, Samuel usw. dieses mit γηραιός beschriebene Alter (vgl. z.B. *A.J.* 1,267; 3,87; 5,165; 5,71.254.271.274).

48. Vgl. aber *ARN* 43.

49. Siehe Anm. 21.

50. Der Ortsname *עפרא*, in MT zu *עפֿרא* vokalisiert und im Konsonantenbestand in Targum Jonathan z.St. bestätigt, erfährt in LXX durch *Εφραθα* (**A**\* **B**\* **K**\* **L**\*) Entsprechung, wobei marginale Nebenformen existieren: *Εφρανθα* (c o), *Αφραθα* (/s\*), *Εφρα* (b u a), *Εφραν* (b<sub>2</sub>), *Αφρα* (z); die josephinische Tradition liest ebenfalls *Εφραν* (vgl. *A.J.* 5,229.232). Während trotz aller Unsicherheit für die Identifizierung von *עפרא*

Bodine<sup>51</sup>, der mit Blick auf die in LAB 36,4 vorhandenen zwei Varianten, d.i. *in civitate sua* [= ἐν πόλει αὐτοῦ (Hss. B S e f j o q s z)] und *in bona senectute* bzw. *in senectute bona* [= ἐν πολιᾷ ἀγαθῇ (Hss. A N a b c d g h i l n p r t v w x y)], eine entsprechende ursprüngliche prämasoretische Vorlage [וימת גדעון בן יואש] vermutete. Neben den formal-syntaktischen Schwierigkeiten dieser postulierten Lesart ist die Annahme einer darüber hinaus notwendigen *aberratio oculi* problematisch; keinesfalls aber sollte die bei Flavius Josephus begegende Form ἐν Ἐφραῖν τῇ πατρίδι (A.J. 5,232) als Hinweis auf eine entsprechende hebräische Vorlage verstanden werden,<sup>52</sup> dürfte hier doch vielmehr eine—für die josephinische Geschichtsdarstellung typische—Paraphrasierung von בעפרה ואביו יואש בקבר ויקבר (Ri 8,32b) vorliegen. Gleichwohl sind hiermit zwei Möglichkeiten der Herkunft der Haupttextform der καιγε-Gruppe in Ri 8,32a genannt.

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archäologisch vieles auf *el-'Affūle*, im Grenzgebiet von Manasse, nördlich von Sichem, hindeutet (vgl. Erasmus Gass, *Die Ortsnamen des Richterbuchs in historischer und redaktioneller Perspektive*, ADPV 35 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005], 270–78; Étienne Nodet, Serge Bardet, Yohanan Lederman, *Flavius Josèphe: Les Antiquités Juives; Livres IV et V*, 2nd ed., Œuvres de Favius Josèphe et Études 2 [Paris: Cerf, 2004], 169–70; vgl. aber auch Herbert Donner, „Ophra in Manasse: Der Heimatort des Richters Gideon und des Königs Abimelech,“ in *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Erhard Blum, Christian Macholz, und Ekkehard W. Stegemann [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1990], 193–206, bes. 202f), weist Εφραθα (A\* B\* K\* L\*) auf das biblische Bethlehem (vgl. LXX Gen 35,19; 48,7; LXX Micha 5,1; vgl. auch LXX Rut 4,11; LXX 1Chr 4,4; in LXX Ri 6,24; 8,27.32; 9,5 ebenso). Hierbei handelt es sich um eine alte, bereits von Euseb aufgegriffene Lesart, die weitestgehend unabhängig von den Hss. A B S deutlich origenianisch beeinflusst ist (vgl. dazu Stefan Timm, *Eusebius und die Heilige Schrift: Die Schriftvorlagen des Onomastikons der biblischen Ortsnamen*, TU 166 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010], 265–66; vgl. auch Steven R. Notley, Ze'ev Safrai, *Eusebius: Onomasticon; The Place Names of Divine Scripture; Including the Latin Edition of Jerome; Translated into English and with Topographical Commentary*, Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 9 [Leiden: Brill, 2005], xxx; Franz X. Wutz, *Die Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta bis zu Hieronymus*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur vormasoretischen Grammatik des Hebräischen 2, BWAT 9 [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933], 632–38). Der transkriptionelle Ursprung dieser Lesart könnte mit Harlé in LXX Ri 6,24d, d.i. [אבי העזר] עפרת, und besonders in LXX Ri 9,5, d.i. עפרתה, gelegen haben (vgl. Harlé, *Juges*, 138). In LXX Jos 18,23 wird die benjaminitische Ortslage עפרה ebenfalls mit Εφραθα u.ä. wiedergegeben. Umgekehrt scheint sich darüber hinaus die durch Transkription hervorgerufene zufällige grafische Ähnlichkeit der gideonitischen Heimatstadt einerseits und Bethlehem andererseits angesichts der unbekannten Lokalisierung von עפרה eine Identifizierung jener mit dieser Ortslage nahegelegt zu haben.

51. Vgl. Bodine, *Text*, 59, Anm. 19.

52. Vgl. ibidem.

Die dritte und mit Blick auf die frühe rabbinische wie parabiblische Schriftauslegung einerseits und dem Verhalten der *κοινη*-Gruppe andererseits m.E. wahrscheinlichere Möglichkeit lässt eine Beeinflussung eines Teils der griechischen Texttraditionen durch zeitgenössische jüdisch-rabbinische Auslegungstraditionen vermuten. Neben den bereits ausgeführten inhaltlich-theologischen Aspekten, die der Verwendung von *ἐν πόλει αὐτοῦ* (Hss. B S *efj o q s z*) entsprechen und in LAB 36,4 entfaltet sind, ist die in den Hss. M *k m u a<sub>2</sub> b<sub>2</sub>* bezeugte Lesart aufschlussreich. Die inhaltlich unklare Lesart *καὶ ἀπέθανεν Γεδεων υἱὸς Ιωας ἐν πόλει ἀγαθῇ* (Ri 8,32a) scheint Elemente der alexandrinischen, antiochenischen und *καιγε*-Tradition zu inkorporieren. Geht man von einer einseitigen Abhängigkeit der genannten Handschriften von der alexandrinischen Texttradition aus, so dürfte ΠΟΛΕΙ[ΑΓΑΘΗ] haplografisch aus ΠΟΛ[E]ΙΑ[ΑΓΑΘΗ] entstanden sein. Problematisch ist indes, dass die *κοινη*-Gruppe des Richterbuches hinsichtlich ihrer Zusammensetzung und Textpräferenz verhältnismäßig inhomogen ist, mithin die einzelnen Handschriften inkonsequent der alexandrinischen wie *καιγε*-Gruppe folgen können; insofern mögen die Hss. M *b<sub>2</sub>*—aus inhaltlich-theologischen Gründen—hier entweder bewusst beide Traditionslinien verbunden haben oder aber auf eine entsprechende *καιγε*-Lesart zurückgehen, wie sie auch in den Hss. (*k*) *m u a<sub>2</sub>* bezeugt ist. Ob *ἐν πόλει ἀγαθῇ* die durch Haplografie aus *ἐν πολιᾷ ἀγαθῇ* (Hss. A N *a b c d g h i l n p r t v w x y*) entstandene ursprüngliche Lesart war, die dann in dem den Hss. B S *efj o q s z* zugrundeliegenden Traditionsstrang wegen des unklaren [ΠΟΛΕΙ]ΑΓΑΘΗ zu *ἐν πόλει αὐτοῦ* geändert wurde, ist angesichts der *κοινη*-Hss. M *b<sub>2</sub>* und deren Abhängigkeit von der späteren *καιγε*-Tradition kaum anzunehmen. So oder so stützten die Hss. M *k m u a<sub>2</sub> b<sub>2</sub>* die Verwendung von [ἐν] πόλει (Hss. B S *efj o q s z*) in Ri 8,32a, was mit Blick auf *in civitate sua* (L.A.B. 36,4) auf eine Ersatzlesart hindeuten könnte.

## 5.

Beide Lesarten, d.i. *καὶ ἀπέθανεν Γεδεων υἱὸς Ιωας ἐν πόλει αὐτοῦ* (B S *efj o q s z*) und *καὶ ἀπέθανεν Γεδεων υἱὸς Ιωας ἐν πολιᾷ ἀγαθῇ* (A N *a b c d g h i l n p r t v w x y*), sind sinnstiftend. Während die in der alexandrinischen und antiochenischen Texttradition bezeugte Lesart auf eine MT entsprechende Vorlage zurückgehen dürfte, sind die in Teilen der *καιγε*- und *κοινη*-Gruppe belegten Lesarten vermutlich durch frühe rabbinische und parabiblische Auslegungstraditionen beeinflusst, ohne dass eine entsprechende prämasoretische Vorlage mit Blick auf LAB 36,4 und A.J. 5,232 ausgeschlossen werden kann. Es handelt sich im Sinne einer durch erweiterte Intertextualität geprägten Art der Übersetzung bzw. Revision und Rezension um eine durch midraschische Elemente angereicherte Form der *theological exegesis*; "his [sc. der Übersetzer] interpretations may have been influenced by what was reasonable from a theological point of view ... he expects some form of theological consistency in the

Scriptures.<sup>53</sup> Jüdisch-hellenistische Schriftauslegung, Gottes- und Weltverständnis, mithin der geistesgeschichtliche Kontext scheinen Übersetzer, Redaktoren oder Rezensionist graduell und allenfalls an markanten Punkten beeinflusst zu haben. Dabei kann *theological exegesis* nicht im Sinne einer von der Übersetzungstechnik losgelösten, eigenständigen Interpretationsleistung begriffen werden, insofern es eine von inneren wie äußeren Einflüssen bewusst und unbewusst geleitete Aspektauslegung im Rahmen und unter den formal-methodischen Voraussetzungen einer Übersetzung ist;<sup>54</sup> viel eher handelt es sich um eine Art "Midrash-Type Exegesis,"<sup>55</sup> d.h. um eine über den Literalsinn hinausgehende Art der Übersetzung, wie sie aus der rabbinischen Schriftauslegung angeregt ist, primär die Halakha betrifft und die Haggada speist.<sup>56</sup> Dabei muss grundsätzlich zwischen einer bereits in der hebräischen Vorlage bezeugten und einer erst durch den Übersetzer erfolgten midraschischen Erweiterung unterschieden werden; "However, it is well-known to the textual scholar that it is often very hard, if not impossible, to decide whether a given Midrashic element, or, for that matter, any exegetical deviation from the MT, is based on a Hebrew variant reading or tradition."<sup>57</sup> Der von Tov in diesem Zusammenhang gebrauchte Traditionsbegriff darf dabei nicht auf den geistes- und theologiegeschichtlichen Kontext des Erstübersetzers oder der hebräischen Vorlage enggeführt werden,<sup>58</sup> insofern auch spätere LXX-Lesarten Parallelen im jüdisch-hellenistischen wie rabbinischen Schrifttum haben können,<sup>59</sup> ohne zuvor in der Erstübersetzung Niederschlag gefunden zu haben. Da die vorhexa-

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53. Olofsson, *Translation*, 26; vgl. auch James Barr, *Comparative Philology and the text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 282–85.

54. Vgl. auch Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "In a Mirror, Dimly—Reading the Septuagint as a Document of Its Times," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus und R. Glenn Wooden, SCS 53 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2006), 15–31 (17); Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, Benjamins Translation Library 4 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995), 274–79; vgl. aber Olofsson, *Translation*, 26.

55. Tov, *Septuaginta*, 177.

56. Vgl. dazu schon Zacharias Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese* (Leipzig: Barth, 1831), 42–53; Leo Priejs, *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), passim; vgl. auch Tov, "Septuaginta," 177–78.

57. Emanuel Tov, "Midrash-Type Exegesis in the LXX of Joshua," *RB* 85 (1978): 50–61, bes. 51.

58. Vgl. auch David W. Gooding, *Relics of Ancient Exegesis: A Study of the Miscellanies in 3 Reigns 2*, SOTSMS 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976), 26; David J. Halperin, "Merkabah Midrash in the Septuagint," *JBL* 101 (1982): 351–63, bes. 351.

59. Vgl. Ernst Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung in die Biblica Hebraica* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1988), 81.

plarischen Revisionen und Rezensionen in einem grundsätzlich ähnlichen geistes- und theologiegeschichtlichen Umfeld wie die *rewritten bible*-Literatur entstanden sind, d.h. nicht nur im Bewusstsein der Existenz rabbinischer Zitat- und Traditionsliteratur, sondern in dessen Kenntnis, ist von parallelen Einflüssen eingedenk des jeweiligen Genres, der Adressaten und Intentionen auszugehen. In Einzelfällen mag es sich daher selbst im Richterbuch um griechische Übersetzungen *ad sensum*, nämlich *ad sensum rabbinicum* handeln.



# The Septuagint Translation of the Books of Kings in the Context of the History of Early Jewish Literature

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**Abstract:** Why are the books of Kings translated into Greek alongside the production of new texts dealing with Israel's history? This contribution sketches developments in Second Temple Judaism which led to the production of these texts that between the third century BCE and the first century CE came to be seen as Holy Scripture.<sup>1</sup>

There is a growing awareness in Septuagint research that one cannot simply take the much debated rationale for the translation of the Torah<sup>2</sup> and apply it to the translations of the other parts of what later became biblical books.<sup>3</sup> This is all the more so because some of the postpentateuchal works were translated in Israel and some, outside of Israel. Further, the translation of these texts was not the project of

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1. With gratitude, I mention the kindness of Prof. Dr. William Loader, Perth, to edit a readable English version of my paper. With gratitude, I used Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, ed., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), and Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

2. See Gilles Dorival, "New Light About the Origin of the Septuagint?," in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer, WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 36–47.

3. See Gert J. Steyn, "Which 'LXX' are we talking about in NT scholarship?," in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 698–707, esp. 699–701.

an all-embracing scholarly enterprise,<sup>4</sup> and it also remains a question whether Philo or Paul regarded such postpentateuchal texts as part of the Septuagint?<sup>5</sup>

There are a variety of attempts to explain, for instance, the translation of the latter prophets. They were translated, so Arie van der Kooij argues in relation to Isaiah, because what they had predicted had come true.<sup>6</sup> But why were the former prophets translated? Was the translation of the book of Joshua motivated by cultural prestige, with a focus more on military than on religious themes, analogous to the reworking of Egyptian and Babylonian history in the third century BCE by Berossus and Manetho?<sup>7</sup> Were the translators wanting to remind the Jews in the diaspora of their own history, as Folker Siegert suggests?<sup>8</sup> The mostly very literal translations of the original, with the exception of Joshua, offer little by way of clues. We are left then with needing to reconstruct a plausible milieu in which someone felt the need to make these sometimes cumbersome texts available in Greek.

It was not simply the interest in heroes that was decisive. If that had been the case, it would have been better to have written a new text like Chronicles but going beyond its schematic structures. It appears that there were various concerns operating in literary circles: uncritical glorification especially of heroes for the purpose of reassurance or propaganda, as well as didactic concerns centered on the Torah. Sometimes these concerns overlapped. The first is evident in the so-called Miscellanies in 3 Kingdoms and in some parts of the Septuagint of Chronicles, as also in Artapanus. The concern with teaching Torah could also use the failures of significant figures as negative examples to this end. Both tendencies, glorification of Israel and its God and didactic concerns, including warnings about wrong behavior, need not have been mutually exclusive in this context.

These two tendencies, however, do not explain why the dual phenomena of translating old texts alongside producing new ones. A newly produced text can be glorifying (such as Artapanus) but also critical, such as in apocalyptic texts of

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4. See Emanuel Tov, "Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations," in Kraus and Karrer, *Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*, 3–22, esp. 16–17.

5. Peter J. Williams, "The Bible, The Septuagint, and the Apocrypha," in *Studies on the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon*, ed. Geoffrey Khan and Diana Lipton, VTSup 149 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 169–80, esp. 177–78.

6. Arie van der Kooij, "The Old Greek of Isaiah and Other Prophecies Published in Ptolemaic Egypt," in Kraus and Karrer, *Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*, 72–84.

7. Michaël N. van der Meer, "Provenance, Profile, and Purpose of the Greek Joshua," in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Leiden 2004*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 54 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 55–80, esp. 78.

8. Folker Siegert, *Zwischen hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament*, Münsteraner Studien zur Theologie 9 (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 2001), 39.

the postexilic period, which are predominantly negative in their treatment of Israel's history. Translations can, in turn, reflect heroic tendencies, as far as their literalness allows us to detect them. We find such tendencies in some brief passages in the books of Kings and Chronicles.

The juxtaposition of work on older historical writings in Hebrew and production of new ones continued into the second century BCE. This raises the question: why were new works being produced when texts that later became biblical texts already existed? Or, approaching the issue from a different angle, why did they continue to work on the older texts, resulting in a plurality of texts,<sup>9</sup> when new ones were being produced which also claimed revelatory authority, such as 1Q22, the Temple Scroll, and Jubilees, whose claims were, indeed, sometimes acknowledged?<sup>10</sup> There was no clear cut distinction between "biblical" literature and texts formerly classified as "rewritten Bible."<sup>11</sup>

With regard to this reworking, we have to bear two issues in mind: (1) We have to distinguish between textual variants and variants reflecting theological interests.<sup>12</sup> These theological variants derive from a scribal milieu that reflects both ancient philological interests and clearly theological concerns.<sup>13</sup> (2) Such variants are to be found both in the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek of the former prophets and in the Masoretic text, both of which show traces of textual development.

In my view, the work on these texts that were to become canonical belonged to the tendency to treat Israel's history as integral to Israel's identity centered on the worship of the one true God and on his torah. We can detect the beginnings of the tendency to assess biblical figures on the basis of their adherence to monotheism and the centralization of the cult already in the books

9. Emanuel Tov, "The Qumran Hebrew Texts and the Septuagint: An Overview," in *Die Septuaginta: Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund, WUNT 286 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 3–17, esp. 16; Andrés Piquer Otero, "What Text to Edit? The Oxford Hebrew Bible Edition of 2 Kings 17,1–23," in *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts; The Historical Books*, ed. Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, and Julio Treballe Barrera, BETL 246 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 227–43, esp. 242.

10. See Jan Doehorn, *Die Apokalypse des Mose: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, TSAJ 106 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 217.

11. Moshe J. Bernstein, "'Rewritten Bible': A Generic Category Which Has Outlived Its Usefulness?," *Text* 22 (2005): 169–96 (175).

12. Emanuel Tov, "Theological Tendencies in the Masoretic Text of Samuel," in Ausloos, Lemmelijn, and Treballe Barrera, *After Qumran*, 3–30; Adrian Schenker, "What Do Scribes, and What Do Editors Do," in Ausloos, Lemmelijn, and Treballe Barrera, *After Qumran*, 275–93.

13. Counterbalancing antagonism is an issue within both corpora of literature, ancient philology on Homer, and the Septuagint (Schenker, "What Do Scribes," 290–91).

of Kings. This tendency then continues in Chronicles and in the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint translation of these books.

With regard to the newly produced texts like Sir 44–49, we can ask whether they, too, evaluate biblical figures according to similar criteria. But we can ask further: (1) Do they presuppose not only the tradition of the biblical figures, but also the biblical traditions as texts? (2) Did such impulses motivate the translations in Greek-speaking Judaism? Reworking Hebrew texts is one thing; translating them very literally, another. Did the purposes which led to new rewritten texts in Hebrew also lead to the translations? That cannot simply be assumed but needs to be demonstrated. On the basis of such caution, I now proceed to examine the material chronologically.

### 1. EXILIC AND EARLY POST-EXILIC PERIOD

The tendency in the books of Kings to evaluate a king with regard to his obedience to torah in general and especially to Deut 12:5, 15–19 (command of the centralization of the cult), is widely acknowledged. Second Kings 14:6; 18:6–7; and 23:25 are typical expressions of this pattern. Second Kings 14:6 gives the reason why Amaziah kills the murderers of his father but not their children as having been done: “according to what is written in the book of the law of Moses, where the Lord commanded, ‘The parents shall not be put to death for the children, or the children be put to death for the parents; but all shall be put to death for their own sins.’” This command, however, is part not of the Torah but of Ezek 18. In 2 Kgs 18:6–7, the connection between Hezekiah’s good conduct and his divine support is stated in a way which is repeated very often in the Chronicles. In 2 Kgs 23:25, Josiah is characterized positively by identifying traits which recall Deut 6:5.

To characterize single persons, however, is one thing, to characterize periods of history, another. We also have to consider the historical psalms and Ezek 20. In Ps 136, written sometime after 400 BCE,<sup>14</sup> the consideration of Israel’s history during the exodus includes thankfulness for God’s everlasting love. In Ps 135, the polemic against foreign deities leads to the glorification of Israel’s God who is superior to other deities due to his power in creation.<sup>15</sup> In these psalms, we do not encounter critical comment about Israel’s conduct in contrast to Ps 78 and Ezek 20 where critique dominates. Based on its use of Deuteronomistic language, Ps 78 was probably written in the late exilic or

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14. See Erich Zenger, “Psalm 136,” in, *Psalmen 101–150*, by Erich Zenger and Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2008), 677.

15. According to Erich Zenger, “Psalm 135,” in Zenger and Hossfeld, *Psalmen 101–150*, 664, the psalm dates from the fourth century BCE.

postexilic period,<sup>16</sup> more likely, in my view, the latter. It is the first text that, like Chronicles, looks beyond what is reported in the Pentateuch, to include the disavowal of the Northern and the election of the Southern Kingdom.

## 2. THE LATE PERSIAN AND EARLY HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Isaac Kalimi<sup>17</sup> has clearly identified tendencies in Chronicles<sup>18</sup> to depict post-Mosaic figures positively or negatively on the basis of their adherence to Torah, in part continuing trends already laid down in the books of Kings but also going beyond them.<sup>19</sup> The latter is also true for the brief flashbacks on Israel's past. Thus 2 Chr 15:3–5 encourages Asa of Judah by referring to God's help in answer to prayer in the past; 2 Chr 16:8 reminds him of his former reliance on God, which is in contrast to his present foolishness; and 2 Chr 20:5–12 reminds God of his former deeds of salvation in order to persuade him to do so again against the Ammonites.

The books of Chronicles are helpful for discerning the emerging scribal milieu in another way, especially when compared with the books of Kings. In the latter, we find references to other books,<sup>20</sup> written probably as royal annals. By contrast, the books of Chronicles refer to books of prophets and seers, the books of Nathan and Gad (1 Chr 29:29), the books of Samaiah and Addo (2 Chr

16. See Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, "Psalm 78," in, *Psalmen 51–100*, by Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 429.

17. Isaac Kalimi, *Zur Geschichtsschreibung des Chronisten: Literarisch-historiographische Abweichungen der Chronik von ihren Paralleltexen in den Samuel- und Königsbüchern*, BZAW 226 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 115–43.

18. The books of Chronicles include a couple of literary strata. Antje Labahn, *Levitischer Herrschaftsanspruch zwischen Ausübung und Konstruktion: Studien zum multi-funktionalen Levitenbild der Chronik und seiner Identitätsbildung in der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels*, WMANT 131 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 2012), 32–39, suggests a primordial stratum at the time of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404–359 BCE) and a couple of redactional strata until the third century BCE. The last redactional stratum includes the tendencies mentioned here.

19. See Martin Meiser, "Historiographische Tendenzen in der Septuaginta," in *Die Apostelgeschichte im Kontext antiker und frühchristlicher Historiographie/Acts in the Context of Ancient and Early Christian Historiography*, ed. Jörg Frey, Clare K. Rothschild, and Jens Schröter, BZNW 162 (Berlin: de Gruyter 2009), 77–100 (81–2). In addition, I refer to the portrait of Hezekiah. Second Kings 18:6–7 praises him in terms of Deuteronomistic theology; 2 Chr 31:21 adds an allusion to Deut 6:5. On the other hand, the scolding in 2 Chr 24:7 may have been influenced by 2 Kgs 11:18.

20. See the "Book of the Acts of Solomon" (3 Kgdms 11:41); the "Book of the Annals of the Kings of Judah" 3 Kgdms 14:28[29]; 15:7, 23, further the "Book of the Annals of the Kings of Israel" in 3 Kgdms 15:31; 4 Kgdms 12:19[20]; 13:8[9]; 14:28; 15:11, 15, 21, 26.

12:15), the book of Iddo (2 Chr 13:22),<sup>21</sup> Isaiah's book on Uzziah (2 Chr 26:22), Isaiah's book on Hezekiah (2 Chr 32:32), the "records of the seers" on Manasseh's repentance (2 Chr 33:19), and Jeremiah's lament on Josiah (2 Chr 35:25). Our concern is not with the historical value of such works, but rather with the fact that alongside royal annals we find these additional works which address events during the various reigns.<sup>22</sup> This raises the question of the role these allusions play in Chronicles. Is it chronology?<sup>23</sup> Is it the actualization of traditional material?<sup>24</sup> Or is it to support the Chronicler's particular point of view? My answer is as follows: these references are part of the concluding remarks with regard to the described persons. The Chronicler does not make evaluative comment about these sources. He does not repeat the kind of critical remarks about kings found in 2 Chr 12:5 and 21:12–15 in relation to them or use them to do so. Rather these references serve to show agreement with these works, which, in turn, serve legitimize his own point of view.<sup>25</sup> Second Chronicles 33:19 illustrates this: the seers' and his own evaluation of Manasseh are identical. Thus the Chronicler claims to continue the heritage of legitimate prophecy within Israel, to give the correct interpretation of Israel's past, and so to persuade the reader that Israel's identity is to be centered on its God and his Torah.

### 3. THE SECOND CENTURY BCE

#### 3.1. JESUS SIRACH

Twice the author of this work points to Israel's history in order to instruct the reader both to trust in God (Sir 2:10) and to fear his power (Sir 16:7–9; 16:15 G II).<sup>26</sup> Israel's history generates identity and points to the correct path for the future, both for the nation and for the individual.<sup>27</sup> Sirach 39:1 and 44–49 are especially important in this regard. The sage "will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients, and he will be occupied with prophecies. He will preserve the narrative

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21. The word מדרש is to be understood in general sense; see, however, Siegfried Wagner, "דָּרַשׁ *dāraš* מִדְרָשׁ *midraš*," *ThWAT* 2:313–29, esp. 328: "Abhandlung ... zitierte Interpretation"; see further Sara Japhet, *2 Chronik*, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 176.

22. Nonroyal authorship is evident, similarly the issue of contemporaneous history as the main content.

23. Dieter Sänger, "2 Chronik," in *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, vol. 1 of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 1105–64, esp. 1125, with regard to 2 Chr 9:29.

24. Labahn, *Herrschaftsanspruch*, 246.

25. See Zipora Talshir, "Several Canon-Related Concepts Originating in Chronicles," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 386–403.

26. Sir 16:7 LXX presupposes Gen 6:4 LXX (γίγαντες).

27. Frank Ueberschaer, *Weisheit durch Begegnung*, BZAW 379 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 233.

of famous men, and he will penetrate into the twists of illustrations” (Sir 39:1, NETS). Perhaps a threefold or fourfold differentiation of the future biblical canon is emerging here.<sup>28</sup> The word “prophecy” may include also works on history, in analogy to 2 Chr 32:32.<sup>29</sup> In Sir 39:2, the phrase διηγῆσιν ἀνδρῶν ὀνομαστῶν συντηρήσει is translated as gen. subj. in NETS and LXX.D.<sup>30</sup> We have to remember the ancient notion of the “Introduction in the Old Testament”: Moses wrote the Torah, Joshua, the book of Joshua, Samuel, the book of Judges, the books of Samuel, et cetera.<sup>31</sup> It is, however, also possible to translate the gen. as gen. obj.: he will preserve the narrative about famous men. Then, the focus is history.

In the following context, the “understanding” (σύνεσις) of the scribe, given by God (Sir 39:6), is praised by many: “and his name will live for generations of generations” (Sir 39:9). The account recalls the words of David to Solomon in 1 Chr 22:11–13:

And now, my son, the Lord will be with you and will make you prosper, and you will build a house for the Lord, your God, as he has spoken concerning you. Only, may the Lord grant you wisdom and understanding and strengthen you over Israel both to watch over and to do the law of the Lord your God. Then he will make you prosper, if you take care to do the ordinances and the judgments, which the Lord commanded Moses for Israel.

There is a clear analogy: the king should be wise, like the scribe. Sometimes in Sirach, as in other literature of Second Temple Judaism, torah is mentioned but only summarily as a norm for orientation.<sup>32</sup>

What the reader of Sir 44–49 should learn is said right at the beginning: “the Lord created much glory” (Sir 44:2 NETS). Faithfulness to torah is a motif not always visible but implied. In Sir 44:16, the μετάνοια of Enoch is evaluated as “an example of repentance (μετάνοια) for generations,” and in Sir 44:17, Noah “was found perfect, righteous” despite the contents reported in Gen 9:20–21, which are not repeated in Sir 44. The “praise of the judges” in Sir 46:11

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28. See Michael Reitemeyer, “Sophia Sirach. Ben Sira / Ecclesiasticus / Das Buch Jesus Sirach: Erläuterungen zu Kap. 24–50,” in *Psalmen bis Daniel*, vol. 2 of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 2192–2267 (2230–31).

29. CD VII, 17 refers on texts like the books of Jeremiah or Ezekiel; 4Q397 14–21, 10.15 refers on announcements for the future.

30. NETS: “He will preserve the narrative of famous men;” LXX.D: “Die Darlegung namhafter Männer bewahrt er (im Gedächtnis).”

31. See b. B. Bat. 14b.

32. LXX Sir 19:19; LXX 32:24; LXX 45:5; Bar 4:4. See also the detail in Sir 46:20 [23], referring on the ἀνομία λαοῦ (in Sam 28, it is Saul alone who is guilty).

[13–14a] is shaped by Deuteronomistic terminology; similarly the praise of David, Hezekiah and Josiah in Sir 49:4.

We should also have in mind the parallel wording between Sir 39:10[11] and Sir 44:15. Sirach 39:10[11] formulates the praise of the scribe: τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ διηγῆσονται ἔθνη, καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἐξαγγελεῖ ἐκκλησία; in Sir 44:15, it is said concerning the ancestors: σοφίαν αὐτῶν διηγῆσονται λαοί, καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἐξαγγελεῖ ἐκκλησία. The scribe assumes the heritage of the ancestors who are functioning as examples to inform his self-understanding.<sup>33</sup>

Can we understand Sir 44–49 without the biblical source texts? To be sure, the paragraph on Aaron (Sir 45:6–22) is understandable in this way. Sirach 45:5 (“He caused him to hear his voice, and he led him into the deep darkness, and he gave him commandments”), recalls Exod 19–20, but a quite general knowledge of these traditions is sufficient.

Other texts, however, are not understandable without their biblical pretexts. Sirach 46:4[5] evokes questions concerning traditions of the sun standing still (Josh 10:12). Sirach 46:15 refers to the tradition of Samuel’s being as “accurate as a prophet.” In Sirach 49:12, the message of the Twelve Prophets is rendered in a rather brief way; they are not identified by name. In Sir 44:20, Abraham’s faithfulness to God’s command is mentioned, but without any explicit reference to circumcision. The reader must infer his acquaintance with Gen 17. The wording “faithful” presupposes knowledge of Gen 22. We cannot understand Sir 45:23 [29] (Pinehas’s atonement for Israel) without having Num 25 in mind; nor understand Sir 47:10 [12] without the portrait of David in the Chronicles. The notion of Samuel as Nazir in Sir 46:13 MS B presupposes 1 Kgdms 1:11 LXX diff. MT.

So we can conclude: for purposes of teaching,<sup>34</sup> Sir 44–49 is in most cases useful only if the biblical texts are at least orally transmitted.<sup>35</sup> This is true also for the Greek translation of Sirach’s book.

Are there differences between Jesus Sirach and the Chronicles? The number of references to Torah does not increase. The difference lies in the clear and

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33. See also Reitemeyer, “Erläuterungen,” 2248; Ueberschaer, *Weisheit durch Begegnung*, 232.

34. See Oda Wischmeyer, *Die Kultur des Buches Jesus Sirach*, BZNW 77 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995).

35. See also Benjamin G. Wright, “Biblical Tradition in the Praise of the Ancestors,” in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime’ on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér, JSJSup 127 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 183–207, esp. 188: “1. There is a large web of intertextual relations that shapes Ben Sira’s descriptions of his heroes and 2. His concern is not to reproduce the texts, but to carry out his own agendas and ideological commitments using these textual traditions as his raw material.”



explicit presentation in Sir 44:2 of the purpose of what is to follow, praise of the forefathers. But we cannot assume this is always the focus during this period.

### 3.2. QUMRAN

Traditions of the books of Samuel and Kings are not really important in the literature of Qumran. In Qumran texts, Joash, Hezekiah, and Josiah are not mentioned; Omri and Ahab are mentioned only in 1Q14 17–19 within a quotation of Mic 6:15–16.

Some Qumran texts dealing with persons of this period assume only a general orientation,<sup>36</sup> whereas other texts presuppose specific acquaintance with the detail. Thus, according to 4Q398 14, II, 2, David “was freed from his many afflictions and was forgiven.” The reader of 4Q398 (4QMMT) must have 1 Sam 12:13b in mind and so concludes from the fact that David received forgiveness that forgiveness was possible also for his addressee, if he is willing to do what is upright and good before God, according to the Torah interpretation of the author of the halakhic letter.

CD VIII, 16–21 depicts the turning aside of converts of Israel from the path of the people in a way that parallels Jeremiah’s word to Baruch Jer 43:3–5 and Elishah’s word to Gehazi 2 Kgs 5:25–27, which are rendered only in summary. Familiarity with these details is presupposed. In CD VIII, 16–21, where the Qumran members’ claim to be a religious élite is formulated, there is no need to prove that orientation to the Torah is the ruling criterion. It is assumed. CD V, 5–6 alludes to David’s murder of Uriah, which is not forgiven, though all the other things are forgiven. Since “David had not read the sealed book which was in the ark, for it had not been opened in Israel since the day of the death of Eleazar” (CD V, 2–3), he is not condemned for his “multiplying wives for himself” (Deut 17:17 forbids it). To understand this, the reader must be familiar with 1 Sam 11; 12. In CD XIII, 7–8, teaching Israel’s history in terms of theology is explicitly demanded. In some texts specific to Qumran, Israel’s postexilic history, evaluated in a negative way, is the rationale for the coming-into-being of the Qumran-group itself.

Once, the portrait of negative biblical figures is changed to a positive one. Despite 1 Sam 15, Saul’s victory over Amalek in 4Q252 1 IV, 1–3, is evaluated

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36. 4Q398 11–13, 2 mentions the “days of Jeroboam” and the exile without any comment. A general knowledge of Israel’s history is also presupposed in 4Q390 1, 4–5 and in apocalyptic texts dealing with Israel’s history. In 1QM XI, 1–2 (originating from the Hasmonean period), David’s victory against Goliath is explained on the basis of his trust in God and not in sword or spear; 1 Sam 17:45 is the background, but it is not absolutely necessary to have 1 Sam 17:45 in mind; the reader can understand 1QM XI, 1–2 also as generally pious admonition.

as adequate in the light of God's command to Moses in Deut 25:19.<sup>37</sup> In this way, it was possible for the parents of the later apostle of Jesus Christ to choose the name Saul. We do not know, however, why the author of 4Q252 changed the portrait of Saul in this way.

### 3.3. TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE BOOKS OF KINGS

In the textual transmission of the books of Kings, we find tendencies of actualization in the Septuagint, whereas tendencies of harmonizing with the Torah can occur in both Hebrew and Greek textual strands.<sup>38</sup> The most important example of the former tendency, the translation ἀλλόφυλοι for פְּלִשְׁתִּים in Judg 3:3, 31; 8:10 and in the Septuagint of Samuel, is well known. This translation influences also the book of Maccabees, where the term ἀλλόφυλοι names contemporary enemies of Israel.<sup>39</sup>

Tendencies of harmonizing with the Torah occur in the Hebrew tradition with regard to Hannah's and Elkana's offering<sup>40</sup> and Samuel's offering.<sup>41</sup> According to 2 Kgdms 8:18, the sons of David are not priests but chiefs of the court. This presentation is influenced by MT 1 Chr 18:17. Sometimes it is not clear which strand of textual tradition offers the starting point for the changes. 4 Kgdms 10:27<sup>42</sup> and 4 Kgdms 23:11<sup>43</sup> are examples for this.

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37. See Josephus, *Ant.* 7.346.

38. Despite that, we find sometimes the tendency of uncritical glorification. An example for this tendency is 2 Kgdms 2:25a–o: Solomon's marriage to the daughter of the pharaoh is without critical comment, in contrast to 3 Kgdms 11:1–2, a text which is shaped by Deuteronomistic thought. Sometimes the Masoretic text offers a more favorable portrait of a king of Israel; see Philippe Hugo, "The King's Return (2 Sam 19,10–16): Contrasting Characterizations of David, Israel and Juda in the Old Editions," in Ausloos, Lemmelijn, and Treballe Barrera, *After Qumran*, 95–118 (117 with n. 71); see also Kristin de Troyer, "Bathseba and Nathan: A Closer Look at Their Characterizations in MT, Kaige and the Antiochene Text," in Ausloos, Lemmelijn, and Treballe Barrera, *After Qumran*, 119–42 (140: MT 2 Sam 11:4 and kaige exonerates David, in contrast to the Antiochene text).

39. Perhaps Exod 34:15 influenced this translation, see Siegfried Kreuzer, "Kritai / Judices / Das Buch der Richter, Einleitung," in Karrer and Kraus, *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, 664–65.

40. 4Q51 par. 1 Kgdms 1:25 diff. 1 Sam 1:25; cf. Lev 23:9–21 (offering of bread).

41. 1 Kgdms 9:24 LXX diff. MT, cf. Lev 3:9; 7:3 (offering the fat tail only in a sacrifice of deliverance or error).

42. Is it Jehu (4 Kgdms 10:27Ant), or is it the people (MT + kaige-rec.) who pulled down the steles of Baal? Was it the intention of the Antiochene text to improve the portrait of Jehu, or was it the intention of the MT to avoid contradicting the negative evaluation of Jehu's revolution in Hos 1:4?

43. The phrase "in the house of On," extant only in the Antiochene text, could be an addition charging the authorities, or they could be omitted in MT in order to exonerate

The number of changes of this kind is modest but why? The very literal translation technique of the books of Kings makes clear that the translators treated these texts as inviolable. Some of the newly produced texts enhanced the tendency towards actualization, but the reader had to be familiar with the biblical reference texts to understand them. Therefore the transmission of biblical texts was necessary. Transmitting old and producing new texts were perhaps simply two sides of the same coin and not necessarily activities excluding one another.

There is an analogy in the transmitting and allegorical interpretation of Homer. Though at times subject to criticism, for instance, by Plato, his epic works were also valued for their moral doctrines.<sup>44</sup> Allegorical interpretation helped minimize offensive passages but also presupposed and therefore helped preserve the pure transmission of these texts.<sup>45</sup>

### 3.4. TRANSLATION OF CHRONICLES

In the Septuagint of Chronicles, there are only few changes relevant to the focus of this study. According to 1 Chr 10:13, Saul's death is caused by his making inquiries of a medium (1 Sam 28). Whereas in the MT it is named "unfaithfulness," the translator of the Septuagint uses a more general term, namely, "lawlessness" (*ἀνομία*). At the end of Josiah's portrait in LXX 2 Chr 35:19a–d, the translator (or his Hebrew source text) adds 4 Kgdms 23:25–27, which is shaped by allusions on Deut 6:5. Concerning David and Solomon, however, we find another tendency, that of political and military glorification, perhaps in order to assert Israel's adequacy and equal status in relation to surrounding nations.<sup>46</sup>

The term מִדְרָשׁ is rendered once by βιβλίον (2 Chr 13:22), once by γραφή (2 Chr 24:17). The aspect of interpreting Scripture is not an issue in the Septuagint of Chronicles.

1 Esdr 1:22 ("the matters of his reign in previous times have been recorded: about those who sinned and those who acted impiously toward the Lord") is perhaps a reference to 2 Kgs 22:11–20.<sup>47</sup>

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Jerusalem from the blame of a temple built for Baal; see Jürgen Werlitz and Siegfried Kreuzer, "Basileion IV: Das vierte Buch der Königtümer / Das zweite Buch der Könige nach dem antiochenischen Text," in Karrer and Kraus, *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, 973.

44. Dion of Prusa, *Hom. (Or. 53)*.11.

45. Heraclitus, *Hom. Probl.* 1.1; see Donald A. Russell and David Konstan, ed., *Heraclitus: Homeric Problems*, WGRW 14 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 2.

46. Antje Labahn and Dieter Sänger, "Die Bücher der Chronik: Einleitung," in Karrer and Kraus, *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, 1041, referring to 1 Chr 11:1–4, 8, etc.

47. Arie van der Kooij, "Zur Frage des Anfangs des 1. Esrabuches," *ZAW* 103 (1991): 239–52 (246).

### 3.5. TRANSLATION OF PSALMS

Concerning the Psalms dealing with Israel's history, there are no important changes with regard to the issues we are discussing in this paper. Solely in the superscription to Ps 77[78]:1, the term σύνεσις is added. Thirteen times, συνέσεως / εἰς σύνεσιν term renders the Hebrew מִשְׁכִּיל. Thus in Ps 77[78]:1, Israel's history is depicted in the light of perspectives informed by wisdom literature. The very literal translation of the Psalms shows that they well on the way to becoming holy texts. This is true also for the Psalms dealing with Israel's history and shaped by Deuteronomistic perspectives.

### 3.6. EUPOLEMUS AND PHILO THE ELDER

In Greek-speaking Jewish literature of this period, there are also historiographic interests concerning the persons of post-Mosaic époque. Eupolemus wrote around 158 BCE with the aim to convey Israel's history to non-Jewish readers. He presupposes the books of both Kings and Chronicles and is familiar with both the Greek and the Hebrew. Philo the Elder wrote a history of the kings of Judah, which differs from Demetrius's work in terms of chronology. Such historiographic interests both led to and presupposed the translation of the historical books.

## 4. THE END OF THE SECOND CENTURY BCE

In 1 Macc 2:49–60, some figures are only briefly mentioned usually in reference to important events of their life. It is not necessary to list all the biblical source texts. It is more important to note, for instance, that the source texts must be available in order for 1 Macc 2 to be understood properly. Thus the motif of David's mercy in 1 Macc 2:57 presupposes familiarity with 2 Sam 9; and Elijah's zealousness for the law presupposes 1 Kgs 18; 19. In 1 Macc 4:30, the mention of the "bearer of David's armor," alludes to 1 Sam 14:6, which must be available for the reader to understand the allusion. The term ἀλλόφυλοι draws a parallel between David's enemies and contemporary enemies, a parallel which the reader can appreciate only if the texts of the book of Samuel are available in oral or written transmission. By contrast, 1 Macc 4:9 alludes to Exod 14 in order to motivate to trust in God but does not presuppose any acquaintance with the text of Exod 14 in detail. The same is true of 1 Macc 7:41 with its allusions on 2 Kgs 18; 19.

## 5. THE FIRST CENTURY BCE

### 5.1. QUMRAN

In the Qumran texts of this period, traditions recorded in the books of Kings appear to have little or no significance. For example, the name “Bethel” occurs mostly in the rendering of traditions concerning Abraham or Jacob<sup>48</sup> but only once in reference to the “old man” from 1 Kgs 13 who is named in the “list of false prophets.”<sup>49</sup>

Scribal interests are reflected in 4Q160, which goes beyond mere transmission of the text of the books of Samuel. Historical interests are also evident in 4Q559, a chronological work originating from the Hasmonean period and including also the times of the judges, and perhaps also in 6Q9,<sup>50</sup> whose fragmentary status, however, precludes any certainty in interpretation. 4Q399 may be seen as the earliest Jewish example of practice list-making, following Hellenistic models.<sup>51</sup> 4Q381 33 offers a partly revised version of the prayer of Manasseh, based on 2 Chr 33:12. 4Q174 III, 7–13 quotes 2 Sam 7:11–14, actualizing it for the Qumran congregation, but without changing the source text.

### 5.2. TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOOKS OF KINGS

By the first century BCE, the text of the books of Kings had achieved an elevated status. The kaige-recension illustrates this, where even the morphologic surface of the text is treated as authoritative by the translators.<sup>52</sup>

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48. 1QapGen XXI, 1, 7, 8 (on Abraham); 1Q17, 3 (early Herodian period, on Jacob); 4Q464 9 (Herodian period, on Jacob); 5Q13 2,6 (first century CE on Jacob); 11Q19 XXIX, 10 (on Jacob).

49. 4Q339, 3 (first century BCE).

50. 4Q245, 4Q247, and 4Q470 are very fragmentary, so we cannot describe the character of these texts.

51. Shaye J. D. Cohen, “False prophets (4Q339), Netinim (4Q340), and Hellenism at Qumran,” in *The Significance of Yavneh and Other Essays in Jewish Hellenism*, by Shaye J.D. Cohen, TSAJ 136 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 93–102.

52. See Siegfried Kreuzer, “Das frühjüdische Textverständnis und die Septuaginta-Versionen der Samuelbücher: Ein Beitrag zur textgeschichtlichen und übersetzungstechnischen Bewertung des Antiochenischen Textes und der Kaige-Rezension an Hand von 2 Sam 15,1–12,” in *La Septante en Allemagne et en France / Septuaginta Deutsch und Bible d’Alexandrie*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Olivier Munnich, OBO 238 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 3–28 (21–24).

## 6. THE FIRST CENTURY CE

In the first century CE, the so-called former prophets are treated as Holy Scriptures. Josephus reports their preservation in the temple archive of Jerusalem (*Ant.* 5.61), similarly to the preservation of the Torah (*Ant.* 3.81). LAB 43:4 presupposes acquaintance with Judg 14:5; 15:15. Liv. Pro. 16:3 explicitly mentions this biblical book. Fourth Maccabees 18:10–20 mirrors a program of domestic education substantiated by biblical traditions and focusing on the preservation of Israel's identity. Abel's murder, Isaac's binding, Joseph's imprisonment, the zealous Phinehas, Azarias, Ananias, Meshach, Daniel, are all mentioned, as well as Isaiah, Psalms and Proverbs, and the Song of Moses. Persons of the postpentateuchal historical books are not mentioned, but the focus of this passage does not require it. Eagerness for martyrdom, sustaining the righteous in affliction, and resurrection of the dead are the main elements of 4 Maccabees' repertory. Persons of the postpentateuchal historical books did not offer any contribution beyond the figures mentioned in this text.

## 7. CONCLUSION

The reworking of texts that later became biblical texts had its origin in a scribal milieu where the interpreters valued these texts as a basis for formulating Israel's identity and in doing so to highlight both positive and negative examples. Only sometimes they changed these texts. The tendency to glorify human figures is also sometimes present, but is not dominant in the literature of early Judaism.

Side by side with these texts, other new texts were written. They served both to glorify Israel and Israel's God and to provide resources for didactic purposes. Chronicles enhances and develops further the tendency, found already in the books of Kings, to describe and evaluate Israel's history on the basis of whether the kings preserved monotheism and supported the centralizing of the cult. In contrast to Kings, here, beside writers of the royal annals, prophets who wrote of Israel's history feature as sources. The author of Chronicles deems them trustworthy clearly aligns his theological point of view with theirs, thus enhancing both his own authority and theirs.

The fact that Greek translations of the books of Kings and Chronicles were made reflects common interests but at the same time opens the way for the production of new works reflecting sometimes different sets of interests.

In the second century BCE, we find texts claiming an authority of their own (1Q22, Jubilees) alongside texts, later to become biblical texts, on which the new authoritative texts in part depend. In this way, these older texts, which were to become biblical texts, became part of Israel's national literature, analogous to what happened with the epics of Homer. This both presupposes and facilitates their literary translation. Their application to issues of Jewish identity is

illustrated in the section on praise of the forefathers in the new composition, Sirach (Sir 44–49). New texts preserved at Qumran are in many cases too fragmentary for firm conclusions to be drawn. From what can be discerned, one frequently finds a negative assessment of Israel's (postexilic) history used as a basis for legitimizing the distinctive existence of the Qumran group as a congregation of converts.

In the first century BCE, parts of the historical books are the focus of interpretation but on the basis that their texts are established. The kaige-revision illustrates the increasing holiness attributed to these texts even with regard to their morphologic surface. Finally, in the first century CE, the historical books have become part of Israel's sacred Scripture.





# Erzählung und Gesetz im Buch Esther

*Petr Chalupa*

Abstract: What is the relationship between the narrative and the law in the book of Ester? The article explores, on the one hand, the influence of the formulated binding measures (the “law”) to the narrative; on the other hand, it follows up motives for the narration. Both have been investigated not only in the Masoretic text, but also in the Septuagint, in so-called Alpha-text, and in the Jewish Antiquities of Flavius Josephus (*Ant.* 11.184–296). The author asks if there is a change in the relationship between narrative and law in the Greek versions. Comparison of the Masoretic text with three Greek versions shows that the Septuagint and the so-called Alpha text are less than the Masoretic text interested in the juridical connotations. Josephus emphasized, however, that everything narrated are actually the consequences of the law.

## THEMATIK UND VORGEHENSWEISE

Das Buch Ester können wir gattungsgemäß unter anderem als eine Erzählung mit vielen Episoden bezeichnen. Diese biblische Schrift spricht an vielen Stellen von autoritativ festgelegten, verbindlichen Bestimmungen, an einigen Stellen wörtlich vom „Gesetz“. Wir können angemessen fragen: In welcher Beziehung steht im Buch Ester die Erzählung zum „Gesetz“ oder „das Gesetz“ zur Erzählung?<sup>1</sup> Ich wende meine Aufmerksamkeit den verbindlich formulierten Maßnahmen (dem „Gesetz“) zu, die sich aus dem Erzählten ergeben. Zugleich interessiert mich im Buch Ester, welche Impulse die Respektierung oder Nichtrespektierung eines „Gesetzes“ für das weitere Erzählen geben kann. Beides

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1. Dahinter steht die Problematik von „biblical legal narrative“. In letzter Zeit dazu: Klaus-Peter Adam, ed., *Law and Narrative in the Bible and in Neighbouring Ancient Cultures*, FAT 2/54 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

werde ich parallel im Masoretischen Text (MT), in der LXX,<sup>2</sup> im sogenannten Alpha-Text (AT) und in den „Jüdischen Altertümern“ von Flavius Josephus untersuchen und fragen, ob es zu Änderungen im Verhältnis zwischen Erzählung und „Gesetz“ in den griechischen Versionen kommt—im Vergleich mit dem MT.<sup>3</sup>

Im Bereich „Gesetz“ begrenzt sich die Untersuchung auf die Texte, die eine gesetzgebende Autorität ausdrücken, sei es mittels der Substantive (Gesetz, Anordnung usw.), sei es mittels der Verben (anordnen, verpflichten usw.). Die juristischen Konnotationen einiger Zeichenhandlungen (z. B. „besiegeln mit dem Siegelring des Königs“—Est 3,12; 8,8) oder die Andeutungen der Respektierung einiger Vorschriften (z. B. „die Hand nicht nach der Beute zu strecken“—Est 9,10.15.16) bleiben unerwähnt und sind offen für eine zukünftige Analyse.

## 1. DETAILLIERT GEREGLTES LEBEN IM PERSERREICH

Im Text des Esterbuches finden wir Spuren einer teilweise historisch belegbaren Wirklichkeit,<sup>4</sup> dass die Gesetze mehrere Lebensbereiche bis in die Einzelheiten bestimmen.

### 1.1. WEINTRINKEN (EST 1,8)

Der Anfang des Esterbuches (abgesehen von dem Mardochais Traum in LXX und AT) erweckt den Eindruck, dass der König Artaxerxes nichts anderes zu tun hat, als „seinen ganzen Reichtum und seine königliche Pracht“ zur Schau zu stellen (Est 1,4). Bei der Schilderung des zweiten Festmahls ergibt sich, dass auch scheinbare Kleinigkeiten im Perserreich geregelt sind. Zum Beispiel „beim Trinken galt die Regel, niemanden zu etwas zu drängen“.

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2. C. Cavalier gibt 17 Stellen an, wo der LXX-Text von Anordnungen des Königs oder Mardochais, von der Legislative und von den Gewohnheiten der Perser und der Juden spricht. Es kommen mehrere Typen der „Gesetze“ in Betracht: die königlichen Dekrete sanktionieren das Urteil oder die Entscheidung des Hofes, die Volkslegislative, spezielle Promulgation durch einen Würdenträger nach der Anordnung des Königs oder nach der eigenen Initiative. Vgl. Claudine Cavalier, *Esther: Traduction du texte grec de la Septante*, La Bible d'Alexandrie 12 (Paris: Cerf, 2012), 67–68.

3. Die Zitate stammen aus den Bibelworks8-Dateien (MT, LXX, Josephus). Der Alpha-Text wird nach Robert Hanhart, *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 131–208 zitiert.

4. „No collections of Persian law have survived, though their existence in antiquity seems likely“. Siehe James W. Watts, *Reading Law: The Rhetorical Shaping of the Pentateuch* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1999), 141.

Tabellarische Darstellung der Konstruktionen in Est 1,8

|     | MT                    | LXX                                                                    | AT                                              | Josephus                                                                                                 |
|-----|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1,8 | והשתיה בדת<br>אין אנס | ὁ δὲ πότος οὗτος οὐ<br><u>κατὰ προκείμενον</u><br><u>νόμον</u> ἐγένετο | καὶ<br>πότος<br><u>κατὰ τὸν</u><br><u>νόμον</u> | προσέταπτεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς<br>διακόνοις μὴ βιάζεσθαι<br>πίνειν τὸ ποτὸν ... ὥς καὶ<br>παρὰ Πέρσαις γίγνεται |

Die gesetzliche Regelung trifft also manchmal auch scheinbare Kleinigkeiten. Auch wenn es an dieser Stelle mehr um Beschreibung des Ausgangsstandes als um Erzählen geht, dokumentiert dieses Detail die Bedeutung der gesetzlichen Regelung im Perserreich. Während der MT, LXX und AT mit einem (LXX „vorausbestimmten“) Gesetz rechnen, hebt Josephus den König als Person hervor, der dieses Handeln regelt. Er ordnet den Dienern an, dass sie niemanden zum Trinken drängen dürfen. Es spielt sich jedoch ab, wie „es bei den Persern geschieht“. Josephus sieht darin eher eine persische Gewohnheit als eine gesetzliche Regelung.

## 1.2. DIE VERSAMMLUNG DER JUNGFRAUEN

Die Versammlung der Jungfrauen wird in MT als Handlung nach dem Gesetz (דת) bezeichnet. Der Text benutzt dafür die Wortverbindung „das Wort des Königs und sein Gesetz“ (Est 2,8). Die LXX spricht an dieser Stelle nur von der Anordnung (*πρόσταγμα*) des Königs.

Tabellarische Darstellung der Konstruktionen in Est 2,8

|     | MT            | LXX                                 | AT | Josephus         |
|-----|---------------|-------------------------------------|----|------------------|
| 2,8 | דבר-המלך ודתו | τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως<br><u>πρόσταγμα</u> | —  | <u>προσέταξε</u> |

Est 2,8 bezieht sich auf Est 2,3, wo der König die Versammlung der Jungfrauen im MT „beauftragt“ (פקד), in der LXX „verordnet“ (*καθίστημι*), in Josephus „anordnet“ (*προστάσσω*). Nur der MT verstärkt die ursprüngliche Beauftragung (Est 2,3), er versteht sie als Gesetz (Est 2,8). Dieses Gesetz setzt die erzählte Versammlung der Jungfrauen in Gang. Josephus weist im vorausgehenden Text (*Ant.* 11:195) auf ein persisches Gesetz (*νόμος*) hin, nach dem die Versöhnung mit der vertriebenen Frau nicht möglich war. Deswegen musste man unter den Jungfrauen eine neue Königin suchen.<sup>5</sup>

5. Josephus weiß auch, dass der König Ester rechtmäßig (*νομίμως*) als Gattin angenommen hat (*Ant.* 11:202).

## 1.3. DIE KOSMETISCHE PFLEGE DER FRAUEN

Weitere detailliert beschriebene Kleinigkeit betrifft die kosmetische Pflege der Frauen. Diese Pflege soll nach dem „Gesetz für die Frauen“ (Est 2,12) durchgeführt werden.

Tabellarische Darstellung der Konstruktion in Est 2,12

|      | MT        | LXX | AT | Josephus |
|------|-----------|-----|----|----------|
| 2,12 | כדת הנשים | —   | —  | —        |

Aus dem Vergleich mit drei griechischen Versionen ergibt sich, dass sich nur der MT an dieser Stelle so „legalistisch“ äußert. Kein Wunder, weil die zeitlich bestimmte und materiell so gründlich beschriebene Pflege mit einem Gesetz festgelegt werden muss. Doch keine der drei griechischen Versionen benutzt für die Behandlung der Frauen einen so starken Begriff wie „Gesetz“.

## 2. EIN ABGELEITETES GESETZ AUFGRUND DER ERZÄHLTEN GEHORSAMSVERWEIGERUNG DER KÖNIGIN WASCHTI (EST 1,10–22)

Wenn der König etwas sagt, muss es nach seinem Wort geschehen. Königin Washti soll vor die Gäste treten (Est 1,10–11), wie der König „sagt“ (MT, LXX, AT) oder „gebietet“ (Josephus). In Est 1,12 lehnt es aber die Königin ab. Die Erzählung widmet sich danach den Auswirkungen des Ungehorsams. Die „Gesetzes- und Rechtskundigen“ (Est 1,13) sollen diesen Fall behandeln. Der König fragt nach einem diesbezüglichen Gesetz: „Wie ist nach dem Gesetz mit der Königin Washti zu verfahren?“ (Est 1,15). Die Anweisung setzt ein neues „königliche Wort“ voraus, das „in die Gesetze von Persien und Medien“ eingetragen soll (Est 1,19) und für Washti die Verstoßung bedeutet. Im breiteren Kontext der vorbeugenden Konfliktlösung im ganzen Königsreich wird das königliche Wort als „Anordnung des Königs“ bezeichnet (Est 1,20).

Tabellarische Darstellung der Konstruktionen in Est 1,10–22

|      | MT                                            | LXX                                                                     | AT                                                                  | Josephus                                                                    |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1,13 | ידעי דת ודין                                  | ποιήσατε οὖν περὶ<br>τούτου νόμον καὶ<br>κρίσιν                         | εἰδόσι νόμον<br>καὶ κρίσιν                                          | οἱ τὴν τῶν νόμων<br>ἐξηγήσιν ἔχουσι                                         |
| 1,15 | כדת                                           | κατὰ τοὺς νόμους                                                        | —                                                                   | κατ' αὐτῆς νόμον                                                            |
| 1,19 | דבר־מלכות<br>מלפניו ויכתב<br>בדתי<br>פרס־ומדי | προσταξάτω βασιλικόν<br>γραφῆτω κατὰ τοὺς<br>νόμους Μήδων καὶ<br>Περσῶν | —<br>γραφῆτω εἰς<br>πάσας τὰς<br>χώρας καὶ<br>πρὸς πάντα τα<br>ἔθνη | —<br>διαγγεῖλαι τοῖς<br>ἔθνεσιν<br>τὰ περὶ τῆς<br>βασιλείσσης<br>κεκυρωμένα |

|      |                                 |                                             |   |   |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1,20 | וַשְׁמַע פִּתְגָּם<br>הַמֶּלֶךְ | καὶ ἀκουσθήτω ὁ νόμος<br>ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως | — | — |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|---|---|

Die Gesetzes- und Rechtskundigen (MT und AT; Josephus: „die Interpreten der Gesetze“) sollen das Gesetz kennen, das die Ablehnung des königlichen Wortes sanktioniert (Est 1,13); in LXX sollen die Leute um den König das Gesetz nicht nur kennen; sie sollen nach dem Gesetz und Recht handeln. Ein solches Gesetz (MT: Singular; LXX: Plural) setzt der König (in Est 1,15) voraus. Nach diesem Gesetz soll man nun handeln. Die Gesetzes- und Rechtskundigen zitieren kein Gesetz. Sie fordern ein neues königliches Wort (MT, LXX), das nach ihrer Meinung promulgiert werden soll. Dieses Wort erweitert nach dem MT und nach der LXX die Gesetze der Perser und Meder (Est 1,19). Es trifft aber mit der Verstoßung nicht nur Washti. Es soll für alle Frauen im Perserreich als Anordnung gelten, damit sie den Männern Ehre erweisen (Est 1,20).

Die LXX übersetzt die hebräischen (im MT), aus dem Persischen übernommenen, Wörter דָּת (dreimal) und פִּתְגָּם mit νόμος. Die Wortverbindung דָּת וְדִין geben LXX sowie AT als νόμος καὶ κρίσις wieder. In der LXX wie im MT geben diese Gesetzbestimmungen Impulse für die Erzählung.

Der Alpha-Text lässt in der Erzählung im Vergleich mit MT/LXX drei juristische Begriffe aus, und zwar zweimal דָּת /νόμος (1,15; 1,19) und einmal פִּתְגָּם /νόμος (1,20). Diese Version der Erzählung ist zumindest in Bezug auf den Wortschatz weniger als der MT und die LXX an Gesetzen und Anordnungen interessiert. Hier kann man erzählen, auch ohne im Gesetz einen Impuls für die Erzählung zu haben.

Josephus nähert sich dem MT. Zweimal wird das Gesetz (νόμος) als Impuls für die Erzählung genannt. Interessanterweise erwähnt aber nur Josephus (im Vergleich mit MT, LXX und AT) die Gesetze der Perser, nach denen die Frauen nicht von den Fremden angeschaut werden dürften (Ant. 11.191). Josephus betont, dass Washti mit ihrem Ungehorsam eigentlich das Gesetz einhält. Es kommt zum Konflikt zwischen diesem Gesetz und dem aktuellen Gebot des Königs. Nach Josephus verpflichtet das Wort des persischen Königs mehr als die persischen Gesetze. Er kann die Verbindlichkeit des gültigen Gesetzes mit einem aktuellen Gebot annullieren.

### 3. AUSWIRKUNGEN EINES GESETZES ALS IMPULSE FÜR DAS ERZÄHLEN

#### 3.1. FOLGEN DER ABSONDERNDEN JÜDISCHEN GESETZE (EST 3,1–13)

Die Prostration vor Haman ist vom König angeordnet: „denn so hatte es der König mit Blick auf ihn befohlen“ (Est 3,2). Die Diener des Königs verstehen diesen Befehl als verbindliche Norm. Deswegen fragen sie nach dem Motiv des Ungehorsams von Mordechai: „Warum übertrittst du das Gebot des Königs?“ (Est 3,3). Er antwortet nur mit dem Hinweis auf seine jüdische Herkunft. Daran

knüpft Hamans Charakterisierung der Juden an. Nach seiner Ansicht unterscheiden sich die jüdischen Gesetze von den Gesetzen anderer Völker: „ihre Gesetze unterscheiden sich von denen jedes anderen Volks“ (Est 3,8). Daraus folgt zugleich, dass die Juden „die Gesetze des Königs nicht befolgen“ (Est 3,8). Hamans Brief (LXX-Zusatz B 1–7) befasst sich mit den jüdischen Gesetzen auf zwei Stellen (B 4.5). Sie werden als „zu jedem anderen Volk in Gegensatz stehende“ (B 4) und als „absonderliche und befremdliche Gesetze“ (B 5) charakterisiert.<sup>6</sup> Im AT und bei Josephus charakterisiert Haman ebenfalls die Juden als Volk mit den absonderlichen und befremdlichen Gesetzen und Anordnungen.

Tabellarische Darstellung der Konstruktionen in Est 3,1–13

|      | MT                                                                                   | LXX                                                                                                                                | AT                                                                                             | Josephus                                                                                                |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3,2  | כִּי־כֵן צוּת־לּוֹ<br>הַמֶּלֶךְ                                                      | <u>προσέταξεν</u> ὁ βασιλεὺς                                                                                                       | κατὰ τὸ<br><u>πρόσταγμα</u> τοῦ<br>βασιλέως                                                    | Ἀρταξέρξου<br><u>κελεύοντος</u>                                                                         |
| 3,3  | מִצַּוַּת הַמֶּלֶךְ                                                                  | τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως<br>λεγόμενα                                                                                                    | τοῦ βασιλέως                                                                                   | Μαρδοχαίου<br>δὲ διὰ σοφίαν<br>καὶ τὸν<br>οἶκοθεν αὐτοῦ<br><u>νόμον</u> οὐ<br>προσκυνοῦντος<br>ἄνθρωπον |
| 3,8  | וְדַתִּיהֶם<br>שְׁנוֹת<br>מִכְלָעֵם<br>וְאִתִּתֵּיהֶם<br>הַמֶּלֶךְ אֵינֶם<br>עֹשִׂים | οἱ δὲ <u>νόμοι</u> αὐτῶν ἑξαλλοὶ<br>παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη<br>τῶν δὲ <u>νόμων</u> τοῦ βασιλέως<br>παρακούουσιν                         | ἑξαλλὰ νόμιμα<br>ἔχων τοῖς δὲ<br><u>νομίμοις</u> σοῦ<br>βασιλεῦ οὐ<br>προσέχουσι               | <u>νόμοις</u><br>χρώμενον<br>ὁμοίους                                                                    |
| 3,13 | —                                                                                    | B4 τοῖς <u>νόμοις</u> ἀντίθετον<br>πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος τὰ τε τῶν<br>βασιλέων παραπέμποντας<br>B5 <u>νόμων</u> ξενίζουσιν<br>παραλλάσσον | B4 <u>νόμοις</u><br>ἀντιδικοῦντα<br>πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος<br>B5 διὰ τῶν<br><u>νόμων</u><br>ξενίζουσιν | τοῖς <u>νόμοις</u><br>ἀλλόκοτον καὶ<br>τοῖς<br>βασιλεῦσιν<br>ἀνυπότακτον                                |

Wie im Fall Washti führt auch der Ungehorsam Mordechais gegenüber dem königlichen Befehl zur Katastrophe. Der MT sagt nicht, warum sich Mordechai vor Haman nicht niederwirft. Die Begründung, dass der Respekt vor dem eigenen Gesetz (διὰ τὸν οἶκοθεν αὐτοῦ νόμον), das die Prostration vor Menschen verbietet, kennt nur Josephus (Ant. 11.210). Doch Haman sieht ausdrücklich in

6. Umgekehrt charakterisiert Ester die Nicht-Juden in ihrem Gebet als Leute ohne Gesetz, *ἀνόμοι* (LXX: Est 4,17u; AT C 25).

den absonderlichen jüdischen Gesetzen die Begründung für die vorgeschlagene Ausrottung der Juden im ganzen Reich.

In Hamans Brief (Zusatz B in LXX und in AT<sup>7</sup> sowie Josephus) wird die negative Charakterisierung der jüdischen Gesetze im Vergleich mit MT (Est 3,8) noch gesteigert. Es geht nicht nur um das befremdliche Gepräge dieser Gesetze, sondern um die Auswirkungen solcher Gesetze: das jüdische Volk steht in Gegensatz zu jedem anderen Volk; die Anordnungen der persischen Könige befolgt es nicht (identisch mit MT), es missachtet sie sogar; die Verwaltung des ganzen Reiches kann damit beeinträchtigt werden (LXX-Zusatz B 4). Die angeblich subversive Bedeutung der jüdischen Gesetze wird dann bis zu einem unerträglichen Maße zugespitzt: dieses Volk verhält sich als einziges feindselig gegen alle Menschen ohne Ausnahme, es stellt sich gegen die Interessen des Landes und begeht die schlimmsten Verbrechen (LXX-Zusatz B 5).<sup>8</sup> Der Hörer oder Leser erwartet nun eine Erzählung, wie man diesen unerträglichen Zustand beilegen wird.

### 3.2. ERZÄHLTEN REAKTIONEN AUF DAS VERNICHTUNGSGESETZ (EST 3,14–4,8)

Das Vernichtungsdekret wurde zwar aufgeschrieben, „genau wie Haman es befohlen hatte“ (so MT und LXX; Josephus: *διάταγμα* = Edikt); es geschah jedoch „im Namen des Königs“ (Est 3,12). Das Geschriebene ist als Gesetz bezeichnet (Est 3,14). Danach erzählt man, wie sich dieses Gesetz im Perserreich verbreitet, welche Verwirrung in der Hauptstadt und welche Reaktionen es unter den Juden verursacht. In der Rede über die Verbreitung in den Ländern benutzt der MT den Begriff „Gesetz“ (Est 3,15). Man kann von den Juden erzählen, dass sie „fasten und weinen und trauern, dass Trauergewand und Asche vielen als Lager dienen“—überall, wohin „das Wort des Königs und sein Gesetz gelangten“ (Est 4,3). „Die Abschrift des Gesetzestexts“ spielt eine bedeutende Rolle in Mordechais Bericht und im Aufruf an Ester, „zum König hineinzugehen und ihn um Erbarmen anzuflehen und bei ihm für ihr Volk zu bitten“ (Est 4,8).

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7. Der AT variiert terminologisch den Gedankenvorgang der LXX. Er spricht von νόμιμα statt von νόμοι (Est 3,8). Zur Bedeutung von νόμιμα: „Conform to the law, ordinance, the laws, the statutes, the customs“. Siehe Johan Lust and Eric Eynikel and Katrin Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), 419.

8. Die LXX macht im Vergleich mit MT mehrere Aspekte des Antijudaismus sichtbar. Vgl. Kristin de Troyer und Marie-Theres Wacker, „Ester“, in *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, vol. 1 of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 1263. Das Esterbuch stellt die erste jüdische Reaktion auf die in der paganen Antike geäußerten antijüdischen Vorwürfe dar.

Tabellarische Darstellung der Konstruktionen in Est 3,14–4,8

|      | MT                        | LXX                                         | AT                                                        | Josephus                                                    |
|------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3,14 | להנות דת                  | τὰ δὲ ἀντίγραφα ...<br>καὶ <u>προσετάγη</u> | καὶ ἐν Σούσοις<br>ἐξετέθη τὸ<br><u>πρόσταγμα</u><br>τοῦτο | —                                                           |
| 3,15 | והדת נתנה בשושן<br>הבירה  | ἐσπεύδετο δὲ τὸ<br><u>πρᾶγμα</u>            | —                                                         | κομισθέντος<br>τοῦ<br><u>προστάγματος</u><br>εἰς τὰς πόλεις |
| 4,3  | אשר דבר־המלך<br>ודתו מגיע | —                                           | —                                                         | —                                                           |
| 4,8  | פתשגן כתב־הדת             | τὸ ἀντίγραφον                               | —                                                         | —                                                           |

In der Beschreibung der Auswirkungen des Dekrets von Haman benutzt der MT im Abschnitt Est 3,14–4,8 den Begriff דת an vier Stellen, einmal in Verbindung mit dem „Wort des Königs“ (4,3). Die Septuaginta übersetzt den Begriff דת nur an zwei Stellen, und zwar zuerst mit einer Form des Verbs *προστάσσω* (3,14) und dann mit einem Wort mit staatserhaltenden Konnotationen (3,15), τὸ *πρᾶγμα*, u. a. Betrieb und Verwaltung eines Staates.<sup>9</sup> An anderer Stelle (4,8) wahrt sie von der Wortverbindung דת כתב־הדת nur einen Teil, τὸ *ἀντίγραφον*.

Auch in diesem Abschnitt erzählen die drei griechischen Versionen dasselbe Geschehen mit grundsätzlich weniger juristischen Begriffen als der MT. Das „Gesetz“ ist kein wichtiger Impuls für die Erzählung in LXX, AT und für Josephus, höchstens die Frage des Rechts (τὸ *πρᾶγμα*) oder die Anordnung (τὸ *πρόσταγμα*) des Königs.

### 3.3. DIE ÜBERTRETUNG DES DIE PRIVATSPHÄRE SCHÜTZENDEN GESETZES (EST 4,10–5,4)

Ester weist auf das Gesetz vom Schutz der königlichen Privatsphäre hin (Est 4,10). Dieses Gesetz gilt als eine Vorschrift, die allen Menschen und überall im Reich bekannt ist, aber nicht in jedem Fall die Verhängung der Todesstrafe verlangt: „Alle Diener des Königs und das Volk in den Provinzen des Königs wissen, dass für jeden Mann und jede Frau, für alle, die hineingehen zum König in den inneren Hof, ohne gerufen zu werden, ein und dasselbe Gesetz gilt, dass sie zu töten sind; es sei denn, der König streckt ihnen das goldene Zepter

9. „Running and managing of a state“. Siehe Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 581



entgegen—dann bleiben sie am Leben“ (Est 4,11 MT).<sup>10</sup> Josephus lässt den König dieses Gesetz verordnen, τίθημι (*Ant.* 11.205).

Interessanterweise erwähnt die LXX sowie der AT an dieser Stelle kein Gesetz, sie setzten aber diese harte Regel und die eventuellen todbringenden Folgen in der klaren Beschreibung einer Korrektur voraus. Ester weiß, dass sie mit ihrer Handlung, die „nicht dem Gesetz entspricht“, das eigene Leben riskiert (Est 4,16). Der König selbst bezeichnet diese Bestimmung in der LXX als Befehl: „Was hast du, Ester? Ich bin dein Bruder, sei unbesorgt! Du sollst nicht sterben; denn unser Befehl [τὸ πρόσταγμα] gilt nur für die anderen. Komm her!“ (Est 5,1f); im AT als τὸ πᾶγμα.

Tabellarische Darstellung der Konstruktionen in Est 4,10–5,4

|      | MT            | LXX                              | AT                                  | Josephus                                 |
|------|---------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 4,11 | אחת דתו להמית | —                                | —                                   | Ἐθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμον ὁ βασιλεὺς            |
| 4,16 | אשר לא־כדת    | παρὰ τὸν νόμον                   | —                                   | παρὰ τὸν νόμον                           |
| 5,1  | —             | D 10 κοινὸν τὸ<br>πρόσταγμα ἡμῶν | D 9 κοινὸν ἐστὶ<br>τὸ πᾶγμα<br>ἡμῶν | τὸν γὰρ νόμον<br>τοῦτον<br>διὰ τὸν νόμον |

Im MT erzählt man, wie der König die Korrektur im Fall des Ungehorsams gegenüber dem Gesetz in Anspruch nimmt. Er streckt das goldene Zepter aus und rettet das Leben der Königin. Sie kann dann sagen, warum sie unrechtmäßigerweise gehandelt hat (Est 5,4). Die Septuaginta wie Josephus verstehen in 4,16 דת als νόμος. Der König bezeichnet das diesbezügliche Gesetz im LXX-Zusatz D 10 (im Vergleich mit MT) als Befehl, *προστάγμα*. Im AT (D 9) steht an der parallelen Stelle ein Wort mit forensischen Konnotationen: *πᾶγμα*.

Josephus schildert den Mordechai bereits im vorausgehenden Text als jemanden, der die Gesetze Gottes nicht übertritt, und Ester als eine Frau, die aufgrund der Gesetze der Väter betet (*Ant.* 11.231). An der Parallelstelle zu den Zusätzen (D 10 LXX und D 9 AT) benutzt er wieder das Wort νόμος. Alle drei griechischen Versionen sind (wie der MT) in der Erzählung über die Übertretung des Gesetzes, das die königliche Privatsphäre schützt, juristisch orientiert. Die Nichtbefolgung des Gesetzes und ihre Folgen bieten reichlichen Stoff für die Erzählung.

10. Dieselbe Geste klappt im 8. Kapitel ohne den unerwünschten Eintritt einigermaßen nach: „Und der König streckte Ester das goldene Szepter entgegen, und Ester erhob sich und stellte sich vor den König“ (Est 8,4).

## 3.4. REAKTIONEN AUF DAS NEUE GESETZ (EST 8,9–9,16)

Die Annullierung des einmal geschriebenen Gesetzes ist kompliziert, doch auch hier gibt es ein Mittel zur Korrektur. Das neue Schreiben wurde zwar ausgesetzt, „wie Mordechai es befahl“ (Est 8,9). Es ging aber um Briefe, „in denen der König den Juden, die in all den einzelnen Städten waren, erlaubte, sich zusammenzutun und für ihr Leben einzustehen, jede bewaffnete Gruppe in einem Volk oder in einer Provinz, die sie samt Kinder und Frauen bedrängte, auszurotten, umzubringen und auszumerzen und ihren Besitz zu rauben“ (Est 8,11). Die Septuaginta bietet im Est 8,11 einen im Vergleich zum MT einfacheren Text an: „wie sie ihnen angeordnete, sich ihrer Gesetze zu bedienen in jeder Stadt, einander zu helfen und ihre Widersacher und die, die sich gegen sie stellten, zu behandeln, wie sie wollten“.<sup>11</sup>

Tabellarische Darstellung der Konstruktionen in Est 8,9–9,16

|      | MT                                     | LXX                                                                                                             | AT                                                                                                              | Josephus                                                                              |
|------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 8,11 | —                                      | ὡς ἐπέταξεν<br>αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι<br>τοῖς νόμοις αὐτῶν                                                              | —                                                                                                               | —                                                                                     |
| 8,12 | —                                      | E16 δικαιοτάτοις<br>δὲ πολιτευομένους<br>νόμοις<br><br>E19 τοὺς<br>Ιουδαίους<br>χρῆσθαι τοῖς<br>ἐαυτῶν νομίμοις | E15 δικαιοτάτοις<br>δὲ πολιτευομένους<br>νόμοις<br><br>E19 χρῆσθαι τε<br>τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοῖς<br>ἐαυτῶν νομίμοις | τὸν ἄριστον<br>πολιτευομένους<br>τρόπον <sup>12</sup> τοῖς ἰδίους<br>νόμοις χρωμένους |
| 8,13 | להנות דת                               | τὰ δὲ ἀντίγραφα                                                                                                 | τὰ δὲ ἀντίγραφα                                                                                                 | —                                                                                     |
| 8,14 | בדבר המלך<br>והדת                      | τὸ πρόσταγμα                                                                                                    | ἔκθεμα                                                                                                          | —                                                                                     |
| 8,17 | אשר<br>דבר המלך<br>ודתו מגיע           | τὸ πρόσταγμα ...<br>τὸ ἔκθεμα                                                                                   | —                                                                                                               | —                                                                                     |
| 9,1  | אשר הגיע<br>דבר המלך<br>ודתו<br>להעשות | τὰ γράμματα τὰ<br>γραφέντα ὑπὸ<br>τοῦ βασιλέως                                                                  | —                                                                                                               | τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως<br>γράμματα                                                           |
| 9,4  | —                                      | τὸ πρόσταγμα                                                                                                    | —                                                                                                               | —                                                                                     |

11. Die Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen erfolgt nach Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Karrer, *Septuaginta Deutsch*, 611.

12. „τρόπος: „the manner in which something is done—manner, way.“ Siehe Lust, Eynikel, Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 83.89.

|      |                   |   |   |   |
|------|-------------------|---|---|---|
| 9,13 | לעשות כדת<br>היום | — | — | — |
| 9,14 | ותנתן דת<br>בשושן | — | — | — |

Der König charakterisiert im LXX-Zusatz E die (bereits in Est 8,11) erwähnten jüdischen Gesetze als solche, die die Gerechtigkeit durchsetzen und die Regierung unterstützen (E 16). Dann wiederholt die Septuaginta teilweise den Inhalt von Est 8,11: „damit man die Juden nach ihren eigenen Gesetzen leben lässt ...“ (E 19).

Dieselbe Charakteristik der jüdischen Gesetze bietet auch der AT an: „Wir aber finden, dass die Juden ... keine Aufrührer sind, sondern dass sie als Bürger nach sehr gerechten Gesetzen leben“ (E 15). Auch hier wird die Abschrift des königlichen Briefes veröffentlicht, „damit man die Juden nach ihren eigenen Gesetzen leben lässt“ ... (E 19).<sup>13</sup>

„Die Abschrift des Textes“ ist im MT eindeutig als Gesetz bezeichnet (Est 8,13). Bei der Veröffentlichung in Schuschan wiederholt sich der Begriff—es handelt sich zweifelsfrei um das Gesetz (Est 8,14).

Die Wortverbindung „das Wort des Königs und sein Gesetz“ taucht wieder in Est 8,17 im Zusammenhang mit der Verbreitung in den Provinzen auf. Dieselbe Wortverbindung bezeichnet die Norm, die in Est 9,1 zur Ausführung kommen soll.

Die Bitte Esters, dass die Juden in Schuschan auch morgen nach dem Gesetz, das heute galt, handeln dürften, hat ein konkretes Ziel: die zehn Söhne Hamans an den Pfahl zu hängen (Est 9,13). Der König stimmt zu: „In Schuschan wurde ein Gesetz erlassen und die zehn Söhne Hamans hängte man auf“ (Est 9,14).

Nur in diesen erzählten Reaktionen auf das neue Gesetz erscheint im Esterbuch als Äquivalent für das hebräische דת das griechische Wort *ἐκθεμα*, Proklamation, Edikt,<sup>14</sup> und zwar in Est 8,17 (LXX) und in Est 8,14 (AT).

Im Gegensatz zum MT, wo „die Kunde von Mordechai durch alle Provinzen ging“ (Est 9,4), verbreitet sich nach der Septuaginta in Persien die Anordnung des Königs: „Denn die Anordnung des Königs war eingetroffen, um im ganzen Königreich bekannt gemacht zu werden“ (Est 9,4 LXX).<sup>15</sup> An dieser Stelle ist die LXX mehr als MT an der königlichen Anordnung interessiert. Der

13. „Dieses Motiv, dass Juden nach ihren Gesetzen im persischen Reich leben dürfen, kehrt als zentral in Zusatz E wieder (vgl. E, 15.19).“ Siehe Kristin De Troyer, Marie-Theres Wacker, „Übersetzung der beiden griechischen Esterbücher“ in *Septuaginta Deutsch*, 1284.

14. „Proclamation, edict.“ Siehe Lust, Eynikel, Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 181.

15. Die Übersetzung nach Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Karrer, *Septuaginta Deutsch*, 614.

Alpha-Text kürzt die Erzählung auch an dieser Stelle, seine Erzählfolge ist ebenfalls an dieser Stelle sehr eigenartig.

#### 4. ERGEBNIS

Die wissenschaftliche Diskussion über dem Charakter des Rechts im Perserreich setzt sich fort. Nur ein relativ bescheidenes Ausmaß der schriftlich kodifizierten Gesetze kommt aber dafür in Frage. Anders ist es in der erzählten Welt des Buches Ester. Alles Wichtige, wovon man erzählt, hängt immer irgendwie mit einer Entscheidung der gesetzgebenden Autorität zusammen.<sup>16</sup> Auf der anderen Seite leitet man von dem Erzählten autoritativ formulierte Maßnahmen ab; aufgrund der erzählten Ereignisse ordnet man neues Gesetz an.

Beim Vergleich der MT-Ausdrucksweise mit der Ausdrucksweise der drei griechischen Versionen zeigt es sich, dass die Septuaginta und der sogenannte A-Text des Esterbuches weniger als der MT an den juridischen Konnotationen interessiert sind.<sup>17</sup> Josephus dagegen betont, dass alles, wovon man erzählen kann, eigentlich zu den Konsequenzen der Gesetze gehört.

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16. Auch wenn S. Crawford behauptet: „Neither Esther nor Mordecai display any concern for any of the laws of Judaism“. Siehe Sidnie White Crawford, „Esther and Judith, Contrasts on Character“ in *The Book of Esther in Modern Research*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Leonard J. Greenspoon (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 61–76 (68–9).

17. Mit der einzigen Ausnahme in Est 5,1 LXX.

# Harry Potter—Septuaginta—Mythologie: Der Basilisk—Fabelwesen, König der Schlangen, Inkarnation des Bösen oder was?

Thomas J. Kraus

Abstract: Die Septuaginta weist in Ps 90:13 und Isa 59:5 mit βασιλίσκος ein merkwürdiges Lexem aus, dem im hebräischen Text etwas *Kriechendes* bzw. *Schlangenartiges* gegenübersteht. Dieser Beitrag diskutiert, wie der Basilisk in die Septuaginta gelangen konnte, welche Vorstellungen hinter diesem merkwürdigen Wesen standen, was sich Menschen früher unter diesem vorstellten und wie die weitere Bedeutungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte des Basilisken bis in die Gegenwart hinein verliefen.

In den Mittelpunkt gestellt werden vor allem der gesamte Kontext von Psalm 90 sowie dessen immense Beliebtheit im Christentum der ersten Jahrhunderte. Steht die Setzung von βασιλίσκος womöglich im Zusammenhang der Verstärkung bestimmter Tendenzen im Lauf des Übersetzungsprozesses dieses Psalms?

## 1. HINFÜHRUNG

Harry James Potter ist Schüler des Internats Hogwarts. Der Zauberlehrling hat so manches utopische, mysteriöse und fabelhafte Abenteuer im Kampf gegen den bösen Lord Voldemort zu bestehen. Im zweiten Teil *Harry Potter und die Kammer des Schreckens* (engl. *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*) von 1998 werden Schüler von Hogwarts auf ominöse Weise versteinert. Harry geht der Sache natürlich nach, zumal auch die Freundin Hermine als Steinstatue aufgefunden wird. Auf einer herausgerissenen Buchseite in ihrer Hand können Harry und sein Freund Ron folgendes Lesen:<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. K. Rowling, *Harry Potter und die Kammer des Schreckens* (Hamburg: Carlsen, 1999), 298–99.

Von den vielen Furcht erregenden Bestien und Monstern, die unser Land durchstreifen, ist keines seltsamer oder tödlicher als der Basilisk, auch bekannt als der König der Schlangen. Diese Schlange, die eine gigantische Größe erreicht und viele hundert Jahre alt werden kann, wird aus einem Hühnerei geboren, das von einer Kröte ausgebrütet wird. Der Basilisk tötete auf höchst wunderliche Weise, denn außer seinen tödlichen und giftigen Zähnen hat der Basilisk einen mörderischen Blick, und alle, die in den Bann seiner Augen geraten, erleiden den sofortigen Tod. Spinnen fliehen vor dem Basilisken, denn er ist ihr tödlicher Erbfeind, und der Basilisk entflieht nur dem Krähen des Hahns, das tödlich für ihn ist.

Das ist aber nicht alles, was wir über das merkwürdige Wesen erfahren: „Das Monster in der Kammer ist ein *Basilisk*—eine Riesenschlange!“<sup>2</sup> schließt Ron Weasley, Harrys Gefährte, messerscharf. Beschreibung, Herkunft und Gefährlichkeit des Basilisken sind ebenso wichtig und im Gedächtnis zu behalten wie das Gegenmittel gegen dieses Wesen, denn am Ende der Studie werde ich darauf rekurren.

Zur Vollständigkeit und für den mit der Figur Harry Potter Vertrauten—sei es durch Buch oder Film—ist es beinahe unnötig, zu erwähnen, dass Harry mit Scharfsinn und Mut die Gefährlichkeit dieses in einer Kammer versteckten Wesens analysiert, den Basilisken mit dem Schwert tötet und letztendlich Hermine rettet.

Ortswechsel, hinfort aus jener Welt voller Magie und bizarren Wesen, die parallel zur britischen Gesellschaft der 90er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts existieren soll, und hinein in die Schweiz nach Basel. Der Name der Stadt geht nicht auf den Basilisken zurück, sondern irgendwie auf griechisches βασιλεύς und wohl deutlicher auf lateinisch bzw. italienisch *basilea*, obgleich viele Menschen eine volksetymologische Verbindung zwischen Stadtnamen und Basilisk herstellen. Dennoch ist gerade Basel die Stadt der Basilisken: Das Stadtwappen, ein schwarzer Krummstab, wird von verschiedenen Tieren gehalten, auch von Basilisken. Zudem ranken sich verschiedene Sagen um die Verbindung zwischen Stadt und Basilisk: Zur Zeit der Stadtgründung soll dort ein Basilisk in einer Höhle gewohnt haben oder aber später habe ein Kaufmann einen Basilisken mitgebracht. 1477 wird das Ganze dann aber greifbarer, fand in diesem Jahr ein dokumentierter Tierprozess gegen einen Hahn statt. Dessen Vergehen bestand darin, dass er ein Ei gelegt habe.<sup>3</sup> Aus Furcht aus diesem widernatürlichen Ei könne ein Basilisk schlüpfen, wurde der Hahn hingerichtet und das Ei verbrannt. So verwundert es nicht, dass im gesamten Stadtgebiet sich Basilisken an Brunnen, auf Wappen und Schildern, als Steinskulpturen und noch vieles mehr

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2. Rowling, *Harry Potter*, 299.

3. So etwa Leander Petzold, *Kleines Lexikon der Dämonen und Elementargeister* (München: Beck, 2003), 31.

finden lassen.<sup>4</sup> Weitere Sagen über den Basilisken sind auch aus anderen Städten bekannt, wie z.B. Memmingen, Warschau, Wien und München.<sup>5</sup>

Allein diese Verweise unterschiedlicher Art sollen genügen, um die Popularität des mysteriösen Wesens *Basilisk* vor Augen zu führen. Doch was hat das nun mit der Septuaginta zu tun?

## 2. DER BASILISK IN DER SEPTUAGINTA

Hat nicht gar die Septuaginta erst diese Ausprägungen und damit Harry Potters Abenteuer und Basels Heraldik motiviert oder bewirkt? Nein, hat sie nicht, und doch, hat sie schon, irgendwie und dann als ein Teilchen eines großen Ganzen. Aber hier der Reihe nach.

Das Lexem βασιλίσκος kommt in der Septuaginta nur zweimal vor: Isa 59:5 und Psalm 90:13. Beide Stellen verdienen deshalb unbedingt einen näheren Blick.<sup>6</sup>

### 2.1. ISA 59:5<sup>LXX</sup>

Im dritten Teil des Buchs Jesaja—Tritojesaja—bezeichnet es in Isa 59:5 allegorisch die Früchte der Gesetzlosen und Sünder als etwas Ungenießbares und Abscheuliches:<sup>7</sup>

ὥὰ ἀσπίδων ἔρρηξαν καὶ ἰστὸν ἀράχνης ὑφαίνουσιν· καὶ ὁ μέλλων τῶν ὥων αὐτῶν φαγεῖν συντρίψας οὖριον εὔρεν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ βασιλίσκος·

Natterneier brüten sie aus und weben Spinngewebe, und wer von ihren Eiern essen will + und (eins) aufschlägt, findet ein Windei vor, und darin ist ein Basilisk.

Die Septuaginta hat die tödliche Wirkung des Verzehrs dieser Eier nicht (+ für mehr Text des MT), dafür aber ein aktives Aufschlagen (συντρίψας) eines Eis, das Windei (οὖριον) sowie die Phrase εὔρεν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ, was MT so nicht

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4. Über Basel und den Basilisken ausführlich mit zahlreichen Abbildungen Christian Lienhard und Christiane Widmer, *Basler Basilisken—Von der Entstehung im 15. Jahrhundert bis heute* (Basel: Spalento Verlag, 2003). Ferner für Abbildungen vgl. die private Internetseite *Basler Basilisken* (<http://www.basilisk-basel.ch>; letzter Zugriff 23.07.2013).

5. Vgl. z.B. Marianne Sammer, *Der Basilisk: Zur Natur- und Bedeutungsgeschichte eines Fabeltieres im Abendland* (München: Humbach & Nemazal, 1998), 104–33.

6. Hierzu Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), s.v. βασιλίσκος, נִפְעָה und נִתַּן.

7. Griechischer Text nach Gö, deutsche Übersetzung nach Klaus Koenen, „Jesaja 56–66,“ in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus und Martin Karrer, 2nd Aus. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), 1280. Dortige Kursivierungen (für Unterschiede zwischen MT und LXX) und Zeichen wurden beibehalten.

belegt. Über die Gründe dieser Unterschiede kann man trefflich spekulieren und diskutieren. Man mag eine andere Textvorlage annehmen, eine falsche Ableitung oder Verlesung durch den Übersetzer veranschlagen oder Isa 59:5 mit einer bestimmten Referenzstelle identifizieren. David Weissert hat in 1967 verschiedene Erklärungsalternativen behandelt.<sup>8</sup> Er selbst kommt zu dem Schluss, „daß die Sage von der Entstehung des Basilisken aus dem Hahnenei nichts anderes ist als die Verbindung von Aristophanes frg. 186 im Wortlaut der Suda mit Jes 59,5 im Wortlaut der Septuaginta.“<sup>9</sup> Wie dem auch sei, der Basilisk ist präsent, und er motiviert Klaus Koenen dazu, seiner Übersetzung in *Septuaginta Deutsch* eine ausführliche Fußnote beizufügen, in der er prägnant Elementares zu diesem Wesen anführt:<sup>10</sup>

Der ‚kleine König‘ ist eine seit hellenistischer Zeit belegte, fabelhafte Schlange der libyschen Wüste, die als besonders giftig galt. Angeblich tötet sie durch Atem und Geruch, Menschen sogar durch ihren Blick (vgl. Ps 90,12<sup>LXX</sup>). In späterer christlicher Tradition wird sie zu einem Bild des Teufels, im Mittelalter dargestellt als Mischwesen aus Hahn und Schlange.

Erinnert das nicht deutlich an das, was Harry Potter und Ron Weasley auf der ausgerissenen Buchseite lasen? Festzuhalten bleibt aber darüber hinaus, dass griechisches βασιλίσκος mit hebräischem *ʾəpʾəh* (אֶפְאֵחַ) im MT korrespondiert, das in Job 20:16 ὄφις und in Isa 30:6 ἄσπις als Äquivalent hat, also nur einmal mit βασιλίσκος korrespondiert.

## 2.2. Ps 90:13<sup>LXX</sup>

Die zweite Belegstelle für βασιλίσκος ist Psalm 90:13<sup>LXX</sup>, auf den oben schon Klaus Koenen von Isa 59:5 aus verwiesen hat. In diesem Vertrauenspsalm *sui generis*,<sup>11</sup> jenem Text der Bibel, der am Häufigsten auf archäologischen Objekten in Teilen oder vollständig erhalten ist—noch öfter als das Vaterunser etwa—, geht es um Hilfe, Schutz und Beistand für den Betenden, der bei Gott seine Zuflucht hat.<sup>12</sup> Gerade der Beistand Gottes, des Höchsten, wird ab V. 10 in

8. Vgl. David Weissert, „Der Basilisk und das Windei in LXX—Jes 59,5. Ein textuales und ein folkloristisches Problem,“ *ZAW* 79 (1967): 315–22.

9. Weissert, „Basilisk,“ 321.

10. Koenen, „Jesaja 56–66,“ 1280 Anm. zu 59:5a.

11. So Pirmin Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht: Gestalt und Theologie des 91. Psalms*, MÜSt 13 (Münsterschwarzach: Vier-Türme, 1971), 301; Fraunk-Lothar Hossfeld und Erich Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100*, HthKAT (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2000), 619–20, 625 (= idem, *A Commentary on Psalms 51–100*, Band 2 of *Psalms*, trans. L. M. Maloney, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005], 429, 432).

12. Vgl. Thomas J. Kraus, „Psalm 90 der Septuaginta in apotropäischer Verwendung: Erste Anmerkungen und Datenmaterial,“ in *Proceedings of the 24th International*



verschiedenen Facetten dargestellt. Der für den vorliegenden Kontext zentrale griechische Text von V. 13 liest sich wie folgt:<sup>13</sup>

ἐπ’ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ  
καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα.  
Auf Natter und Basilisk wirst du treten,  
und zertreten wirst du Löwe und Drachen.

Die Septuaginta hat mit „Natter ... Basilisk ... Löwe ... Drache“ eine andere Tierfolge als der MT mit „Löwen ... Ottern ... Junglöwen ... Drachen“. Dabei könnte die Wiedergabe mit ἄσπις vielleicht der Lesung von לָשׁוּ („Löwe“) als לָחִי („Kriechendes“) geschuldet sein. Von zentralem Interesse ist jedoch die Korrespondenz von βασιλίσκος und *pætaen* (ἡτῆ), das wiederum in Deut 32:33, Isa 11:8, Job 20:14 und Ps 57:5<sup>LXX</sup> mit ἄσπις und in Job 20:16 mit δράκων korrespondiert. Handelt es sich beim Basilisken um eine einfache Schlange, dann würde mit ἄσπις und δράκων eine unnötige und schwache Mehrfachnennung von Gefährdungen vorliegen. Demnach scheint der Basilisk ein von Natter und Drache grundsätzlich zu unterscheidendes Tier nach der Septuaginta-Fassung.

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*Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1st–7th of August 2004*, ed. J. Frösén, T. Purola und E. Salmenkivi, Band 1, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 122.1 (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2007), 497–514; Kraus, „Septuaginta-Psalm 90 in apotropäischer Verwendung: Vorüberlegungen für eine kritische Edition und (bisheriges) Datenmaterial,“ *BN* 125 (2005): 39–73; Kraus, „Ein byzantinisches Amulett-Armband im *British Museum* (London) mit Septuaginta-Psalm 90 und der Huldigung der Magier,“ *JbAC* 48/49 (2005/2006): 114–27 und Tafeln 2–3; Kraus, „Βους, Βαινχωωχ und Septuaginta-Psalm 90? Überlegungen zu den so genannten ‚Bous‘-Amuletten und dem beliebtesten Bibeltext für apotropäische Zwecke,“ *ZAC* 11 (2008): 479–91; Kraus, „‘He that Dwelleth in the Help of the Highest’: Septuagint Psalm 90 and the Iconographic Program on Byzantine Armbands,“ in *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artifact and Canon*, ed. C. A. Evans und H.D. Zacharias, SSEJC 13 (London: Continuum, 2009) 137–47; Krause, „Der lukianische bzw. antiochenische Text der Psalmen in Papyri und Inschriften. Eine Suche nach der Stecknadel im Heuhaufen?,“ in *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*, ed. S. Kreuzer und M. Sigismund, DSI 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 133–59; Kraus, „‘Außertextliche’ Rezeption von LXX-Psalm 90—‘Lebensgeschichte’ und Lebendigkeit eines Psalms,“ in *Die Septuaginta: Text, Wirkung, Rezeption*, ed. W. Kraus und S. Kreuzer, WUNT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 825–38; Kraus, „Psalm 90 [91],“ in *Psalmen bis Daniel*, Band 2 of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*, ed. M. Karrer und W. Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 1760–63.

13. Deutsche Übersetzung und Kursivierung nach Thomas J. Kraus, „Psalm 90 [91],“ 846.

### 2.3. ERGEBNIS

Das Lexem βασιλίσκος korrespondiert nicht einheitlich mit einem hebräischen. Der Basilisk wird von anderen schlangenartigen Tieren unterschieden. Näheres über sein Wesen und Aussehen, seine Herkunft, Gefährlichkeit und Bekämpfung erfahren wir allerdings in der LXX in Ps 90:13 nicht, in Isa 59,5 nur seine Geburt aus einem Windei. Wichtig erscheint offensichtlich, eine besondere Gefahr (Ps 90:13) und das verwerfliche Verhalten der Heuchler (Isa 59:5) durch das Lexem βασιλίσκος zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Das sollte auf Seiten der Hörer- und Leserschaft denn auch erfolgreich so angekommen sein. Denn warum wählte ein Übersetzer gerade das griechische Lexem βασιλίσκος, obwohl das Griechische über einundvierzig verschiedene Lexeme für „Schlange“ verfügt?<sup>14</sup> Dem stehen achtzehn hebräische Substantive gegenüber, während das Lateinische alles in allem über drei Wörter (*serpens*, *anguis* und *vipera*) verfügt, das Koptische faktisch nur über eines (ⲉⲟⲕ<sup>15</sup>).

Diverse Assoziationen und Konnotation bei den Rezipient/innen dürften die Aussageabsicht besonders plastisch wirken haben lassen. Der Basilisk dürfte in jener Zeit ein weithin bekanntes, bedrohliches und beeindruckendes Wesen gewesen sein. Doch zu diesen Assoziationen und Konnotation gleich mehr.

### 3. ERGÄNZENDES DURCH DIE VULGATA

Die Vulgata transkribiert griechisches βασιλίσκος in Psalm 90,13 einfach als *basiliscus*, während in Isa 59:5 *regulus* („kleiner König“, „Prinz“, „Häuptling“) Verwendung findet. Dieser *regulus* steht aber auch an anderen Stellen für schlangenartige Wesen: Für ἄσπις steht *regulus* noch in Isa 11:8; 14:29; 30:6; 59:5, für ὄφις in Jer 8:17 und für ἴος in Prov 23:32. Dabei kommen an diesen Stellen durchaus weitere Facetten über den „kleinen König“, also *regulus*, zum Ausdruck: Das Tier ist giftig (Prov 23:32), beißt und kann nicht beschwört werden (Jer 8:17). Da es mit anderen gefährlichen Wesen genannt wird, ist dessen Gefährlichkeit unbestritten (Isa 14:29; 30:6; Ps 90[91]:13). Das kommt sogar explizit zum Ausdruck (Isa 14:29) bzw. übertragen als Charakteristikum der Heuchler (Isa 59:5). Eschatologischer Art ist die Aussage von Isa 11:8, derzufolge selbst Säuglinge am „Loch des Basilisken“ gefahrlos spielen können und somit Mensch und Schlange nicht mehr Feinde seien (Gen 3:15). Interessant ist dabei noch, dass in Isa 30:6 die Schlange bzw. der „kleine König“ fliegen könne (ἀσπίδων πετομένων bzw. *regulus volans*; vgl. dagegen MT mit šaraf

14. Hierzu James H. Charlesworth, „Phenomenology, Symbolology, and Lexicography, the Amazingly Rich Vocabulary for ‚Serpent‘ in Ancient Greek,” *RB* 111 (2004): 499–515.

15. Vgl. Walter Ewing Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 740–41.

מַעֲרַף מְעוֹפֵף שֶׁרַף „fliegender Seraph“) und—gemäß der Fassung der Vulgata—ein Tier des Südlands sei, dem Land der Not und Bedrängnis. Der *regulus* findet stets Verwendung im Kontext von menschlichen Verfehlungen aller Art und im Hinblick auf die Endzeit.<sup>16</sup>

So wird der „kleine König“ durchaus näher charakterisiert, selbst wenn wichtige Elemente nicht zur Sprache kommen, die etwa bei Harry Potter aufscheinen, dessen Buchblatt sehr wohl—wie wir sehen werden—viele wichtige Charakteristika des Basilisken aufweist, die auch (spät)antike Quellen bereits bieten.

Allerdings ist nicht zweifelsfrei geklärt, dass ebenjene Stellen mit *regulus* in der Vulgata auch wirklich den Basilisken bezeichnen. Denn weshalb wird βασιλίσκος in Ps 90:13L<sup>XX</sup> als *basiliscus* transkribiert, in Isa 59:5 jedoch nicht? Weshalb wird *regulus* auch an Stellen gesetzt, wo es mit anderen griechischen und hebräischen Lexemen korrespondiert? Und weshalb steht *regulus* in der Vulgata uneinheitlich für ἄσπις, ὄφις und ἴος? Auf alle Fälle liegt womöglich darin eine besondere Interpretation des schlangenartigen Wesens durch die Vulgata vor.

#### 4. EINE KURZE BEDEUTUNGSGESCHICHTE

Bei allem bereits Gesagten allerdings muss endlich eine Einordnung dessen in die Bedeutungsgeschichte des Lexems βασιλίσκος und die Fabelbildung um dieses merkwürdige Wesen erfolgen. Um was handelt es sich überhaupt beim Basilisken? Wen oder was sahen die Menschen in Antike und Spätantike in diesem? Welche Vorstellungen verbanden sie mit ihm? Und dann gilt zu prüfen, in welchem Kontext der Basilisk in der Septuaginta dazu steht.

Das Wort selbst ist der Diminutiv von βασιλεύς und bedeutet „(kleiner) Prinz“, „Häuptling“ oder „kleiner König“. <sup>17</sup> Entsprechend findet es Verwendung

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16. Vgl. Sammer, *Der Basilisk*, 42; Sammer, „Basilisk—regulus: Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Skizze,“ in *Dämonen, Monster, Fabelwesen*, ed. Ulrich Müller und Werner Wunderlich (St. Gallen: UVK, 1999), 135–60, hier 146–48; K. Liess, „Basilisk,“ *WiBiLex*, <http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/wibilex>, letzter Zugriff 24.07.2013.

17. Das Folgende basiert auf den knappen Ausführungen von Thomas J. Kraus, „βασιλίσκος,“ *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint (HTLS)* 1 (forthcoming). Weiterführendes bieten M. Wellmann, „Basilisk,“ *PRE* 3.1:100–101; L. M. Hartmann, „Basiliskos 1–2,“ *PRE* 3.1:101–102; Hartmann, „Basiliskos 3,“ *PRE* 3.1:102; F. Eckstein, E. Stemplinger, und J. H. Waszink, „Basilisk,“ *RAC* 1:1260–61; C. Hünemörder und A. Brückner, „Basilisk,“ *LexMA* 1:1529–1530; F. Graf, „Basilisk,“ *DNP* 2:483; Sammer, *Der Basilisk*, 9–38; Sammer, „Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte des Basilisken im Abendland,“ *Euphorion* 92 (1998): 143–221; Sammer, „Basilisk—regulus,“ 135–60; Petzold, *Kleines Lexikon*, 29–31. Ferner F.A. Wood, „Greek Fish-Names: Part II,“ *AJP* 49 (1928): 36–56; D’Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (London: Milford, 1936); Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (London: Cumberledge, 1947); L.

als (1) Titel oder Beinamen, insbesondere in der Spätantike,<sup>18</sup> (2) Stern Alpha Leonis im Zentrum der Konstellation Leo, (Geminus 3.5; Hephaesio Astr. 2., 8) (3) Name für zwei Singvögel, den Zaunkönig (Artemidorus, *Onirocr.* 4.56) und das Wintergoldhähnchen (Artemidorus, *Onirocr.* 11.11), (4) Meeresfisch (Oppianus Anazarbensis 1.129; Marcellus Sidetes 26) und (5) eine Bezeichnung für spezielle Schuhe (Pollux 7.85). Für unsere Zwecke hier allerdings ist (6) zentral, der Basilisk als schlangenartiges Tier, das wahrscheinlich aus der libyschen (oder ägyptischen) Wüste stammte. Zoologisch betrachtet kann es sich um ein Tier handeln, das auf die Drachen- oder Smaragdeidechse („dragon or emerald lizard“) zurückgeht, die der Familie der Agamidae, d.h. der Agamen angehört. Entsprechend werden diese Tiere auch heute noch mit dem Namen oder Beinamen Basilisk versehen.<sup>19</sup> Mit der Zeit wurden dem Basilisken dann mythische und fabulöse Attribute angehaftet.

Erwähnungen des Basilisken gehen zurück bis Hippokrates (*Ep.* 19) und Pseudo-Demokrit (DK 68 B 300, Nr. 7a). Die detaillierteste Beschreibung für unsere Zwecke jedoch bietet Gaius Plinius Secundus bzw. Plinius der Ältere in seiner umfangreichen Enzyklopädie *Naturalis Historia* (8.33.78–79), der sich aber selbst bereits auf ältere hellenistische Quellen berief, die schon Mythisches bzw. Mythologisches über den Basilisken beinhalteten:<sup>20</sup>

[78] *Eadem et basilisci serpentis est vis. Cyrenaica hunc generat provincia, duodecim non amplius digitorum magnitudine, candida in capite macula ut quodam diademate insignem. sibilo omnes fugat serpentes nec flexu multiplici, ut reliquae, corpus inpellit, sed celsus et erectus in medio incedens. necat frutices, non contactos modo, verum et adflatos, exurit herbas, rumpit saxa: talis vis malo est. creditum quondam ex equo occisum hasta et per eam subeunte vi non equitem modo, sed equum quoque absumptum.* [79] *atque huic*

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Lacroix, „Noms de poissons et noms d’oiseaux en grec ancien“, *L’Antiquité Classique* 6 (1937): 265–302; Reinhold Strömberg, *Studien zur Etymologie und Bildung der griechischen Fischnamen*, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 49 (Göteborg: Elander, 1943), 91–92; Alan Cameron, „Λυσώνυμος Βασιλίσκος (V. DAN. STYL. 70)“, *Hermes* 103 (1975): 383; Tomas Hägg, „Titles and Honorific Epithets in Nubian Greek Texts“, *SO* 65 (1990): 147–77; Christian Leitz, *Schlangennamen in den ägyptischen und griechischen Giftbüchern*, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse—Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur 6 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997); A. Rottloff, „Von Drache, Basilisk und Phoenix: Die Welt der Fabelwesen bietet ein vielfältiges Bild von Vorstellungen zwischen Realität und Wunderglauben“, *Antike Welt* 36.5 (2005): 21–29.

18. Vgl. Cameron, „Λυσώνυμος Βασιλίσκος“, 383; Hägg, „Titles“, 147–77.

19. So Leitz, *Schlangennamen*, 142–45.

20. Lateinischer Text nach *Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII*, ed. C. Mayhoff, Band 6 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1892–1909); deutsche Übersetzung nach *Die Naturgeschichte des Gaius Plinius Secundus. Zweiter Band*, ed. C. G. Wittstein (Leipzig: Gressner & Schramm, 1881), 105–6.

*tali monstro—saepe enim enectum concupivere reges videre—mustellarum virus exitio est: adeo naturae nihil placuit esse sine pare. inferciunt has cavernis facile cognitis soli tabe. necant illae simul odore moriunturque, et naturae pugna conficitur.*

Dieselbe Kraft besitzt auch der Basilisk, eine Schlangenart; er lebt in der cyrenaischen Provinz, ist nicht über 12 Digitus lang, und hat am Kopfe einen weissen Fleck, der ihn gleichsam wie ein Diadem schmückt. Durch sein Zischen verjagt er alle Schlangen. Er bewegt sich nicht, wie die übrigen, durch vielfache Windungen des ganzen Leibes, sondern geht zur Hälfte aufgerichtet umher. Er vergiftet die Sträucher nicht bloss durch seine Berührung, sondern auch durch seinen Hauch, verdorrt die Kräuter und sprengt Felsen. Solche schädliche Wirkung hat seine Kraft! Ehemals glaubte man, dass, wenn Jemand zu Pferde ihn mit einem Spiesse getödtet habe, das Gift an dem Spiesse hinauf dringe, und nicht nur der Reiter, sondern auch das Pferd davon sterben müsse. Und diesem Ungeheuer (welches Könige oft tödt zu sehen gewünscht haben) wird die Ausdünstung des Wiesels verderblich; die Natur hat also die Einrichtung getroffen, dass nichts in ihr besteht, dem nicht ein gewisses Gleichgewicht gegeben ist. Man wirft daher diese Thiere (diese Wiesel) in die Höhlen, welche man leicht an dem unfruchtbaren Erdboden erkennt; diese tödten jene dann sogleich durch ihren Geruch, sterben aber auch, und dadurch wird der Streit der Natur ausgeglichen.

Weißer, diademhafter Fleck am Kopf und die stolze, aufrecht Art der Fortbewegung werden wohl für die Bezeichnung Basilisk für dieses Wesen verantwortlich zeichnen. Giftigkeit und zerstörerische Wirkung werden ausführlich dargestellt: Das „Monster“ ist extrem giftig, sein Geruch und selbst eine Berührung töten. Steine brechen, Büsche fangen Feuer und der Basilisk tötet durch seinen Blick, was wiederum an die Gorgone Medusa erinnert. Sein Zischen schlägt andere Tiere in die Flucht. Die Bekämpfung des Wesens gelingt nur mit Hilfe eines Wiesels, dessen Geruch den Basilisken tötet. Aelian weiß davon zu berichten, dass der Anblick eines Hahns, den der Basilisk meidet, diesen tötet (*Nat. an.* 3.31; 5.50; 9.28). Andere teilen mit Plinius bestimmte Aspekte und überliefern weitere fabulöse Details (z.B. Nicander, *Ther.* 396–410; Galen, *Ther. Pis.* 14.233–234). Gerade die Episode mit dem Reiter, der über seinen mit dem gefährlichen Wesen in Kontakt gekommenen Speer selbst vergiftet wird, verdeutlicht, dass Legendarisches und Fabelhaftes den Basilisken seit Langem umgaben, das dann problemlos bis in Joanne K. Rowlings Harry-Potter-Romane hineinwirkte.

Wir erinnern uns aber auch an die Stellen der Vulgata mit *regulus*: Giftigkeit und Gefährlichkeit des *regulus* schwingen auch hier ebenso mit wie Mythisches und Fabelhaftes. Das mag auch für die beiden LXX-Stellen Isa 59:5 und Ps 90:13 gelten, wo der Basilisk kaum näher charakterisiert wird. Gerade der Gedanke an Ps 90:13 legt nahe, dass viele Aspekte der Bedrohlichkeit und

Gefährlichkeit des Basilisken dort wie selbstverständlich vorausgesetzt werden. Denn Glaube und Vertrauen auf den Höchsten feien letztlich auch vor Schaden, aus dieser mystischen Gefahrenquelle den Betenden bedrohen könne.

Über diese beiden Stellen findet βασιλίσκος für ein „schlangenartiges Tier“ auch Niederschlag in magischen Papyri des sechsten bis siebten Jahrhunderts und in Inschriften an einem Wohnhaus auf Zypern, in einer monumentalen Grabkammerinschrift von 491 in Kertsch auf der Krim oder an einer Friedhofkapelle in Alexandria des dritten bis vierten Jahrhunderts.<sup>21</sup> Das Lexem selbst ist jedoch auch in seinen anderen Bedeutung in Inschriften gut erhalten, insbesondere als Titel oder Beinamen, etwa der Blemmyer-Könige in Nubien.<sup>22</sup>

Dass schließlich die Rezeptions- und Wirkungsgeschichte des Basilisken noch mythischer und fabelhafter werden würde, bietet sich geradezu an. Gerade Gaius Julius Solinus im dritten Jahrhundert (in *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, Nr. 601–603, seinem Werk, das auch als *De mirabilibus mundi* bzw. *Polyhistor* bekannt ist) und Isidor von Sevilla im sechsten bzw. siebten Jahrhundert (*Etymologiae* 12.4.6–8) vermitteln ebendiese und noch weitere Wesensmerkmale und Geschichten über den Basilisken, wobei Isidor auf der Basis von *regulus* die prägende Phrase *rex serpentium* für das Wesen prägt. Damit ist der weitere Weg über das Mittelalter hinaus mit der Legende der widernatürlichen Geburt des Basilisken aus einem Hahnenei, aber auch aus einem Schlangen- oder Hühnerei, vorgezeichnet (z.B. Hildegard von Bingen, *Physica* 8.12 MPL 197,1343) oder seine Bekämpfung durch einen vorgehaltenen Spiegel, wie dies bei Harry Potter der Fall ist. Auch wird der Basilisk stellenweise zu einer Chimäre aus Hahn und Schlange bzw. Echse, was sich in der Ikonographie vielfach niederschlägt.

## 5. ADAPTIONEN IM FRÜHEN CHRISTENTUM

### 5.1. NEUES TESTAMENT

Psalm 90[91] wird in Neuen Testament explizit zitiert in der Versuchung Jesu (Lukas 4:1–13). Nachdem Jesus die ersten beiden Versuchungen mit Schriftzitaten entgegnet hat, rekurriert der διάβολος abschließend selbst auf die Schrift und zitiert nun Ps 90:11–12<sup>LXX</sup>:

Ps 90,11–12<sup>23</sup>

ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ

Lukas 4:10–11

γέγραπται γάρ ὅτι

τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ

21. Hierzu etwa Kraus, „Der lukianische bzw. antiochenische Text der Psalmen,“ 146–47.

22. U.a. Hägg, „Titles,“ 147–77.

23. Übersetzung nach Kraus, „Psalm 90 [91],“ 846.

|                                                                                                |                                                                                                  |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου·                                                    | τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε<br>καὶ ὅτι                                                                     |
| ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρουσίν σε,<br>μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου·                            | ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρουσιν σε,<br>μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου·                              |
| Denn seinen Engeln wird er befehlen für dich,<br>dass sie dich auf allen deinen Wegen behüten. | Denn, wie geschrieben ist:<br>Seinen Engeln wird er befehlen für dich,<br>dass sie dich behüten. |
| Auf Händen werden sie dich tragen,<br>damit du deinen Fuß nicht an einen Stein stößt.          | Und:<br>Auf Händen werden sie dich tragen,<br>damit du deinen Fuß nicht an einen Stein<br>stößt. |

Die Zitation entspricht wortwörtlich dem Text der LXX, mit Ausnahme der Einleitungssphrasen der Schriftzitate und der Präpositionalphrase ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου („auf alle deine Wege“), die in Lukas 4,10 fehlt. Die Parallelfassung Matthäus 4:6 entspricht dem Wortlaut der Septuaginta ebenso, wobei dort allerdings Ps 90:11b gänzlich fehlt. Die Zitation aus Psalm 90 endet also vor V. 13, was aus Sicht des διάβολος sinnvoll erscheint, würde dessen Argumentation ansonsten mitunter geschwächt oder etwas mystisch-mysteriös, vielleicht sogar magisch Behaftetes in diesem grundsätzlich auf Schriffterweise als Argumente beruhenden Diskurses eingebracht, was unpassend erscheint. Dazu bemerkt Origenes in seiner einunddreißigsten Homilie zum Lukasevangelium treffend (*In Lucam homiliae* 31):<sup>24</sup>

*Sed et sic quoque perverse assumens diabolus testimonia, ut asseret ea, quae de iustis dicebantur, super Salvatore intellegi, silet et transit versiculos, qui contra se scripti sunt.... Quare ista, diabole, siles, nisi quod tu es basiliscus, tu es omnium serpentium regulus, nocentiora habens venena quam ceteri, qui statim ut videris aliquem interficis?*

Damit er [der Teufel; Anm. d. Verf.] auf den Heiland beziehen kann, was von den Gerechten gesagt wird, verdreht er das Zeugnis der Schrift auch dadurch, daß er die Verse [d.h. Ps 90:13; Anm. d. Verf.] verschweigt und überspringt, die gegen ihn geschrieben sind.... Aus welchem anderen Grund übergengst du diesen Vers mit Schweigen, Teufel, als weil du selbst der Basilisk bist, weil du selber aller Schlangen Königin bist und schädlicheres Gift hast als die anderen; denn sobald du jemand erblickst hast, tötest du ihn.

Auch weitere motivische Berührungspunkte mit Psalm 90 [91]:11–12—so Matt 26:53 und Mk 1,13—wie auch die Phrase „die Vollmacht, auf Schlangen und

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24. Lateinischer Text und deutsche Übersetzung nach Origenes, *In Lucam homiliae/Homilien zum Lukasevangelium. Zweiter Teilband*, ed. H.-J. Sieben, FC 4.2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1992), 319.

Skorpionen zu treten“ (τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄψεων καὶ σκορπίων) in Lukas 10:19 zu Ps 90[91]:13 bringen den Basilisken nicht in das Neue Testament hinein. Und selbst die *varia lectio* βασιλίσκος in John 4:46 (D<sup>ca</sup> a) und 4:49 (D<sup>\*vid</sup>) für βασιλίκος („kleiner König“) eignet sich nicht, die Verwendung dieses Lexems für christliche Texte der ersten eineinhalb Jahrhunderte im Christentum zu postulieren.

Auch Philo von Alexandrien und Josephus Flavius gebrauchen das Wort nicht, das in den Pseudepigrapha und anderen potentiellen jüdischen Quellen nur mehr in TestAbr A 17,14 und 19,14–15 anzutreffen ist.

## 5.2. CHRISTLICHE SCHRIFTSTELLER

Die Situation ändert sich dann aber rasch und drastisch. Beide Stellen—Isa 59:5 und Ps 90[91]:13—gerieten rasch in den Fokus der Kirchenschriftsteller und das ist nicht wirklich eine Überraschung. Ignatius von Antiochien führt Ps 90:13<sup>LXX</sup> mit allen vier Tieren in seinem Brief *Ad Philippenses* (*Epist.* 5) an und passt sie seiner Aussageabsicht ebenso an wie Eusebius von Caesarea, der wiederholt diesen Vers mit ἄσπις, βασιλίσκος, λέων und δράκων in seinem Psalmenkommentar zitiert.<sup>25</sup> Interessanterweise verbindet Eusebius dabei auch die Tiere mit dem διάβολος, so dass er eine Übertragung von Lukas 4:10–11 (bzw. Matthäus 4:6) auf Ps 90:13 vornimmt, und das wie selbstverständlich. Auch in *Praeparatio Evangelica* bezieht sich Eusebius auf die Tiere aus Psalm 90:13 (7.16.3,7; 7.16.9.5–10.1). Didymus der Blinde führt den Basilisken in seinem Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes zweimal an (*Com. in Eccl.* 210.6–7).

Das Fehlen von Ps 90:13 in der Darstellung der Versuchung Jesu in Lukas 4:1–13 brachte bereits Origenes zum Nachdenken (*In Lucam homiliae* 31).<sup>26</sup> Nachdem er sich in seiner Predigt über die tückische Zitation<sup>27</sup> von Ps 90:11–12 durch den Teufel ausgelassen und dessen Scheinargument entlarvt hat,<sup>28</sup> zeigt er mit Hilfe von Vv. 1, 6 und 7–8 des Psalms auf, dass dieser Psalm sich nicht auf Christus beziehe sondern auf die Heiligen oder gerechten Menschen. Denn Christus bzw. der Sohn Gottes habe all das Genannte nicht nötig. Den Basilisken nennt Origenes dann dreimal, in seiner eigenen zweimaligen Zitation des ganzen Verses und als Identifikation mit dem Teufel. Letzterer habe bewusst diesen

25. Eusebius von Caesarea, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, PG 23:1140.50; 23:1144.32–33; 23:1144.38; 23:1156.4–6; 23:1161.30–31; 1164.1–3, 18–19, 44–46; 23:1165.1–2, 14–15, 31–33.

26. Es lohnt, die ganze Homilie zu lesen, um die Argumentationsstruktur genauer erfassen zu können. Vgl. Origenes, *In Lucam homiliae*, 312–21.

27. Vgl. Origenes, *In Lucam homiliae*, 316–17: *Vide quomodo et in ipsis testimoniis versipellis est.* „Beachte seine Tücke selbst beim Zitieren!“

28. *Non indiget, inquam, angelorum auxilio Filius Dei.* „Es bedarf nicht, sagte ich, der Sohn Gottes der Hilfe der Engel.“ Origenes, *In Lucam homiliae*, 316–17.



Vers unterschlagen, da durch diesen dessen eigene Machtlosigkeit verdeutlicht würde. Abschließend rekurriert Origenes noch zweimal auf Lukas 10:19 und damit auf „die Vollmacht, auf Schlangen und Skorpionen zu treten“ (τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄψεων καὶ σκορπίων), die Macht also, die gegen den Teufel selbst feht.<sup>29</sup>

Hieronymus legt Isa 59:3–5 (*In Esaiam*, lib. Xvi, 59.5, S. 680) mit Hilfe des Basilisken so aus, dass sich „die Bereiche Ungerechtigkeit, Lüge und Bosheit ... zum trügerischen Ratschlag (*malum consilium*) verdichten der geradewegs ins Verderben führt“. Denn „einem Ei sei es vor dem Öffnen nicht anzusehen, daß ihm ein verderbenbringender Basilisk entschlüpfte, einem schlechten Rat nicht seine Tücke“.<sup>30</sup> Gerade in der Auslegung von Ps 90,13<sup>LXX</sup> wird der Basilisk rasch Sinnbild für sündhaftes Tun, Tod oder Teufel, eben zu jener großen, existenzgefährdenden Gefahr für Kirche und Christus. Denn ebenjener Christus wird für die Kirchenväter natürlich jener, auf den sich der Psalmentext, insbesondere Vv. 11–13 beziehen und der die vier Tiere zertreten wird (u.a. Augustinus, *Enarrationes in Ps 90 serm.* 2,9; Isidor, *Quaestiones in Gen.* 5,8) bzw. der als fliegender *regulus volans* („fliegender kleiner König“) in Isa 30,6 mit Leviathan bzw. dem Drachen der Apokalypse gleichgesetzt und eschatologisch auf das Kommen des Antichristen am Ende der Zeit hin ausgelegt wird (v.a. über Isa 14,29 und 59,5).<sup>31</sup> Es ist gerade Hieronymus, der solche Verknüpfungen und Übertragungen vermittelt, so dass auch die Todsünden mit dem Basilisken verbunden werden. Für Ps 90,13 und die vier Tiere bedeutet dies den Zusammenhang von *aspis*—*peccatum*, *basiliscus*—*mors*, *leo*—*diabolus* und *draco*—*Antichrist*, wie dies dann Origenes (v.a. *basiliscus*—*mors*) und später Rabanus Maurus unmissverständlich darlegen. Letzterer setzt für Jer 8,17 den Basilisken mit Teufel oder Dämonen gleich, deren Atem die Menschenseelen verdirbt (Rabanus Maurus, *De universo libri xxii, lib. vii, cap. lii: De serpentibus*). Das war bei Isidor noch *aspis*—*mors*, *basiliscus*—*peccatum*, *leo*—*Antichrist* und *draco*—*diabolus*.<sup>32</sup> Der Basilisk wird nahezu zum Dummy-Bild für alle möglichen Gefährdungen und Kapitalsünden. Diese uneinheitliche Auslegung und die Umschreibung des Basilisken und seiner verheerenden Wirkung, auch im Hinblick auf allegorische Übertragungen, ermöglichen letztlich eine Öffnung für das weite Feld der Sagenbildung. Dadurch ist der Basilisk, genauer gesagt dasjenige, das nun in variabler Art darunter vorgestellt wird, prädestiniert für ikonographische Manifestationen unterschiedlicher Art, in den die Menschen durchaus reale Kreaturen sahen.<sup>33</sup>

29. Vgl. Origenes, *In Lucam homiliae*, 320–21.

30. Sammer, *Der Basilisk*, 42–43.

31. Ausführlicher bei Sammer, *Der Basilisk*, 42–91; Sammer, „Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte“, 143–221; Sammer, „Basilisk—regulus“, 144–57.

32. Vgl. Sammer, *Der Basilisk*, 65; Sammer, „Basilisk—regulus“, 149.

33. Vgl. Rottloff, „Von Drache, Basilisk und Phoenix“, 23.

## 6. DER BASILISK—UNENDLICHE GESCHICHTE UND MYTHOS

Die Septuaginta bildet demnach sowohl Interim als auch Bindeglied in der Rezeptions- und Wirkungsgeschichte des merkwürdigen Wesens βασιλίσκος:

Interim sind Isa 59:5 und Ps 90:13<sup>LXX</sup> deshalb, weil dort bereits das Wesentliche über den Basilisken vorausgesetzt wird: Seine verheerende Wirkung, seine immense Gefährlichkeit und die angsteinflößende Bedrohung, die von ihm ausgeht. Entsprechend kann—wie in Isa 59:5—eine Identifizierung des Verhaltens der Heuchler mit diesem unheilvollen Wesen problemlos erfolgen. Dem Menschen aus der Zeit der LXX war dies alles geläufig, weshalb an beiden Stellen die pure Nennung des griechischen Lexems ausreicht. Der Basilisk war bereits ein mythisches und fabelhaftes Tier, besser ein unheimliches, mysteriöses Wesen geworden. Wenn dann in der Vulgata an weiteren Stellen in Isa vom *regulus* und einigen Merkmalen die Rede ist, so kann dies durchaus dort eigentlich den Basilisken näher umschreiben.

Bindeglied ist die Septuaginta aber dahingehend, dass gerade die Viergestalt der Tiere von Ps 90:13 tiefgehende Nachwirkungen hat. Den Kirchenschriftstellern ist die allegorische Identifizierung der Tiere mit Sünde, Tod, Teufel und Antichrist bzw. mit spezifischen Todsünden und Plagen geschuldet. Die Zitation von Psalm 90:11–12 in Lukas 4:10–11 drängt gerade die Übertragung auf Jesus Christus als Subjekt auf, weshalb wie selbstverständlich dann auch Vers 13 des Psalms mit angeführt und adäquat auch auf Jesus Christus bezogen wird. Dementsprechend ist gerade dieser Vers bestens dafür geeignet, den Leser/innen und Hörer/innen in ihr Gewissen zu reden, sie zu belehren, aufzurütteln, sie zu warnen und an den rechten Weg zu erinnern. So wird die LXX hier Bindeglied zwischen den alten mythischen Vorstellungen über den Basilisken und—auf der Basis geeigneter Interpretation durch die Kirchenschriftsteller—literarischer und künstlerischer Darstellung bis in die Gegenwart hinein.

Die Mariensäule auf dem Marienplatz in München etwa ist so ein Beispiel: Wegen der Verschonung Münchens im Dreißigjährigen Krieg legte Kurfürst Maximilian das Gelübde ab, aus Dank eine Säule auf dem Marienplatz errichten zu lassen. 1638 wird sie der *Patrona Bavariae* geweiht, die ihrerseits das Jesu Kind auf dem Arm hält. Auf dem Sockel steht: *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et leonem et draconem conculcabis*, also Ps 90:13 der Vulgata-Fassung. Den Sockel und damit die *Patrona Bavariae* verteidigen erfolgreich vier bewaffnete und beschildete Putti. Vehement bekämpfen sie die Natter bzw. Schlange, also den Unglauben, den Basilisken, also die Pest, den Drachen, also

den Hunger, und den Löwen, also den Krieg. Die Mariensäule wird Vorbild für weitere dieser Art, etwa in Wien, Wernstein am Inn, Prag, Freising oder Trier.<sup>34</sup>

In anderen ikonographischen Darstellungen zertritt Christus den Basiliken und versinnbildlicht so seinen Sieg über Tod, Teufel und alles Böse.<sup>35</sup> Spezifika und Details, wie sie etwa in *Harry Potter und die Kammer des Schreckens* eine wichtige Rolle spielen, sind allenfalls impliziert, spielen jedoch für die Deutung im christlichen Kontext dort keine wichtige Rolle mehr.

Wem der Basilisk aber dennoch unheimlich und mysteriös vorkommt, der kann sich selbst gegen diesen erproben und für einen möglichen Kampf mit diesem Monstrum wappnen. Das suggeriert jedenfalls das im Internet angebotene *Harry-Potter-Basilisk-Attack-Set*, mit Hilfe dessen der Angriff eines Basilisken überstanden werden könne. Und anders als der Basilisk der Spätantike kann man dann vielleicht sogar einen Basilisken-Biss überleben, so wie dies in der Werbeanzeige für das Set plastisch und blutig mit Harry Potters Arm visuell vor Augen geführt wird.

Darüber allerdings hätten Plinius, Aelian und andere laut gelacht. Oder sie hätten sich, was angesichts der damals vorherrschenden Vorstellung von real existierenden Unheilmächten wie dem Basilisken wahrscheinlicher scheint, kopfschüttelnd und entsetzt abgewandt, sei doch so ein Angebot fahrlässig und lebensgefährlich zugleich.

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34. Vgl. Sammer, *Der Basilisk*, 71–74 (inkl. Abbildungen); W. Kalina, „Die Mariensäulen in Wernstein am Inn (1645/47), Wien (1664/66), München (1637/38) und Prag (1650),“ *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 58 (2004): 43–61.

35. Vgl. K. Liess, „Basilisk“, Rottloff, „Von Drache, Basilisk und Phoenix“, 21–29.



# Between Text and Interpretation: An Exegetical Commentary on LXX Proverbs

*Johann Cook*

**Abstract:** This paper acts as a pilot study for the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary series on LXX Proverbs. Introductory issues are dealt with and Prov 1: 1–4 is expounded as a short example. Since the commentary will in the final analysis act as the basis for writing a theology of LXX Proverbs, a short example of the way the law of Moses is rendered is presented.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Septuagint version of Proverbs is a relatively fallow research field. The OG text of this freely rendered version, for instance, has not been determined. This has been allocated to Peter Gentry. The phrase “Between Text and Interpretation” in the title is a reference to the translation technique followed by the translator, which varies from “literal” (text) to “free” (interpretation).

I am involved in the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary series on LXX Proverbs. This paper will serve to act as a pilot study. The following aspects will be dealt with.

1. Introductory issues will include: (1) Date, provenance, authorship, and questions of unity; (2) Literary character and contents; (3) Textual relationship to the parent text(s); (4) Text and text history; (5) History of scholarship and bibliography.
2. Peculiarities in LXX Proverbs such as the translation technique of the translator.
3. Finally, the relevance of the commentary for the formulation of a theology of the Septuagint will be determined.

## 2. THE COMMENTARY

## 2.1. DATE, PROVENANCE, AUTHORSHIP, AND QUESTIONS OF UNITY

Whereas there is general consensus that the original Septuagint, the Pentateuch, should be located in Egypt and more specifically Alexandria,<sup>1</sup> there is a difference of opinion on those books outside of this corpus. Ecclesiastes is such a literal version that it has been placed in Palestine in post-Christian times.<sup>2</sup> Kristin De Troyer also places the LXX version of the book of Esther in Palestine in the first century BCE.<sup>3</sup> On two other wisdom books, Job and Proverbs, opinions are divided.<sup>4</sup> Giles Gerleman holds the view that LXX Proverbs originated in Alexandria.<sup>5</sup> David-Marc D'Hamonville agrees that Alexandria is the location of LXX Proverbs; he actually thinks that it was translated by Aristobulus.<sup>6</sup> John Gammie, Michael Dick, and I have argued that Palestine could be the place of origin of this conspicuously different, freely rendered translation.<sup>7</sup> However, as far as Job is concerned, I concluded at the IOSCS congress in Cambridge that in respect of certain aspects it would seem as if Job and Proverbs were not

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1. Arie van der Kooij, "On the Place of Origin of the Old Greek of Psalms," *VT* 33 (1983): 64–74, has argued that perhaps Leontopolis could be seen as location for some LXX books.

2. Johann Cook, "Aspects of the Relationship between the Septuagint Versions of Kohelet and Proverbs," in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom*, ed. A. Schoors, BETL 136 (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 492.

3. Kristin De Troyer, *The End of the Alpha Text of Esther: Translation and Narrative Technique in MT 8:1–17, LXX 8:1–17, and AT 7:14–41*, SCS 48 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 277.

4. Sebastian P. Brock has already argued that these two books are different from most books of the Septuagint: "The Phenomenon of Biblical Translation in Antiquity," *GRBS* 20 (1979): 69–87.

5. Gilles Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint III: Proverbs*, LUÅ n.f. 52.3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1956), 144. This view is shared by Antoine J. Baumgartner, *Étude critique sur l'état du texte du livre des Proverbes* (Leipzig: Druguline, 1890), 253; and Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jhs. v.Chr.* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1973), 292.

6. David-Marc D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes: Traduction du texte grec de la Septante*, La Bible d'Alexandrie 17 (Paris: Cerf, 2000), 134.

7. See John G. Gammie, "The Septuagint of Job: Its Poetic Style and Relationship to the Septuagint of Proverbs," *CBQ* 49 (1987): 14–31; Michael B. Dick, "The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs," in *SPhiloA* 2 (1990): 20; Johann Cook, "The Septuagint as Contextual Bible Translation: Alexandria or Jerusalem as Context for Proverbs?" *JNSL* 19 (1993): 25–39.

rendered by the same translator.<sup>8</sup> It is therefore possible that they do not come from the same historical milieu.<sup>9</sup> I concluded that these versions were not written by the same person, nor did they originate from the same milieu.

It is immediately evident that appropriate criteria need to be formulated in order to address this issue. There are basically two sets of criteria: first, linguistic ones and, more specifically, lexically based criteria; second, arguments from content analysis that provide insight into the context in which any given unit came to be written. I have already completed some preliminary research in this regard. In a monograph on LXX Proverbs published in VTSup 69, I conducted lexical analyses of individual lexemes.<sup>10</sup> In various studies, I have argued on the basis of contextual considerations that this translation unit (Proverbs) should perhaps be placed in Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup> I am of the opinion that the translator was a conservative Jew, who went to great lengths to avoid possible misunderstanding of the intention of his parent text.<sup>12</sup> This became necessary within a context in which Hellenistic culture was increasingly becoming a threat to Judaism in the Diaspora. Dick has also recently argued along similar lines, albeit in connection with another facet of this translation unit, that is, the ethics of this book. His conclusion is that “the Old Greek Proverbs is surprisingly innocent of Hellenistic Greek ethical language” and, in the light of this, that “this translation might best be understood perhaps not as a product of Hellenistic Alexandria but rather of a more conservative Greek-speaking school perhaps resident in Palestine.”<sup>13</sup>

Gerleman dates LXX Proverbs to circa 150 BCE.<sup>14</sup> Martin Hengel places it somewhat earlier around 170 BCE,<sup>15</sup> and D’Hamonville agrees, since he

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8. See my contribution to the IOSCS congress held in Cambridge, 1995: Johann Cook, “Aspects of the Relationship Between the Septuagint Versions of Proverbs and Job,” in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Cambridge, 1995*, ed. B. A. Taylor, SCS 45 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 328.

9. See my article, “Were the Septuagint Versions of Job and Proverbs Translated by the Same Person?” *HS* 51 (2010): 129–56; and my contribution “The Relationship between the LXX Versions of Proverbs and Job,” in *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*, ed. Johann Cook and Herman-Josef Stipp, VTSup 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 145–56.

10. Johann Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs; Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs*, VTSup 69 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 310–15.

11. See Cook, “Septuagint as Contextual Bible Translation,” 25–39.

12. Johann Cook and Arie van der Kooij, *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom: On the Provenance of Translators and Their Books in the Septuagint Version*, CBET 68 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 168.

13. Dick, “Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs,” 20.

14. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*, 57.

15. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 294.

identifies the author as Aristobulus.<sup>16</sup> I think Gerleman's dating is acceptable but that LXX Proverbs was completed in the wake of the radical Hellenizing that took place in Palestine after the Antiochian revolution.

The Septuagint version of Proverbs differs in many respects from the other textual witnesses (see B below), which naturally raises the question of unity. D'Hamonville has given an exhaustive analysis of the collection of LXX vis-à-vis the MT.<sup>17</sup> From his discussion, it is clear that he accepts that the translator had an extremely free hand in this construction. He agrees that its parent text was not dramatically different from MT. Even though he accepts the usual division of MT Proverbs into books, he divides the Greek version into other categories than those in MT and prefers to speak of sections rather than books.<sup>18</sup> In accordance with the rest of the Bible (e.g., the Pentateuch), he finds evidence of five sections, which are depicted as strophes (S) and distiques (D), which derive from the organization of the creative translator. According to him, these sections are internally related. D'Hamonville's reconstructions are partly based upon the counting of individual stichs, but a serious problem in this regard is that the OG has not yet been determined. I accept that LXX Proverbs had a parent text that did not differ extensively from MT and that the translator made significant adaptations. However, the whole of the Greek version should be seen as a translated unit.

## 2.2. LITERARY CHARACTER AND CONTENTS

### 2.2.1. STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OR STRUCTURAL RELATIONSHIP TO MT

One of the characteristics of LXX Proverbs is the different order of some of its chapters vis-à-vis the MT and other textual witnesses. Scholars have diverging views on this issue. I have argued that some of the differences in the order of chapters towards the end of LXX Proverbs (chapters 24–31) are the result of the translator interpreting his parent text.<sup>19</sup> The most recent endeavor is my contribution to the *Festschrift* for Emanuel Tov.<sup>20</sup> A determinative feature of the

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16. D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 134.

17. Ibid., 30–32.

18. Ibid., 32.

19. See Johann Cook, "The Greek of Proverbs: Evidence of a Recensionally Deviating Hebrew Text?" in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. S. M. Paul, R. A. Kraft, L. H. Schiffman, and W. W. Fields (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 610; Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 310–15; as well as my contribution to the proceedings of IOSCS of Oslo 1998: Johann Cook, "The Ideology of Septuagint Proverbs," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Oslo, 1998*, ed. B. A. Taylor, SCS 51 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 463–79.

20. Cook, "Greek of Proverbs," 605–18.



way the Proverbs of Israel are described is that *all* the Proverbs are seen as originating exclusively from King Solomon, as is stated in the first verse of this collection. Consequently, all references to others who are named as contributors to the book now known as Proverbs—such as Agur (Prov 30:1 MT) and Lemuel (Prov 31:1, 4 MT)—are simply removed. Also in Prov 10:1, the phrase מְשִׁלִּי שְׁלֵמָה is not rendered, for this seems to have been seen as a tautological statement by the translator(s). Finally in Prov 25:1 the explicative phrase αἱ ἀδιάρκτοι (miscellaneous) is added in order to avoid misunderstanding.

The LXX has the following schema vis-à-vis the MT with regard to the difference of the order of chapters:<sup>21</sup>

|            |                                          |
|------------|------------------------------------------|
| I–III      | 1:1–24:22                                |
| VI, part 1 | 30:1–14 (The words of Agur, 1st part)    |
| IV         | 24:23–34 (The words of the wise)         |
| VI, part 2 | 30:15–33 (The words of Agur, 2nd part)   |
| VII        | 31:1–9 (The words of Lemuel, 1st part)   |
| V          | 25–29                                    |
| VIII       | 31:10–31 (The words of Lemuel, 2nd part) |

There are differences of opinion on these major textual differences. Tov is of the view that they are to be ascribed to a recensionally deviating Hebrew parent text.<sup>22</sup> Michael Fox has a related but somewhat different stance on this issue.<sup>23</sup> He agrees that MT and LXX actually represent two recensions but also deems it possible that changes were brought about in both traditions.<sup>24</sup> I have argued that most of the differences in the order of these chapters are to be taken as the work of a creative translator. This person was guided by thematic considerations such as contrasts in different passages. A case in point is the acrostic in Prov 31:10–32 that was deliberately linked to Prov 29, for there is a contrast between these passages as can be seen in the following discussion.<sup>25</sup>

Prov 29:27

תֹּעֲבַת צְדִיקִים אִישׁ עָלָּ וְתֹעֲבַת רָשָׁע יִשְׂרָדָּד:

An unjust man is an abomination to the righteous,  
but he whose way is straight is an abomination to the wicked.

21. Emanuel Tov, "Recensional Differences Between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint of Proverbs," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls, Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins presented to John Strugnell*, ed. H. W. Attridge et al. (Lanham: University Press of America, 1990), 43–56.

22. Emanuel Tov, *The Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1992), 337.

23. Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 18A (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 361.

24. See also D'Hamonville, *Proverbs*, 30.

25. Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 310–15.

βδέλυγμα δικαίοις ἀνὴρ ἄδικος  
 βδέλυγμα δὲ ἀνόμῳ κατευθύνουσα ὁδός  
 An unrighteous man is an abomination to the righteous,  
 and the direct way is an abomination to the lawless.

The contrast present in the Hebrew is expressed also in the Septuagint, a contrast that appears in Prov 31:10 too and is consequently linked to this passage.

Prov 31:10  
 אִשָּׁה־חַיִּל מִי מֵצֵא מְהֵרָה  
 A good wife who can find?  
 She is far more precious than jewels.

γυναῖκα ἀνδρείαν τίς εὕρήσει;  
 τιμιωτέρα δέ ἐστιν λίθων πολυτελῶν ἢ τοιαύτη  
 Who can find a courageous wife?  
 Yes, such a one is more precious than valuable jewels.

There is clearly a relationship between this verse and the last verse in the previous chapter. Fox differs from me in regard to these deliberate adjustments, although he unfortunately does not explain his views exhaustively. Firstly, in the light of my arguments concerning the free translation technique followed by the translator, I maintain that one could, from a methodological point of view, also expect this person to be free in his dealing with larger issues. Secondly, Fox uses an argument from silence when he states that “the join of 29:27 + 31:10, however, seems too minor a gain to explain the major movement, however, when the movement of a single verse would do the same.”<sup>26</sup> This is expecting the translator to do something that he probably did not think of doing or was not important to him. Fox does concede that the thematic consideration of kingship could have played a role in the movement of 31:1–9 but points out that this does not explain why chapter 30 was also split into two. I would argue that one should be careful about being too dogmatic in this regard. It has struck me that this translator, as is the case with others too, does not deal with *all* possible phenomena such as discrepancies. In the *Festschrift* for Tov, I conceded that the position of the block chapter 30 A (vv. 1–14) is difficult to explain.<sup>27</sup> I do nevertheless think that the other side of this block (30:11–14) vis-à-vis Prov 24.23ff. fits this thematic argument.

26. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 361.

27. Cook, “Greek of Proverbs,” 614.

## 2.2.2. LITERARY AND/OR TRANSLATIONAL PROFILE

It is evident that the translator had an excellent Greek education. D'Hamonville demonstrates his competence at the literary level and the level of poetics.<sup>28</sup> There is also consensus that this unit evinces a rather free translation technique.<sup>29</sup> I have demonstrated that the translator(s) of LXX Proverbs seem(s) to have had a unique approach towards the Hebrew text.<sup>30</sup> This is observed, first, on a *micro level* but also on a *macro level*.<sup>31</sup> As far as the first goes, some individual lexical items are rendered consistently, whereas many are varied. I have defined this translational approach as one of *diversity* and *unity*.<sup>32</sup> This is underscored by the rather large number of *hapax legomena* and neologisms that occur in LXX Proverbs.<sup>33</sup>

I have already dealt exhaustively with the issue of the macro level differences between LXX and, for example, MT, most recently in the *Festschrift* for Tov.<sup>34</sup> I am convinced that the different order of chapters compared to MT and the other major textual witnesses is the result of the translator's intervention.

So, when endeavoring to interpret LXX Proverbs, one has to address a considerable number of issues. A prominent one is that the translator chose to interpret his subject matter rather freely; diversity was therefore an important guiding principle for him. Hence, this should act as a critical directing principle for the contemporary interpreter.

## 2.2.3. THEMES AND MAJOR CONCERNS OF THE AUTHOR/TRANSLATOR(S)

The fact that this unit has a rather free translation technique and that even the order of some chapters are changed for literary and religious consideration, are an indication that the translator deemed other issues to be more significant than the atomistic rendering of what was at hand in the parent text. I am of the opinion that this translator was a conservative Jewish scribe who actually rendered his parent text in such a manner to prevent any misunderstanding. As I will contend below, the law of Moses is emphasized since LXX Proverbs came

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28. D'Hamonville, *Proverbs*, 57–112.

29. Emanuel Tov and Benjamin G. Wright, "Computer-Assisted Study of the Criteria for Assessing the Literalness of Translation Units in the LXX," *Text* 12 (1985): 186.

30. Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 332.

31. Johann Cook, "Ideology and Translation Technique: Two Sides of the Same Coin?," in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*, ed. R. Sollamo and S. Sipilä (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 195–210.

32. Cook, "Ideology and Translation Technique," 208.

33. Johann Cook, "The Translator(s) of LXX Proverbs," *TC* 7 (2002): 2; D'Hamonville, *Proverbs*, 75, agrees that these textual phenomena are indicators of the originality of the translator: "Ment qui manifeste pour une part l'originalité du traducteur."

34. Cook, "Greek of Proverbs," 605–18.

into existence in a progressively Hellenizing historical context. Hence, I am of the opinion that the person(s) responsible for this unit was/were anti-hellenistically inclined and deliberately intended to warn his readers of the dangers inherent in the prevailing Hellenism.<sup>35</sup>

### 2.3. TEXTUAL RELATIONSHIP TO THE PARENT TEXT(S)

I hold the view that the LXX of Proverbs was indeed translated from a parent text not dramatically different from MT.<sup>36</sup> Because of the free translation technique employed by the translator, it is also extremely difficult to determine this Semitic *Vorlage*. I have demonstrated that the text-critical value of LXX Proverbs is thus extremely low.<sup>37</sup>

### 2.4. TEXT AND TEXT HISTORY

#### 2.4.1. PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE GREEK

LXX Proverbs is one of the books that has not yet been published in the Göttingen Septuaginta series. It has been allocated to Peter Gentry, but it will take some years before this edition is available for research. In the meantime, the preliminary edition of Rahlfs,<sup>38</sup> based on a limited number of available manuscripts, will have to do.

#### 2.4.2. STATE OF THE TEXT

The text of LXX Proverbs seems to be riddled with textual problems. First, there is ample evidence of hexaplaric insertions into the text. It remains difficult to determine whether a given passage is indeed part of this later revisional activity. The rules of thumb formulated by Paul de Lagarde are helpful: “wenn ein vers

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35. Cook and Van der Kooij, *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom*, 163.

36. See also Gerhard Taubers Schmidt, *Secondary Parallelism: A Study of Translation Technique in LXX Proverbs*, AcBib 15 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 19; D’Hamonville, *Proverbes*, 57, also thinks that the translator had a rather free hand in the construction of Proverbs: “Ces deux exemples sont typique de la nécessité d’étudier les *Proverbes* LXX comme un véritable texte et non comme la copie plus ou moins aberrante d’un modèle hébreu suppose intangible.” Like me, he accepts that the parent text of LXX Proverbs was not very different from MT.

37. Johann Cook, “The Text-Critical Value of the Septuagint of Proverbs,” in *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays in Honor of Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. R. L. Troxel, K. G. Friebel, and D. R. Magary (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 407–19.

38. Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1965).

oder verstheil in einer freien und in einer sklavisch treuen übertragung vorliegt, gilt die erstere als die echte." The second rule is related to the first: "Wenn sich zwei lesarten nebeneinander finden, von denen die eine den masoretischen text ausdrückt, die andre nur aus einer von ihm abweichenden urschrift erklärt werden kann, so ist die letzere für ursprünglich zu halten."<sup>39</sup> As will become clear, these rules cannot be applied dogmatically.

#### 2.4.3. TEXTUAL HISTORY

In my monograph in VTSup 69, I endeavored to reconstruct the Old Greek of some chapters. This information will also be dealt with in the commentary. In this monograph, I gave a cursory outline of the text history of this book.<sup>40</sup> There is evidence that the translator made use of non-Septuagintal Greek traditions. He was clearly a well-educated scribe, well versed in the Greek literature. He introduced *hapax legomena* and neologisms, a clear sign of his proficiency in Greek culture, at least as far as the form is concerned. He also had knowledge of Aristotle's *Historia animalium* as is seen in the additions in Prov 6:8. He was clearly steeped in Greek (and Jewish) culture! The extent to which this translator was influenced by these Hellenistic ideas remains a point of discussion among scholars.<sup>41</sup> I do argue, however, that he directly applied the knowledge he obtained only as far as the external *form* goes. He explicitly shies away from applying Hellenistic ideas. The prominent role of the Mosaic law in this unit attests to its Jewishness. In this regard, Antoine Baumgartner has argued that the translator of Proverbs was deeply influenced by Jewish midrash.<sup>42</sup> Georg Bertram also holds the view that this unit shows evidence of Jewish legalism.<sup>43</sup> This position is contrary to that of Gerleman, who thinks that a Greek Stoic, rather than a Jewish, way of thinking is to be taken as the background to issues of religion and ethics in LXX Proverbs.<sup>44</sup> Hengel and Ferdinand Deist find

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39. Paul A. de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1863), 3. See also the remarks by D'Hamonville, *Proverbes*, 49.

40. Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 20–29.

41. Johann Cook, "Septuagintal Religious Aspects: Jewish and/or Hellenistic?" *Journal for Semitics* 18 (2009): 481–99.

42. Baumgartner, *Étude critique*, 253.

43. Georg Bertram, "Die religiöse Umdeutung altorientalischer Lebensweisheit in der griechischen Übersetzung des AT," *ZAW* 13 (1936): 153–67.

44. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*, 53.

Platonic perspectives in this unit,<sup>45</sup> and Karl-Gustav Sandelin is of the opinion that the translation of Prov 9:1–6 betrays the influence of Greek mystery religion.<sup>46</sup>

In his work on LXX Proverbs, D'Hamonville quoted many examples of Greek proverbs. It remains to be seen to what extent these examples were used in accordance with the Hellenistic Weltanschauung.

## 2.5. HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

I have dealt elsewhere with the history of research on LXX Proverbs.<sup>47</sup> This translation of Proverbs has not been the subject of as much concentrated attention from scholars as other books of the LXX have. However, during the past decades there has been progressively greater interest in this book, as is true of the whole of the Septuagint. De Lagarde and Gerleman have dealt with certain aspects of LXX Proverbs.<sup>48</sup> Baumgartner has a rather exhaustive verse-by-verse exposition of Proverbs.<sup>49</sup> Giacomo Mezzacasa dealt primarily with codex Alexandrinus.<sup>50</sup> My monograph examines aspects of LXX Proverbs, dealing with a number of chapters only.<sup>51</sup> The most exhaustive treatment of LXX Proverbs, however, comes from the hand of D'Hamonville (2000), who prepared the commentary for the series, *La Bible d'Alexandrie*.<sup>52</sup> Even though this is also a verse-by-verse commentary, it is less interested in the OG and focuses a good deal on the reception history of this book.

A definite trend in recent research has been that scholars take more notice of the Septuagint in exegetical and other studies.<sup>53</sup> Fox (2000) has dealt rather exhaustively with the Septuagint in his commentary in the Anchor Bible series.<sup>54</sup> Christl Maier and Gerlinde Baumann also take the LXX into account in their doctoral dissertations on the “strange woman” and Lady Wisdom as depicted in the book of Proverbs.<sup>55</sup>

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45. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 293; Ferdinand E. Deist, *Witnesses to the Old Testament* (Pretoria: NGK boekhandel, 1988), 165.

46. Karl-Gustav Sandelin, *Wisdom as Nourisher: A Study of an Old Testament Theme, Its Development within Early Judaism and Its Impact on Early Christianity*, (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1986), 9.

47. Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 3–12.

48. De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*; Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint*.

49. Baumgartner, *Étude critique*.

50. Giacomo Mezzacasa, *Il libro dei proverbi di Salomone: Studio critico sulle aggiunte Greco-alessandrine* (Rome: Istituto Biblico Pontificio, 1913).

51. Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs*.

52. D'Hamonville, *Proverbs*.

53. Johann Cook, “Recent Trends in Wisdom Research,” *BO* 61 (2004): 277–86.

54. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*.

55. Christl Maier, *Die “fremde Frau” in Proverbien 1–9: Eine exegetische und sozialgeschichtliche Studie*, OBO 144 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998).

Finally, a number of scholars have been addressing certain aspects of this translated unit. I have published an exhaustive description of its translation technique,<sup>56</sup> and recently Gerhard Tauberschmidt has addressed the issue of secondary parallelism in LXX Proverbs.<sup>57</sup>

### 3. PECULIARITIES IN LXX PROVERBS: PROVERBS 1

Chapter 1 acts as an introduction to the whole book of Proverbs. William McKane<sup>58</sup> divides the Hebrew version into three pericopes: verses 1–7 (introduction); verses 8–19 (flee sin and violence); and verses 20–33 (Wisdom as preacher). As a matter of fact, this division agrees with the Masoretic division. This chapter contains many differences in comparison with MT that could be the result of several theoretical possibilities: a different parent text, the translator, or the transmission history of the manuscripts.

Scholars differ on the literary role of this chapter. Berend Gemser and D'Hamonville see the first six verses as a superscription to the whole book.<sup>59</sup> Norman Whybray takes verses 1–5 as preface to Prov 1–9.<sup>60</sup> McKane argues that verses 1–7 act as an introduction to the book as a whole.<sup>61</sup> In the LXX, these verses form an introduction, since they define what true wisdom is.

Prov 1:1

משלי שלמה בן־דוד מלך ישראל:

The proverbs of Solomon son of David, king of Israel

παροιμίας Σαλωμῶντος υἱοῦ Δαυιδ

ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ

Proverbs of Salomon, son of Daud, who reigned in Israel

The term *παροιμίας* is used rarely in the LXX. In Proverbs, it appears in 1:1 and 25:1 as equivalent for *משל*. It is clear from the beginning that the translator is interpreting his parent text. In verse 1, the noun phrase *מלך ישראל* is understood as a verbal phrase *ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ*. All the other versions follow the

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hoeck & Ruprecht, 1995). Gerlinde Baumann, *Die Weisheitsgestalt in Proverbien 1–9: Traditionsgeschichtliche und theologische Studien*, FAT 16 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996).

56. Cook, "Translator(s) of LXX Proverbs."

57. Tauberschmidt, *Secondary Parallelism*.

58. William McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach* (London: SCM Press, 1970), 262.

59. Berend Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos*, HAT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1963), 88; D'Hamonville, *Proverbes*, 158.

60. R. Norman Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs*, SBT 45 (London: SCM, 1965), 37.

61. McKane, *Proverbs*, 262.

construction in MT. D'Hamonville immediately involves the reception of the LXX, including the New Testament.<sup>62</sup>

Prov 1:2

לְדַעַת חִכְמָה וּמוֹסֶר לְהִבִּין אִמְרֵי בִינָה:

For learning about wisdom and instruction,  
for understanding words of insight

γινῶναι σοφίαν καὶ παιδείαν

νοῆσαι τε λόγους φρονήσεως

to learn wisdom and discipline,  
and to understand words of prudence

This verse is loaded with sapiential terminology. *Σοφία* is a central word in Proverbs, where it occurs forty-eight times, mostly as equivalent for *חכמה*. The lexeme *παιδεία* is another typically sapiential concept. It is used abundantly in Proverbs and Ben Sira and appears four times in the first chapter of Proverbs. In practically all passages in Proverbs, it has *מוסר* as the underlying Hebrew reading. Both lexemes have the nuance of “instruction/education/discipline” as part of their semantic field.

Verse 2 is translated relatively literally, although the frequent use of the conjunction *τε* in the first six verses is an unmistakable sign of the translator's free style and first-hand knowledge of the Greek language. The same could probably be said about the addition of *νοῆσαι* in verse 3. I think the translator probably took verse 2 into account in this regard, harmonizing without a reference to an underlying Hebrew reading.

Prov 1:3

לְקַחַת מוֹסֶר הַשֶּׁבֶל צָדִק וּמִשְׁפָּט וּמִיִּשְׁרִים:

for gaining instruction in wise dealing,  
righteousness, and justice, and equity

δέξασθαι τε στροφὰς λόγων

νοῆσαι τε δικαιοσύνην ἀληθῆ

καὶ κρίμα κατευθύνειν

and to grasp subtlety of words  
and to understand true righteousness  
and to direct judgment

Verse 3 contains potentially exegetical renderings such as *στροφὰς λόγων* for *מוסר*. The Greek word *στροφή* occurs only four times in the LXX but frequently in other Greek sources. It appears once each in Wis 8:8, Sir 39:2, Pss Sol 12:2, and here in Proverbs. Sirach 39:1–11 is devoted to the wise person, describing

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62. D'Hamonville, *Proverbs*, 158.



the true, enigmatic nature of the studies in which such a person is engaged. In this context, the combination *στροφαῖς παραβολῶν* (v. 2) is used to describe the “problematic” nature of the sayings studied by the wise. The same nuance is found in the Wisdom of Solomon, where this lexeme is used in conjunction with *αἵνιγμα*, another word that occurs very rarely in the Septuagint (see v. 6 [The only place in Wisdom of Solomon in which *αἵνιγμα* is found is 8:8]). In the context of Wis 8:8, wisdom is described as the source of knowledge concerning “the past, the future, the intricate nuances of arguments and riddles, and even signs and wonders.” The same combination of *στροφὰς λόγων* occurs also in this passage. It seems to be a technical term, even though it does not appear frequently. It is therefore evident that the translator of Proverbs had the same intention of stressing the nuance of “problematic, complicated” with these words. If he therefore actually had the same Hebrew text as MT,<sup>63</sup> which appears more than likely, then it would seem as though he construed the verbal root of מוֹסֵר to be סֹר (the *hophal* masculine participle), “to turn aside, to withdraw, to evade,” rather than יָסַר. A hint as to the possible interpretation of this lexeme is in fact found in Sir 6:22, where the Hebrew indeed reads מוֹסֵר.<sup>64</sup> The stich provides the necessary semantic contents: “For discipline is like her name; she is not obvious to many.” According to this interpretation, מוֹסֵר indeed has to do with the “enigmatic, problematic.”

If the translator indeed had the same reading as MT, then the verbal form *νοῆσαι* could be an infinitive as a rendering of the *hiphil* infinitive construct of שָׁכַל. It is nevertheless also possible to argue that the infinitive has been added in conjunction with the previous verse. However, this would then leave *λόγων* unaccounted for. In this regard, the combination of *στροφὰς λόγων* is instructive, for *λόγων* seems to have been added in conjunction with the previous verse in order to explicate מוֹסֵר. The translator has consequently created an antipole of the combination *λόγους φρονήσεως* in verse 2. This is in fact a specific technique that he has used extensively in the book of Proverbs.

The final two stichs in verse 3 also do not represent a literal rendering of the MT. *Δικαιοσύνη* is the expected counterpart to צֶדֶק, but *ἀληθῆ* seems to be an addition either as an adjective or as a noun referring to “truth” (τὰ ἀληθῆ). *Κρίμα* is the equivalent for מִשְׁפָּט, whereas *κατευθύνειν* has been introduced in connection with יָשַׁר (מִישָׁרִים) by the translator. This Greek verbal form occurs in Prov 1:3 (מִישָׁרִים); 4:26 (כֹּחַ); 9:15 (יָשַׁר); 13:13 (—); 15:8 (יָשַׁר) and 21 (יָשַׁר); 21:2 (תִּכֵּן); 23:19 (אֲשֶׁר) and 29:27 (יָשַׁר). As can be seen, all these lexemes are semantically related.

63. André Barucq takes it as a free interpretation (*Le Livre des Proverbes*, Sources bibliques [Paris: Gabalda, 1964], 48).

64. See Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, AYBC 39 (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 191.

The strange thing, on the face of it at least, is the fact that מוסר is rendered differently in these two verses. This Hebrew lexeme occurs twenty-eight times in Proverbs. In practically all these passages, one Greek lexeme, παιδεία, is the equivalent. This kind of consistency is not the normal practice of this translator, who tends to vary equivalences. In verse 2, מוסר is thus translated relatively literally by a noun παιδεία; however, in verse 3, it is brought into connection with the root סור. Again, this could be the result of the translator's free approach, or he could have misunderstood the Hebrew. Not to be forgotten is another possible Hebrew reading, which was suggested by de Lagarde,<sup>65</sup> although I do not think this is applicable here.<sup>66</sup>

Prov 1:4

לְתֵת לַפְתָּאִים עֲרָמָה לְנֶעַר דַּעַת וּמִזְמָה:  
to teach shrewdness to the simple,  
knowledge and prudence to the young

ἵνα δὲ ἀλάκοις πανουργίαν  
παῖδι δὲ νέῳ αἰσθησίν τε καὶ ἔννοιαν  
in order that he might give shrewdness to the innocent,  
and both perspective and good sense to the young child

In verse 4, the infinitive is expressed differently from the way it is done in the previous examples. Whereas the final clauses in verses 2 and 3 were expressed by means of infinitives, in this verse, the translator uses the particle ἵνα plus a subjunctive. Only the Latin evidence shows a similar possible construction. All available material has the phrase *ut detur parvalis*. This is an indication of the translator's intention to create cohesion between these verses.<sup>67</sup>

The object of the first stich is πανουργία, a Greek word which appears seven times in the LXX, always as a rendering of ערמה. This Hebrew lexeme has the negative nuance of "shrewdness" as part of its semantic field in certain contexts such as Gen 3:1. This is in accordance with the way πανουργία is used, for example, by Aristotle (*Hist. an.* 488b20) for describing the "cunning" of animals. The more positive nuance of "clever, smart" also applies in *Eth. nic.* 1144a28 and Plato, *Leg.* 747c.

ἄλακος appears nine times in Proverbs, 1:4 (פתי) and 22 (פתי); 2:21 (תמימים); 8:5 (פתי); 13:7 (תם); 14:15 (פתי); 15:10 (\*) and 23 (\*) and 21:11 (פתי). Here it has פתי as *Vorlage*, a Hebrew lexeme that is rendered in various ways in Chapter 1. In verse 22, ἄλακος is used, but in verse 32, ἡπίσιος is the equivalent. In the other passages, the distribution of פתי is as follows: 7:7 (ἄφρων); 8:5 (ἄλακος); 9:4 (ἄφρων) and 16 (ἄφρων); 14:15 (ἄλακος) and 18 (ἄφρων); 19:25

65. De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 5.

66. Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 51.

67. Tauberschmidt, *Secondary Parallelism*, 112.

(ἄφρων); 21:11 (ἄκακος); 22:3 (ἄφρων) and 27:12 (ἄφρων). Three lexemes are thus used as equivalents for פְּתִי, with the cluster of lexemes concerning ἄφρων the most frequently used, namely, seven times. Four examples are of ἄκακος, with νήπιος as the apparent exegetical rendering.

There is a pertinent difference between ἄκακος and ἄφρων in Greek literature. The first denotes the innocent in many contexts. In the LXX, for instance, Job is called an ἄκακος ἀνὴρ. This is even the case in Plato's *Tim.* 91d, where the innocent are described as ἀκάκοι ἄνδρες. Philo (*Spec.* 3, 119) uses this term in connection with innocent children. He also applies a related term, ἀκακία, in order to depict the state of existence in paradise. Ἀφρων, on the other hand, expresses a more negative nuance in most contexts. The Hebrew lexeme נָבִל ("fool") is, inter alia, rendered by means of this Greek equivalent in the Old Testament. It is also used to render אִוִּל and אִוִּלֹת in both the Psalter and Proverbs.

The adjective νέος has no equivalent in MT, although נָעַר does have the connotation of youth (as does *adulescentus* in the Vulgate) or novice as part of its semantic field, which probably led to the explanatory addition. This is an example of a combination of words that the translator uses in order to make evident his understanding of the parent text. He is clearly distinguishing between and describing different groups of people. This verse mentions the innocent and the inexperienced, who are in need of prudence, insight and knowledge.

Ἀισθησίς occurs twenty-two times in Proverbs and, according to HR,<sup>68</sup> consistently as the equivalent of דַּעַת. The nuance of "insight" is therefore the prevailing one (see, too, Plutarch, *Luc.* 11; Plato, *Apol.* 40c and Plotinus 4.7.15). Ἐννοια, on the other hand, appears twelve times in Proverbs. In 1:4, 3:21, and 8:12, it is used in conjunction with βουλή, whereas in 5:2, 8:12 (2x), 18:15, 23:19, and 24:7 it is applied in the context of σοφός/σοφία. These contexts stress the nuance of "knowledge," as is the case in Plutarch, *Def. orac.* 414a and 2.1077d.

#### 4. A THEOLOGY OF LXX PROVERBS

There is a consensus that the Septuagint has a "theology" of its own;<sup>69</sup> this applies especially to those books, such as Proverbs, that have been rendered freely. I have demonstrated that the person responsible for the LXX of Proverbs adopted a rather systematic approach towards the parent text.<sup>70</sup> I present two topoi as part of this pilot study to demonstrate how a theology may be formulated.

68. Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897).

69. See Johann Cook, "Towards the Formulation of a Theology of the Septuagint," in *Congress Volume Ljubljana 2007*, ed. A. Lemaire, VTSup 133 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 621–40.

70. See Cook and Van der Kooij, *Provenance*, 108 ff.

First, the law of Moses plays a more prominent role in the LXX compared to MT. The phrase “And to know the law is the sign of a sound mind,” appears twice in Proverbs, in chapter 9:10 and 13:15:

Prov 9:10

תְּחִלַּת חִכְמָה יִרְאַת יְהוָה וְדַעַת קְדוּשִׁים בִּינָה:

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the holy one is insight.

ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου

καὶ βουλὴ ἁγίων σύνεσις

τὸ γὰρ γνῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς

The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord

And the counsels of saints is understanding,

*For to know the law is the sign of a sound mind.*

These passages have an identical addition (“to know the law is the sign of a sound mind”), which is part of the systematic application of exegetical perspectives by the translator. The only difference between these phrases is that the particle *δέ* is used in 13:15, whereas in 9:10 *γάρ* is applied. This could be an indication of the literary approach of the translator, who preferred variation in literary style. Scholars have different views on these additions. In connection with 9:10, de Lagarde thinks that the addition is to be deemed the original.<sup>71</sup> Isac Seeligmann, on the contrary, takes the added stich in 9:10 as a later, secondary addition, a doublet.<sup>72</sup> I agree with de Lagarde that this addition comes from the hand of the translator. I also do not think it was incorporated as a secondary addition from 13:15. I have demonstrated that this translator indeed makes use of intra-/intertextual readings and hence does consult previous passages, sometimes with a deliberate purpose.<sup>73</sup> An important example is the quotation from Ps (LXX) 110:10 in Prov 1:7.<sup>74</sup> The first stich in Prov 9:10 corresponds largely with 1:7, which has the literary and ideological function of indicating where the wise should find wisdom in order to solve interpretational questions.<sup>75</sup>

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71. De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 30.

72. See Isac L. Seeligmann, “Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegeese,” in *Congress Volume Copenhagen 1953*, VTSup 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 179.

73. Johann Cook, “Intertextual Readings in the Septuagint,” in *The New Testament Interpreted: Essays in Honour of Bernard C. Lategan*, NovTSup 124, ed. J. C. Thom, J. Punt, and C. Breytenbach (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 117–34.

74. See Johann Cook, “Inter-textual Relations between the Septuagint Versions of the Psalms and Proverbs,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry, JSOTSup 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 218–28.

75. See Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 262.

These additions should be interpreted contextually. I have argued that it became necessary in the wake of a specific historical situation to stress the importance of the law of Moses. The translator warns the readers of the inherent “dangers” of foreign wisdom (the Hellenism of the day). One of these prominent dangers was the devaluation of the law of Moses.<sup>76</sup>

Another example occurs in chapter 28:4, where the law of Moses is interpreted rabbinically:

Prov 28:4

עֲזְבֵי תוֹרָה יְהַלְלוּ רָשָׁע וְשֹׁמְרֵי תוֹרָה יִתְגָּדְרוּ בָם:

Those who forsake the law praise the wicked, but those who keep the law struggle against them.

οὕτως οἱ ἐγκαταλείποντες τὸν νόμον ἐγκωμιάζουσιν ἀσέβειαν

οἱ δὲ ἀγαπῶντες τὸν νόμον περιβάλλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς τεῖχος

Likewise those who forsake the law and praise impious deeds;

However, those who love the law *build a wall around themselves*.

There seems to be no logical relationship between the Greek and the Hebrew.<sup>77</sup> It is, nevertheless, possible that the Hebrew reading גֹּר was deliberately understood as גֶּדֶר (“wall”). Here the law has a protective function for the righteous. I have located similar traditions in the Letter of Aristeas.<sup>78</sup> In paragraph 139 of the Letter of Aristeas, the following statements are made:

When therefore our lawgiver, equipped by God for insight into all things, has surveyed each particular, he fenced us about with impregnable palisades and with walls of iron [περίφραξεν ἡμᾶς ἀδιακόποις χάραξι καὶ σιδηροῖς τείχεσιν], to the end that we should mingle in no way with any other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free from all vain imaginations, worshipping the one Almighty God above the whole creation.

That this is indeed a reference to the cultic laws is clearly observed in paragraph 143: “Therefore lest we should be corrupted by any abomination, or our lives be perverted by evil communications, *he hedged us round on all sides by rules of purity*, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or touch, or hear or see.” Here we thus have an ancient exegetical tradition of the people of God being surrounded by the law in order to preserve them.

These traditions are markedly different from the views found in some later rabbinical writings—for example, the Mishnah—and in even later rabbinical writings such as ’Abot 1:1, according to which the torah must be protected!

76. See Johann Cook, “The Law of Moses in Septuagint Proverbs,” *VT* 49 (1999): 457.

77. See *ibid.*, 459.

78. See *ibid.*, 459.

(“The latter used to say three things: Be patient in justice, rear many disciples and *make a fence around the torah*”).

The traditions around the *torat Moshe* in LXX Proverbs are a clear sign of the Jewishness of this writing, which is different from the Hebrew version, for contextual reasons.

A second topos concerns the role of creation in Prov 8, which in the LXX stresses that wisdom has a secondary role to play in creation.<sup>79</sup> These topoi will be taken into account in the formulation of a theology of LXX Proverbs. This theology needs to be understood against the background of a specific historical context—one where the Hellenism of the day was increasingly endangering the Jews in Palestine who tried to make a living there. This theology is totally different from that of its parent text; for one thing, the law of Moses plays a more fundamental role than in the Hebrew version. This ideology/theology must be deemed more conservative, or orthodox, than its Semitic *Vorlage*; it also addresses other issues, hence synthesizing of themes in different books will be problematic.<sup>80</sup>

## 5. CONCLUSION

This paper has dealt with a number of, hopefully, representative issues concerning the exegetical commentary of LXX Proverbs. In the final analysis, this commentary should serve as a basis for the formulation of a theology of this book.

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79. See Cook, “The Theory and Practice of Textual Criticism: Reconstructing the Old Greek of Proverbs Chapter 8,” *OTE* 17 (2004): 531–43.

80. Martin Rösel, “Towards a ‘Theology’ of the Septuagint,” in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden, SCS 53 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 241.

## “Strange” Interpretations in LXX Proverbs

*Seth A. Bledsoe*

**Abstract:** The Septuagint of Proverbs presents an exceptionally difficult problem when trying to assess its relationship with the Masoretic text. The numerous pluses, minuses, and syntactical and lexical changes have led some scholars to suggest that the translator had an exegetical agenda. The value of the Greek text then is not limited to text-critical or linguistic analyses and can be seen as interpretive commentary. If examined closely, one can recognize certain interpretive features that speak to the motives of the translator and his/her context. This paper seeks to identify one of these features. In MT Proverbs, the force of many proverbs relies on the presumed *negative* connotation of the terms זר and נכרי, usually translated as “strange(r)” and “foreign(er)” respectively. They often stand in contrast with the recognizably positive categories of “friend” or “neighbor.” When we turn to the LXX of Proverbs, however, nearly every verse containing זר or נכרי has been altered. Many times the term has been rendered into Greek with a word that is otherwise not associated with that particular Hebrew lexeme. In other cases, the syntax of a proverb has been changed, affecting the meaning. It is my contention that the Greek translator of Proverbs has consistently modified verses containing the Hebrew terms “stranger” and “foreigner” in order to eradicate any negative connotation associated with them. Instead, he chose to use the corresponding Greek term ἀλλότριος in a neutral way, simply meaning “(an)other.” Moreover, in drawing attention to this translational feature, issues related to the translation’s social setting and ideological agenda arise. One result of the “strange” reconfiguration of these verses—especially those related to the so-called “strange woman”—has been to challenge the reading of LXX Proverbs (made by Johann Cook), which sees in the redactional activity of the translator an allusion to the conflict between Hellenism and Judaism.

## INTRODUCTION

The LXX of Proverbs,<sup>1</sup> along with only a few other Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Jeremiah, Job, etc.), is exceptional in its divergence from the Masoretic text. Although some suggest that at least a few differences may belong to a variant Hebrew *Vorlage*, most follow Johann Cook, the preeminent scholar of the LXX Proverbs, in attributing the differences to the Greek translator. Consequently, in identifying the various translational techniques employed by the Greek translator, Cook (among others) contends that the changes and methods applied to the translation can speak to the translator's ideological or exegetical concerns. This is what Cameron Boyd-Taylor, in appreciation of the recent publication of the NETS, describes as the:

*institutional dimension* of the translation, namely, the role translation was intended to play within the community that produced it ... [and] that the notion of the *constitutive character* [which] is central to the rationale of NETS ... captures a fundamental insight, namely that the work of the translator is circumscribed and structured by the shared expectations of the institution within which and for which he is translating. [Thus] the translation technique adopted will reflect the prospective function of the text within the life of that institution, that is, who is going to read it, under what circumstances and to what end.<sup>2</sup>

In other words, a careful analysis of the translational peculiarities, especially if they are done with some measure of consistency, may indeed reflect a translator's exegetical agenda as well as point to the ideological sensitivities of the translation's audience.

Taking this scholarly presumption as a starting point, this paper explores how the Greek translator has dealt with a singular, lexical element, namely, the Hebrew term *נִזְרָה*, as a means to enter the conversation about the translator's motives and/or the sociohistorical context in which the translation was produced. Cook has characterized the Greek translator's approach to Proverbs as one of "both diversity and uniformity to be observed at various levels. On a lexical level, one sees extensive differentiation, but at the same time strict correspond-

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1. When referring to the Greek Proverbs, I use the terms LXX or Septuagint for convenience. It is not clear what exactly the Old Greek of Proverbs looked like, because the critical edition has not yet been completed. References to the Greek text of Proverbs, therefore, are to Rahlfs (1971, 9th ed.).

2. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "Reading LXX as Document of Its Times," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, SCS 53 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 24.



ence."<sup>3</sup> When we look at the term זר, the appropriate description is certainly diversity. Outside of Proverbs, זר is typically translated with either ἀλλότριος or ἀλλογενής (about 80 percent of the time).<sup>4</sup> Yet, in LXX Proverbs, the translator renders the thirteen appearances of זר with no less than eight different Greek terms, most of which have no semantic association with the Hebrew lexeme.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, even in the few occasions where the Greek translator does employ the term ἀλλότριος as a translation either for זר or the related term נכרי, the syntax or rhetorical structure of the proverb often deviates greatly from the Hebrew text, with the result that in the Greek proverb ἀλλότριος has a function or meaning that differs widely from how זר or נכרי are used in the Hebrew. In MT Proverbs, the force of many proverbs relies on the presumed *negative* connotation of the terms זר and נכרי, usually translated as "strang(er)" and "foreign(er)," respectively. These terms often stand in contrast with the recognizably positive categories of "friend" or "neighbor." When we turn to the LXX of Proverbs, however, the Greek translator has consistently modified verses containing the Hebrew terms "stranger" and "foreigner" with the result that any negative connotation associated with the corresponding term ἀλλότριος has been eradicated.

This paper, therefore, seeks to explain the seemingly "strange" interpretations of the Hebrew lexeme זר in LXX Proverbs. It is my contention that the Greek translator of Proverbs has consistently modified verses containing the Hebrew term זר, either by reconfiguring the meaning of the proverb entirely or by substituting another term for the expected ἀλλότριος, because this Greek lexeme no longer carried the same negative semantic force as its Hebrew counterpart. Instead, in the LXX Proverbs, ἀλλότριος carries a fairly neutral aspect and usually connotes only its most basic meaning of "other" or adjectivally "another's" (i.e., belonging to another).

The translational modifications may be grouped into three thematic groups: financial advice, miscellaneous proverbs, and descriptions of the "strange woman" in chapters 1–9. After a brief overview of statistics and lexical matters, I will analyze the proverbs related to financial advice which contain the term זר. Second, I will mention a few of the miscellaneous proverbs in which זר figures. Then, I will comment on those verses that are concerned with the so-called "strange woman." A result of this close look at the "strange" reconfiguration of these verses—especially those related to the so-called "strange woman"—has been to call into question some of the previously held views about the translator's ideological agenda. These issues will be dealt with as they arise.

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3. Johann Cook, "Proverbs: To the Reader," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 621.

4. See comments on statistics below.

5. זר and any derivative form appear fourteen times in the MT Proverbs, but in one case, 20:16, there is a minus in the Greek.

## 1. STATISTICAL AND SEMANTIC COMMENTS

Although the focus of this paper is on the Greek text of Proverbs and what we can say about its translator and audience, it seems prudent to provide a brief semantic and statistical overview of the Hebrew terms relevant to this study, namely, נָר and נִכְרִי, as well as the pertinent Greek term ἀλλότριος. First of all, it is important to note that in the other books of LXX נָר has overwhelmingly been rendered with ἀλλότριος or its related term ἀλλογενής, employing these terms in forty-three of the fifty-five occurrences of נָר outside of Proverbs.<sup>6</sup> Thus, with the possible exceptions of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the translators of all the other LXX texts treat נָר quite regularly, using either ἀλλότριος or ἀλλογενής almost 80 percent of the time.<sup>7</sup> With respect to the book of Proverbs, the situation becomes quite different. Of the thirteen verses extant in the LXX Proverbs where the Hebrew has נָר, only *four* (or, possibly, five) render the term with the typical ἀλλότριος. In the eight other instances, the translator has employed a Greek term that does not fit within the semantic field of meaning for נָר.<sup>8</sup>

Concerning נִכְרִי and its derivatives, the Greek translator of Proverbs was lexically conservative. Seven of the nine occurrences are rendered with

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6. נָר and its derivative forms in the MT (excluding the book of Proverbs), with its corresponding translation in the LXX: Exodus (3x)—ἀλλογενής (29:33; 30:33), ἕτερος (30:9); Leviticus (4x)—ἀλλότριος (10:1), ἀλλογενής (22:10, 12, 13); Numbers (8x)—ἀλλογενής (1:51; 3:10, 38; 17:5; 18:4, 7), ἀλλότριος (3:4; 26:61); Deuteronomy (2x)—*untranslated* (25:5), ἀλλότριος (32:16); 1 Kings (1x)—οὐθείς (3:18); 2 Kings (1x)—ἀλλότριος (19:24); Job (3x)—ἀλλογενής (15:19; 19:15), ἄλλος (19:27); Psalms (4x)—ἀλλότριος (44:21; 54:5; 109:11), πρόσφατος (81:10); Isaiah (8x)—ἀλλότριος (1:7; 28:21; 43:12), ἄπιστος (17:10), ἀσεβής (25:2; 29:5), meaning unclear (25:5), ἀλλογενής (61:5); Jeremiah (7x)—ἀλλότριος (2:25; 3:13; 5:19; 30:8), βίαιος? (18:14), ὑβριστής (51:2), ἀλλογενής (51:51); Lamentations (1x)—ἀλλότριος (5:2); Ezekiel (7x)—ἀλλότριος (7:21; 11:9; 28:7, 10; 30:12; 31:12), μίσθωμα (16:32); Hosea (4x)—ἀλλότριος (5:7; 7:9; 8:7; 8:12); Joel (1x)—ἀλλογενής (4:17); Obadiah (1x)—ἀλλογενής (1.11). I have not included Sirach here because of the complicated nature of the Hebrew text. I will mention, though, that to my knowledge, נָר appears on at least seven occasions in the extant Hebrew portions of Sirach. In four of these cases, the Greek uses ἀλλότριος; in the other three we find: ἀλλογενής, ἑταῖρος, and ἐταιρίζω.

7. We could add to this regularity if we included the few instances that use terms closely related to ἀλλότριος, specifically ἕτερος and ἄλλος (see the previous note).

8. נָר in MT Proverbs and the corresponding Greek terms in the LXX: ἀλλότριος (5:10, 17, 20; 7:5\*; 23:33); ὁδός εὐθεῖα/*untranslated* (2:16\*); πόρνη or φαῦλος (5:3); ἐχθρός (6:1); δίκαιος (11:15); ὕβρις (14:10); minus in the Greek text (20:16); παράνομος (22:14); ὁ πέλας (27:2); ὑβριστής (27:13). I would point out that in 2:16, if we apply an interlinear model then the position of נָר is occupied with ὁδός εὐθεῖας, but it must be noted that the syntax of the Greek has been reworked heavily and does not really correspond to the Hebrew text as we have it. Fox has suggested that the term נָר has been sublimated into the Greek phrase κακὴ βουλή, which is the subject of an additional stich in the Greek; see Michael Fox, "The Strange Woman in Septuagint Proverbs," *JNSL* 22 (1996): 31–33.

ἄλλότριος.<sup>9</sup> Yet, as I will indicate below, even though the typical semantic equivalent is maintained, in many of these verses the LXX translator has dramatically reformulated the meaning of the proverb, often giving the term a much different function in the Greek text than it has in the Hebrew.

When it comes to the proper translation or semantic sense of these terms, זר and ἄλλότριος have a large semantic overlap. Both terms have a general sense of “other” but can also mean “stranger,” that is, someone unfamiliar or outside of one’s immediate social network. This can imply an ethnic otherness, that is, a non-Israelite or foreigner, but usually the context must provide some indication that this nuance is meant specifically. זר can also mean something like illicit or unauthorized, generally in ritual or sacerdotal contexts, where it refers to someone that is from an Israelite tribe other than the Levites. In most of these instances, the Greek translators prefer ἀλλογενής, which literally means “of another race, family, or clan.”<sup>10</sup> The related term נכרי has some overlap, as well—both with זר and ἄλλότριος. But the root נכר more often indicates a foreigner specifically. Still, נכרי can simply mean “strange” in the sense of different or unfamiliar.

The variety of possibilities for rendering זר and נכרי has led to a rigorous debate among scholars, particularly with respect to the former term. When coupled with נכרי, זר typically carries the nuance of “foreign.” This may be the case in the context of Prov 1–9, where זרה, often paired with נכריה, is used to describe the so-called “strange” or “foreign” woman. This negative female type has a marked significance in the MT Proverbs, where she stands, along with the foolish woman (ch. 9), as the contrastive female figure to Woman Wisdom.<sup>11</sup> Still, it is not entirely clear that the proper nuance is the woman’s “foreignness” as opposed to a more general “otherness.” Nevertheless, despite the disagreement

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9. The Hebrew root נכר as a noun or adjective appears in two forms: נכרי (בן־נכר) or נכרי. The former does not appear in Proverbs, but it may be useful to mention that of the twenty-six occurrences of נכר (בן־נכר), the Greek uses the related terms ἄλλότριος (18x), ἀλλογενής (6x), ἀλλόφυλος (1x), and ἕτερος (1x). With respect to נכרי and its various forms, the corresponding Greek translations are as follows: ἄλλότριος (25x)—Gen 31:15; Exod 2:22; 18:3; 21:8; Deut 17:15; Judg 19:12; 1 Kgs 11:1; Ezek 10:2, 10, 14, 17, 18, 44; Neh 13:27; Isa 28:21; Jer 2:21; Obad 1:11; Zeph 1:8; Prov 2:16\*; 5:10; 6:24; 7:5; 23:27; 27:2, 13; ξένος (4x)—Ruth 2:10; 2 Sam 15:19; Qoh 6:2; Ps 69:9; ἀλλογενής—Job 19:15; ἀλλόφυλος—Isa 2:6; τῆς μὴ ἰδίας—Prov 5:20; and in Prov 20:16 the Greek text is missing. As is evident, there is a remarkable degree of consistency throughout the LXX in rendering this term.

10. Hence in a couple passages from Leviticus and Numbers, for example, זר/ἀλλογενής are used to identify those people who are not of the tribe of Aaronide/Levite lineage and thus are not permitted certain sacerdotal privileges and functions. Incidentally, then, the “otherness” of these terms is ethnic in the sense that they are of a different tribe, but not to the extent of “foreignness” because they are still Israelite (see Lev 22:10; Num 1:51).

11. For further discussion of these terms in the context of the “strange” women in Prov 1–9, as well as reference to scholarship on this subject, see section 4 below.

on the precise translation of זר or נכרי, in the MT Proverbs (as we will see below), זר has a clearly negative connotation, generally signifying an unfavorable social category.

With respect to the Greek term ἀλλότριος specifically, Nancy Nam-Hoon Tan (in her examination of the foreign woman in LXX Proverbs) has already provided a lexical study of the general use of the term in classical Greek so I need not recite the evidence here. I'll only note her conclusion:

The meaning [of ἀλλότριος] is essentially dependent on the context ... the basic sense ... is "belonging to another" [but] this is extended in a variety of ways.... Although the term is often used in contexts where foreignness is indicated, the LXX usage does not transform it into a simple synonym for ἀλλογενής.... Thus, when there is no clear indication from the context, one cannot necessarily translate ἀλλότριος as "foreign" or understand foreignness to have been the intended nuance.<sup>12</sup>

In other words, we must look to contextual evidence within the individual passages of the LXX Proverbs in order to understand the proper nuance of the term ἀλλότριος. The significance of this statistical and semantic overview will become apparent in the subsequent analysis, to which I now turn.

## 2. זר AND ἀλλότριος IN FINANCIAL ADVICE

The MT Proverbs contains numerous instructions related to financial matters, many of which warn the addressees against putting themselves in precarious economic situations by taking out loans or going surety (i.e., giving a pledge as collateral for a loan, generally on behalf of a third party). 17:18, for example, says that only a foolish person would go surety, even if it is for his neighbor. Among these warnings about the dangers of going surety, the זר or "stranger" figures prominently (see 6:1, 11:15, 20:16, and 27:13). The force of each proverb hinges upon the assumption that the "stranger" is untrustworthy. זר (and נכרי in 20:16/27:13) functions in these verses as the quintessentially bad financial partner.

The LXX Proverbs maintains these warnings about going surety, indicating that it continued to be understood as a risky endeavor. Yet, in each of the verses where the Hebrew text uses the זר to warn against giving pledges, we find that the corresponding Greek passages have been reconfigured.

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12. Nancy Nam-Hoon Tan, "Where Is Foreign Wisdom to Be Found in LXX Proverbs?" *CBQ* 70 (2008): 701–2.

MT 6:1 בני אס-ערבת לרעד תקעת לזר כפיד  
My son, if you have gone surety for your friend, then you have struck hands with a stranger.<sup>13</sup>

LXX 6:1 υἱέ ἐὰν ἐγγυήσῃ σὸν φίλον παραδώσεις σὴν χεῖρα ἐχθρῷ  
My son, if you stand security for your friend, you will be surrendering your hand to an enemy.<sup>14</sup>

In MT 6:1, the addressee is told if he goes surety for a neighbor then he has in fact bound himself to a stranger. The Hebrew proverb draws upon the contrasting character of רע, “neighbor” or “friend,” and זר in order to convey the dangers of going surety. Hence, even if you have given a pledge for your friend, then you might as well have handed your wealth to a stranger. We should highlight that nowhere does this verse directly say that going surety is foolish (as it does, for example, in 17:18). *But*, the text assumes the audience knows that making a financial contract with a stranger is a bad thing and thus the force of the proverb relies on the understood negative connotation of the זר. If the “stranger” were not a negative social category, then the proverb would make little sense.

In the LXX, the stranger disappears, instead we find the term ἐχθρός, which is clearly a negative term meaning “enemy.” Why would the translator not simply render the Hebrew term with its typical Greek equivalent ἀλλότριος? A plausible motive is that for the Greek translator and his audience, the term ἀλλότριος no longer carried a negative connotation. The impact of the proverb then would be lost unless a more suitable term was supplied, hence the change to ἐχθρός. Incidentally, in making such a lexical modification, the translator has actually maintained the proverb’s general meaning as it stands in the Hebrew. This technique corresponds to what Cook has suggested about the *modus operandi* of the translator, who “renders his text *freely* but often with the ... intention of avoiding misunderstanding.”<sup>15</sup>

MT 11:15 רע-ירוע כ-ערב זר ושנא תקעים בוטח  
One does very badly when he goes surety for a stranger, but one who hates the striking-of-hands is secure.

LXX 11:15 πονηρὸς κακοποιεῖ ὅταν συμμείξῃ δικαίῳ μισεῖ δὲ ἤχον ἀσφαλείας  
A wicked person does evil whenever he mingles with a righteous person, and he hates the sound of security.

13. All translations of the Hebrew are my own, though sometimes with an eye to the NRSV.

14. All translations of the Greek text are from the NETS translation by Cook, with occasional, slight emendations.

15. Johann Cook, “The Dating of Septuagint Proverbs,” *ETL* 69 (1993): 397.

The MT of 11:15 indicates that going surety for a stranger is a bad thing and should be avoided, hinting that doing so would leave a person financially insecure. Read literally, the MT can make for a somewhat awkward English translation. The NRSV, for example, paraphrases: “To guarantee loans for a stranger brings trouble, but there is safety in refusing to do so.” The translation above is more word-for-word, but the sense is still readily apparent: going surety for a stranger is a bad thing, but one who avoids giving pledges has financial security. In the LXX of 11:15, the “stranger” is missing once again, and, moreover, the issue of going surety is almost entirely lost. In place of זר, we find the term δίκαιος, which sits in contrast to πονηρός. Instead of loans, the Greek proverb speaks to the more general sense of associating evil and good people, though the reference to “security” may indicate that some sort of economic association is imagined.<sup>16</sup> The two proverbs are clearly related, but it is not certain what motivated the Greek translator to remove the specific social context of loans. What is important, however, is that in contrast to the MT, in the LXX we do *not* have an occasion where the “stranger” symbolizes a negative social category and one with whom a person should avoid having financial dealings.

MT 27:13      קח־בגדו כ־ערב זר ובעד נכריה חבלהו  
Take his garment for he has gone surety for a stranger,  
and seize the pledge (of he who gave it) for a foreigner.<sup>17</sup>

LXX 27:13      ἀφελού τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ, παρήλθεν γάρ ὕβριστῆς ὅστις τὰ ἀλλότρια  
λυμαίνεται.  
Remove his garment, for he passed by—an insolent person who  
destroys what belongs to others.

27:13 (along with its doublet in 20:16) insinuates that giving a pledge on behalf of a stranger or foreigner is so irresponsible that the giver of the pledge is certain—or perhaps deserves—to lose the item pledged. According to Michael Fox, the message of this proverb is that “the man who gives surety for others’

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16. To my knowledge, the Greek verb *συμμείγνυμι* does not carry any economic connotation and means “to mingle or associate with” or simply “to mix together.” Nevertheless, the Greek verb still probably reflects the Hebrew, because the root ערב has a variety of meanings in its different *binyanim*, one which can also mean simply “to associate with.” Similarly the term תקעים, which relates to sound of hands being clasped together upon making a financial agreement, has been decontextualized in the Greek by being rendered with ἦχος, a general term for “sound.”

17. The syntax of the Hebrew is difficult in its tightness here; therefore, any translation must spell out that which is implied. Alternatively, the suffix on the verb could refer to the person not the pledge itself, thus: “seize *him* who has gone surety for a stranger.” See comments on verse 20:16 by Michael Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, AB 18B (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009): 669–71.

loans will end up forfeiting his own property."<sup>18</sup> Fox, however, downplays the specific social categories present here, indicating that the terms refer simply to "unfamiliar persons, not necessarily foreigners."<sup>19</sup> The Hebrew verse includes both זר and נכרי. Together these terms likely indicate a social category that is non-Israelite.<sup>20</sup> It is not just that they are "others," but a stranger and a foreigner. If it were only "others," then the author could have used "neighbor" as we saw in 6:1 (see also 25:9). But here the advice is specifically against going surety for strangers or foreigners, because if someone has gone surety for a stranger/foreigner then the addressee—an outside party in this scenario—might as well take the person's pledge for it is lost anyway. This implies that a foreigner/stranger cannot be trusted to pay off his debts or perhaps is being deceitful.

In the LXX, however, the meaning has changed dramatically, especially in the first clause where זר has dropped out, being replaced by ὕβριστής, "a violent or insolent" person. Also, as Cook points out, "the LXX here apparently avoids the question of surety, or rather does not refer to it."<sup>21</sup> In the second clause, נכרי is translated regularly but only on a lexical level, where the "foreigner," or in the Greek probably "other," has changed from feminine singular<sup>22</sup> to neuter plural in the Greek. Cook's translation above does the best at making sense of the awkward Greek. The point seems to be that someone should be punished for stealing or harming the belongings of "another person." Most notable then for our discussion is how the Greek has changed the meaning of the proverb in such a way that ἀλλότριος functions not as a signifier of a dangerous or untrustworthy social category but as one who is oppressed—possibly even inviting a *sympathetic* appraisal of the stranger.

To summarize, with respect to the financial advice, in the Hebrew text of Proverbs, the term זר functions as a *topos* for a negative social category, one that is untrustworthy and with whom a person should avoid interaction. In the Greek text, on the other hand, ἀλλότριος does *not* have this association, and thus the translator has either substituted a word that does have an obvious negative connotation or has reconfigured the proverb in such a way that ἀλλότριος no longer

18. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 669.

19. *Ibid.*, 670.

20. Outside of Proverbs, there are six occasions where זר and נכרי are paired together: Ps 69:9; 81:10; Isa 28:21; 61:5; Jer 5:19; and Obad 1:11. In all but one of these (Isa 28:21), the context makes it very clear that both terms are referring to non-Israelites, i.e. foreigners and strangers to the land.

21. Johann Cook, "Contextual Exegetical Interpretations in the Septuagint Proverbs," *JNSL* 25 (1999): 144. The confusion may have to do with either a scribal error or a misreading of the verb as עבר rather than ערב. Thus, instead of "he has gone surety" the Greek uses παρῆλθεν, "he has passed by/over," which corresponds to the Hebrew verb עבר.

22. Note that most English translations usually read נכרים for נכריה, see NRSV and Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 669 and 809.

has an oppositional quality—to the contrary, the LXX criticizes those who mistreat the property of the “stranger.”

### 3. MISCELLANEOUS AND EXCEPTIONS

Before turning to the Strange Woman of Prov 1–9, I will quickly comment on the other miscellaneous proverbs which feature the Hebrew term זר and how the Greek translator has adapted these verses. Space does not permit an exhaustive exegesis of every verse, so I will limit myself to a few remarks.

MT 14:10      לב יודע מרת נפשו ובשמחתו לא־יתערב זר  
A heart (= mind) knows the bitterness of its own self, and in its joy  
no stranger will share.

LXX 14:10      καρδία ἀνδρὸς αἰσθητικὴ λυπηρὰ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ὅταν δὲ εὐφραίνεται οὐκ  
ἐπιμείγνυται ὕβρει  
A man’s heart is sensitive to the pain of his soul, but when he rejoices  
he does not mingle with pride.

זר has been replaced by ὕβρις, which has a variety of meanings, but in LXX of Proverbs, it most often means pride (e.g., 8:13, 11:2, 16:18, 29:23). זר does not necessarily have a negative function in the Hebrew, where the message seems to relate to the isolation a person feels in his or her extreme emotions. Hence, Fox’s take: “No one knows how others really feel, and no one can truly communicate his own feelings (to others).”<sup>23</sup> It is not clear why the Greek translator has understood the clause differently. The message states that one cannot have joy if he is also prideful. The substitution of ὕβρις for ἀλλότριος was possibly due to the translator’s desire to have a term that is in contrast with joy.

MT 22:14      שוּחָה עִמָּקָה פִּי זָרוֹת וְעוֹם יְהוָה יִפְלֶשֶׁם  
The mouth of strange women is a deep pit; he with whom the Lord is  
angry will fall therein.

LXX 22:14      βόθρος βαθὺς στόμα παρανόμου ὁ δὲ μισηθεὶς ὑπὸ κυρίου ἐμπεσεῖται εἰς  
αὐτόν  
The mouth of the transgressor is a deep hole, and he who is hated by  
the Lord will fall into it.

MT 23:27      כִּי־שׁוּחָה עִמָּקָה זֹנָה וּבֹאֵר צָרָה נְכָרִיָּה  
For a prostitute is a deep pit, and a foreign woman is a deep well.

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23. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 576.



LXX 23:27    πίθος γὰρ τετρημένος ἐστὶν ἀλλότριος οἶκος καὶ φρέαρ στενὸν ἀλλότριον  
For another’s house is a wine-cask full of holes, and another’s  
belonging is a narrow well.<sup>24</sup>

In Hebrew, 22:14 and 23:27 are closely related; therefore, I will treat them together here.<sup>25</sup> In 22:14, the Greek translator has changed the feminine plural זרות “strange women” or “strange things” to a masculine singular παράνομος, meaning “transgressor” or “lawless one.” The motivation for such a change here may be the same as in 6:1 where the translator wanted to maintain the sense of the proverb, but to do so he had to substitute a recognizably negative term in place of ἀλλότριος, which did not sufficiently convey an undesirable quality.<sup>26</sup>

The first stich of 23:27 is almost exactly the same as 22:14 in the Hebrew. The notable exception is the last word, where 22:14 has זרות the later verse has זונה. Fox suggests that זונה “is probably an error for zarah [זרה].”<sup>27</sup> In making this suggestion, Fox is no doubt looking to the LXX, which has ἀλλότριος.<sup>28</sup> At first glance, this verse could imply that ἀλλότριος has a negative connotation, but I do not think that is the case. For one, in the first clause, the Greek term functions as an adjective rather than as a substantive as we have with זרה/זונה. Instead, the thing being compared to a “wine-cask full of holes” (Heb. “deep pit”) is a stranger’s house—a frequent synecdoche for the totality of a person’s possessions—and *not* the stranger himself.<sup>29</sup> The message, therefore, is no longer about the inherent danger of the “strange” or “foreign” woman, who is often asso-

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24. This is my translation of Greek. The NETS reads: “For a pierced cask is a strange house, and a strange well is narrow.”

25. Thematically, both verses (at least in the MT) can be linked to the “strange woman” from chs. 1–9, but because they are isolated in the general collection, I mention them here.

26. Johann Cook suggests that “the interpretation of ‘the mouth of the lawless’ instead of ‘a loose woman,’ was probably based upon the understanding of זרות coming from זור and not from זרה”; see Johann Cook, “Ideology and Translation Technique: Two Sides of the Same Coin?,” in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint: Proceedings of the IOSCS Congress in Helsinki, 1999*, ed. R. Sollamo and S. Sipilä (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 206. But this does not really make sense, the verb זור in the *qal* means “to turn away” or “to abandon.” While in Isa 1:8 it is used to refer to turning away from the Lord, it is never connected directly to disobedience or lawlessness as suggested by the Greek term παράνομος. Elsewhere the Hebrew verb means simply to turn away from eating or to turn away from someone else (i.e., ignore them).

27. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 702.

28. Following Fox, this may indeed point to a different Hebrew *Vorlage* from the MT, one which had זרה rather than זונה. In any case, the proverb has significance, because it speaks to the way that the Greek translator uses the term ἀλλότριος.

29. I might add that ἀλλότριος, therefore, could simply mean “belonging to another” rather than “a stranger.”

ciated with sexually illicit behavior.<sup>30</sup> The subject matter has changed and now concerns a stranger's property.

What lesson then is the Greek proverb trying to communicate? One possibility is that it relates to the frequent proverbial adage that ill-gotten or deceitful gain will not last (see 10:16, 15:27, 16:8, 20:17, 22:16, 28:16). In other words, do not look to another person's property, because if you try to take it, it will be like trying to store wine in a jar full of holes or like purchasing a well that has a narrow shaft. In both cases, the yield will not be profitable. If this is the case, then ἀλλότριος is not some negative attribution of the house or the "thing," rather it simply signifies to the addressee that the object does not belong to him, and thus he should not try to take it. This recalls 27:13, where the one who has destroyed another's belongings should be punished, and even brings to mind (as we will see below) the woman from LXX Prov 1–9, who is off-limits to the addressee not because she is strange or foreign (as in the Hebrew), but because she is married, that is, she belongs to another.

MT 23:33 עיניך יראו זרות ולבך ידבר תהפכות  
Your eyes will see strange things/women and your heart will speak  
perverse things.

LXX 23:33 οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἀλλοτρίαν τὸ στόμα σου τότε λαλήσει  
σκολιά  
When your eyes see a strange woman, then your mouth will speak  
perverse things

23:33 is one of the four instances where זר is translated with the typical ἀλλότριος. The only difference is that it has changed from feminine plural to singular. Whereas the Hebrew may have meant either strange women or strange things, the Greek most likely has a woman in mind. The larger context in both settings is what (bad) things the addressee will do if he has drunk too much wine. One of the consequences of inebriation is that the person, upon seeing a women (or woman) will make crude or perverse advances towards her. In both

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30. The sexual tone of 23:27 is no longer present in the Greek as it is in the Hebrew. The "prostitute" or "sexually illicit woman" has become the masculine noun "house." One's house could indicate also a person's wife. Regardless the sexual tone has nevertheless been downplayed dramatically by this shift. This reading is reinforced if we note the shift in gender that has taken place in the second clause, where the feminine נכריה has become the neuter ἀλλότριον, hence my translation "another's belonging," i.e., something that belongs to someone else. The desexualizing or defeminizing is further evident if we consider the following verse 28 where the Hebrew continues to describe the destructive nature of the sexually illicit woman. But in the LXX, because the translator has eliminated the female character in 27, he also had to reformulate verse 28, which now flatly presents the destructive consequences of lawlessness.

the MT and LXX, it is not clear that there is anything inherently bad about the “strange woman/women,” except that they might lead a drunk man to behave wickedly.

MT 27:2      הללך זר ולא־פיך נכרי ואל־שפתך  
Let a stranger praise you, and not your own mouth; a foreigner, and  
not your own lips.

LXX 27:2      ἐγκωμιαζέτω σε ὁ πέλας καὶ μὴ τὸ σὸν στόμα ἀλλότριος καὶ μὴ τὰ σὰ  
χείλη  
Let someone near to you praise you and not your mouth, a stranger,  
and not your lips.

The topic of 27:2 is boasting (see also 27:1). In the MT, the addressee is told not to praise himself but let others do it, namely, a זר or a נכרי. It is interesting that the Hebrew uses זר and נכרי here. In a sociopolitical context, these two typically represent lower social categories, and consequently their opinions are deemed worthless and taken lightly.<sup>31</sup> Why not say let your friend or brother/kindred praise you? Perhaps, then, the force of the proverb is stronger than simply do not boast. It could mean that the praise a person gives himself is worth *less* than praise from a stranger or foreigner (whose words are generally understood to have very little value; see Ahiqar 160: “nothing lighter than a resident”).

In the LXX, the phrase ὁ πέλας stands for the Hebrew זר. This construction is a *hapax legomenon* in the LXX, but it is attested in Greek literature, where it clearly means: the one who is nearby, that is, a neighbor. In the second clause, the typical translation of נכרי with ἀλλότριος is maintained. It is uncertain why the translator made the change with זר, perhaps so as not to repeat the term ἀλλότριος. What is interesting though is that ὁ πέλας, literally, “the one who is nearby,” is in synthetic parallelism with ἀλλότριος and thus may imply that a person living nearby the addressee could also be a stranger or even foreigner.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, there is nothing to indicate that we should interpret ἀλλότριος as specifically “foreigner.” In fact, that the contrast is explicitly between one’s own lips/mouth against someone else’s suggests that ἀλλότριος simply means “another person.” Again, though, the importance point is that the “stranger” or maybe here just the “other” does not have a negative connotation.

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31. See, e.g., Job 19:15, Ahiqar line 160 in *Literature, Accounts, Lists*, vol. 3 of *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, ed. Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1993), 23.

32. See 3:29 where the Greek may indicate that one’s friend could also be a “resident alien”—possibly implied by the use of the verb παροικέω, which usually means “to live as a stranger/resident alien.” The message of the proverb then could parallel that of 27:13 (and many others more generally) which warns against harming others/strangers.

## 4. THE FOREIGN/STRANGE WOMAN

As indicated above, the terms זרה and נכריה have a wide semantic range, making it difficult for scholars to decide how exactly to understand the presentation of the woman in Prov 1–9 of whom the addressee is told to beware. On the one hand, some, like Fox, have argued that foreignness is *not* an issue in these passages, where adultery is clearly mentioned and thus זרה and נכריה simply mean “other” women, that is, women married to someone other than the addressee.<sup>33</sup> On the other end of the spectrum, Tan, in a recent monograph, has tried to reclaim the “foreignness” of the זרה ישה by linking her with the “foreign woman = apostasy” motif from the Deuteronomistic history and Ezra-Nehemiah.<sup>34</sup> Others, such as Carol Newsom, treat the woman as an allegory for folly, whereby consorting with her is tantamount to practicing any of the myriad unwise behaviors from which the sage is trying to steer his student away.<sup>35</sup> Claudia Camp, for example, provides a more nuanced approach claiming that the imagery surrounding the woman “functions to create a figure with multivalent meaning that might be read in different ways at different times.”<sup>36</sup> As is evident, the debate on how best to interpret the strange woman in Proverbs is ongoing. Nonetheless, a sufficient review of the long and complex scholarly is not necessary here, where our focus is on how the Greek translator of Proverbs received and, in some cases, modified the presentation of this figure.<sup>37</sup>

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33. See Michael Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, AB 18a (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 252–62. In this passage and in 134–40, Fox presents the various scholarly interpretations of the “strange woman.”

34. Nancy Nam-Hoon Tan, *The “Foreignness” of the Foreign Woman in Proverbs 1–9: A Study of the Origin and Development of a Biblical Motif*, BZAW 381 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), *passim*.

35. Carol Newsom, “Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom: A Study of Proverbs 1–9,” in *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel*, ed. Peggy L. Day (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 142–60.

36. See Claudia V. Camp’s review of Tan’s book in *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 10 (2010). See also her 2000 monograph: Claudia V. Camp, *Wise, Strange and Holy: The Strange Woman and the Making of the Bible*, JSOTSup 320 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

37. For some recent treatments of this figure by scholars, see bibliographies in Tan, *The “Foreignness”*; Camp, *Wise, Strange and Holy*; and the survey by Michael Fox in his commentary, *Proverbs 1–9*, especially pages 134–40 and 376–417. For interpretations of the “foreign/strange woman” in the social context of Proverbs, see: Joseph Blenkinsopp, “The Social Context of the ‘Outsider Woman’ in Proverbs 1–9,” *Bib* 72 (1991): 457–73; and Harold C. Washington, “The Strange Woman (‘šh zrk/nkryh) of Proverbs 1–9 and Post-Exilic Judean Society,” in *Second Temple Studies: Temple and Community in the Persian Period*, ed. T. Eskenazi and K. H. Richards, JSOTSup 175 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 217–42.

Unlike many areas of the LXX that are still uncharted interpretive territory, the Strange Woman in the LXX Proverbs has been the center of some scholarly discussion. Cook argues that the Greek translator has transformed the woman into a symbol for foreign wisdom.<sup>38</sup> The defamation and call for avoidance of the "strange woman," according to Cook, reflects the translator's sociopolitical environment, wherein Hellenism or Hellenistic philosophy specifically was seen as a threat to Jewish way of life as evidenced by the decreasing importance of the torah of Moses (which the translator was presumably witnessing).<sup>39</sup> The translator of Proverbs, according to Cook "has an apprehensive disposition towards the Hellenism of his day"<sup>40</sup> and has "drawn a parallel between the foreign, strange woman and the foreign, anti-Israelite/anti-Jewish wisdom."<sup>41</sup> Fox, on the other hand, along with Goff and Tan, offers strong criticisms of Cook's interpretation, pointing out that in every passage the "foreignness" of the woman, far from being highlighted, has been significantly downplayed if not disregarded altogether.<sup>42</sup> William Loader, following Goff and Fox, adds that the reformulated female figure functions on two levels—the literal and symbolic. Hence, the advice in LXX Proverbs is against adultery specifically but more broadly foolish and wicked behavior. Thus the concern of the translator, according to Loader, was not Hellenism or foreign influence, rather it was "with behavior contrary to torah (whether in relation to foreigners or not) of which the woman is a concrete instance."<sup>43</sup>

As we will see below, out of the eight occurrences where נכריה or זרה were used to describe the woman, five of them have been rendered into Greek with a word other than the expected ἀλλότριος and that has no connection to the Hebrew lexeme. Clearly, then, the "otherness" or "foreignness" of the woman has been downplayed by the Greek translator.

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38. Johann Cook, "אשה זרה (Proverbs 1–9 Septuagint): A Metaphor for Foreign Wisdom?," *ZAW* 106 (1994): 458–76.

39. See Johann Cook, "The Ideology of Septuagint Proverbs," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo 1998*, ed. B. A. Taylor, SCS 51 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 463–79.

40. Johann Cook, "The Translator of the Septuagint of Proverbs: Is His Style the Result of Platonic and/or Stoic Influence?," in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 544–58, here 555.

41. Cook, "אשה זרה," 474.

42. Fox, "Strange Woman," passim; Matthew Goff, "Hellish Females: The Strange Woman of Septuagint Proverbs and 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184)," *JSJ* 39 (2008): 20–45; Tan, "Where is Foreign Wisdom," 700–701.

43. William Loader, "The Strange Woman in Proverbs, LXX Proverbs and Aseneth," in *Septuagint and Reception*, ed. Johann Cook, VTSup 127 (Brill: Leiden, 2009), 220–21.

MT 2:16 להצילך מאשה זרה מנכריה אמריה החליק  
 To deliver you from a strange woman and from a foreign woman  
 whose words are smooth.

LXX 2:16–17a τοῦ μακράν σε ποιῆσαι ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ εὐθείας καὶ ἀλλότριον τῆς δικαίας  
 γνώμης  
 υἱέ μὴ σε καταλάβῃ κακὴ βουλή  
 In order to remove you far from the straight way and to make you a  
 stranger to a righteous opinion.  
*My son, do not let evil counsel overtake you.*<sup>44</sup>

The “strange woman” first appears in 2:16 of the MT Proverbs along with the נכריה, “foreign woman.” The LXX of this verse, however, has a very different meaning. Tan nicely states: “In this passage (LXX Proverbs 2:16), the foreign woman who appears in Hebrew Proverbs, is nowhere to be found.”<sup>45</sup> There is no woman, and neither is she called foreign or strange. Cook maintains that “foreign wisdom” is implied by the plus in 2:17 which warns the addressee against “evil counsel.”<sup>46</sup> But nothing in this passage connects “evil counsel” with “foreignness.” The term ἀλλότριος does appear in verse 16, probably reflecting the Hebrew נכריה. Yet it can hardly be describing the “evil counsel” given that it is functioning adverbially in a separate clause, where it is connected to the addressee who should not *estrangle* himself from a righteous purpose. If the point of this passage was a polemic against “foreign wisdom” as Cook argues, then why would the translator not identify the counsel as foreign, especially if he has a textual basis to

44. The italicized phrase indicates a plus in the Greek text.

45. Tan, “Where is Foreign Wisdom,” 702.

46. Johann Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/ or Hellenistic Proverbs?*, VTSup 69 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 134–39. Cook contrasts the “evil counsel” of 17a with the “good counsel” found in 2:10. He then argues that these two counsels represent a prerabbinic example of “the well-known tradition of the good and bad inclinations”; see Cook, “Hellenistic and/or (Pre-) Rabbinic Traditions in the LXX,” in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 126; and see Cook, “The Origin of the Tradition of יצר הרע and יצר הטוב,” *JSJ* 38 (2007): 80–91. Coincidentally, he argues that the “evil counsel” also represents foreign wisdom. This double interpretation by Cook is problematic. If the assertion about the “inclinations” is correct then, as Goff has noted, it would most likely preclude the identification with “foreign wisdom,” because the “evil inclination” at least in rabbinic thought was an inherent defect of humanity and there is hardly any evidence “for understanding the *yetzter* as a designation for foreign ideas Jews should avoid”; see Goff, “Hellish Females,” 29–30; see also Fox, “Strange Woman,” 33.

do so in the Hebrew?<sup>47</sup> Thus, Goff has correctly pointed out that "LXX Prov 2:17 *could have* emphasized the foreignness of the 'evil counsel' but it does not."<sup>48</sup>

Goff, meanwhile, suggests that the term זרה, which apparently is left untranslated (or, less likely, modified to "straight path"), may in fact be sublimated into the abstract principle "evil counsel," offering that the translator "presumably understood her core value not as representing a real and wicked woman but in her function as a symbol for ideas and attitudes that are immoral."<sup>49</sup> While this may be an accurate description of the translator's exegetical maneuvering, what is important is the text we have, the text that the audience would read or hear. Thus, for the present discussion, Fox's comments are valuable: "for the Greek reader this chapter does not belong to or interact with the other Strange Woman passages."<sup>50</sup> Aside from the woman being absent, it is also significant that ἀλλότριος is not an attribute of the κακή βουλή. As we will see in the subsequent discussion, there is still a negative female image in the LXX Proverbs *but*, like with the "evil counsel," her "negativeness" is not related to her "strangeness" or "foreignness."

MT 5:3      כי נפת תטפנה שפתי זרה וחלק משמן חכה  
For the lips of a strange woman drips honey and her speech is  
smoother than oil.

LXX 5:3      μὴ πρόσσεχε φαύλη γυναικί μέλι γὰρ ἀποστάζει ἀπὸ χειλέων γυναικὸς  
πόρνης  
ἢ πρὸς καιρὸν λιπαίνει σὸν φάρυγγα  
Pay no attention to a worthless woman, for honey drips from the lips  
of a prostituting woman,  
who for a period pleases your palate.

The next appearance of the זרה is in 5:3, where the addressee is cautioned about the smooth and seductive words of the "strange" woman. The LXX of 5:3 begins with an additional stich in which the addressee is told to ignore the φαύλη γυναικί, "worthless woman." The verse continues, following the Hebrew relatively closely, by describing the smooth and sweet words and lips of woman. But whereas the Hebrew has "lips of a *strange* woman," the Greek has the "lips of a πόρνης." For the first time in LXX Proverbs, we see the so-called "strange woman" except

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47. In other words, the translator had in the Hebrew text an opportunity in the terms זרה and נכריה, both of which are present in the Hebrew, to render them in such a way to make it clear that "foreign" wisdom/woman was at issue. Instead, he has ignored or reconfigured both the woman and her "foreignness" in the Greek to the extent that we are no longer dealing with a woman or anything foreign whatsoever.

48. Goff, "Hellish Females," 31.

49. Ibid, 31.

50. Fox, "Strange Woman," 42.

that she is no longer “strange,” instead transformed into the evil and promiscuous woman.

MT 5:20      ולמה תשגה בני בורה ותחבק חק נכריה  
Why would you go astray, my son, with a strange woman, and embrace the bosom of a foreign woman?

LXX 5:20      μὴ πολὺς ἴσθι πρὸς ἀλλοτρίαν μὴδὲ συνέχου ἀγκάλαις τῆς μὴ ἰδίας  
Do not be for long with another's<sup>51</sup> woman, nor be held in the arms of a woman not your own.

The LXX of 5:20 is one of the four verses where the translator has rendered זרה with the expected ἀλλότριος.<sup>52</sup> Here, then, is the only place where the title “strange woman” is still appropriate when speaking about the LXX Proverbs. The Hebrew text, as we have seen, is open to a number of interpretations for the exact nuance of the terms זרה and נכריה, which are in parallel sequence here. They could indicate an ethnic quality to the woman, but it may also simply be that they are “strange” or “unfamiliar.” Nevertheless, the Greek translator has made it abundantly clear how he understands the Hebrew terms זרה and נכריה. Coincidentally, in the very same verse that זר is translated with the typical ἀλλότριος, we also find the only occurrence in LXX Proverbs where נכריה is *not* translated with ἀλλότριος. Instead, in place of נכריה, we find the phrase τῆς μὴ ἰδίας, literally meaning “the thing/woman that is not one's own.” The parallel structure of the proverb, therefore, intimates that the nuance of ἀλλότριος has little or naught to do with “foreignness” but rather indicates a woman who “belongs to another,” that is, someone else's wife.

MT 7:5      לשמרך מאשה זרה מנכריה אמריה החליקה  
To guard you from a strange woman, from a foreign woman whose words are smooth.

LXX 7:5      ἵνα σε τηρήσῃ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας καὶ πονηρᾶς  
ἐάν σε λόγοις τοῖς πρὸς χάριν ἐμβάληται  
That she may keep you from a strange and sinful woman, if she should assail you with words to charm.

Again, in chapter 7 the Greek translation downplays the evil woman's foreignness. In 7:5, the Hebrew has זרה and נכריה, while the Greek has ἀλλοτρίας καὶ

51. Cook, “Strange Woman.” It will become apparent in the discussion below why I translate ἀλλότριος as “another's woman.”

52. The remaining two verses where זר is translated with ἀλλότριος are also in this chapter, in v. 10 and 17. I will speak to these passages shortly.



πονηρᾶς, "strange and wicked."<sup>53</sup> Again, the motive for the change could be so as to not be repetitive with ἀλλοτρίας. Regardless, the result mitigates the connotation of "foreignness" when compared with the Hebrew. Aside from the lexical modification, the context of the proverb insinuates that foreignness is not the proper nuance of ἀλλότριος. On the other hand, "It becomes explicit," according to Goff, "that she is married."<sup>54</sup> In verse 19, the woman herself speaks to her married status, telling the young man who is passing by "my husband is not home." Her status as married, that is, belonging to another, is probably what the ἀλλότριος hints at in verse 5.

Up to this point, we have witnessed a significant dismissal of the "foreignness" or "strangeness" of the woman in Prov 1–9. To the Greek reader, therefore, the woman in these passages still remains the portrait of a negative character opposite that of woman wisdom, but unlike the Hebrew, none of her negative qualities relate to the notion of strangeness or foreignness. Perhaps this is because the categorical concept of "strange" or "foreign" was not as reprehensible or disgraceful for the Greek audience. Before offering some conclusions, I turn to one final passage that has generally been cited as an exception to the apparently neutral function of the term ἀλλότριος.

LXX 9:18a–d

[a] ἀλλὰ ἀποπηδήσον μὴ ἐγκρονίσῃς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ μηδὲ ἐπιστήσῃς τὸ σὸν ὄμμα πρὸς αὐτήν [b] οὕτως γὰρ διαβήσῃ ὕδωρ ἀλλότριον καὶ ὑπερβήσῃ ποταμὸν ἀλλότριον [c] ἀπὸ δὲ ὕδατος ἀλλοτρίου ἀπόσχου καὶ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀλλοτρίας μὴ πίης [d] ἵνα πολὺν ζήσης χρόνον προστεθῇ δέ σοι ἔτη ζωῆς

[a] On the contrary, run away; do not linger in the place; neither fix your eye upon her, [b] for so you will cross a strange water and pass over a strange river.

[c] However, abstain from strange water, and do not drink from a strange well,

[d] that you may live for a long time and years of life may be added to you.

Although, the verses here have no Hebrew text to compare it against and thus does not bear directly on the "strange" translations of זר, this passage does relate to the way the LXX Proverbs understands and uses the term ἀλλότριος. At the end of verse 18, the Greek includes an additional four verses in which ἀλλότριος is prominent, being repeated four times in the middle two verses. The adjective qualifies various bodies of water which the listener is told to avoid. For Cook, these lines represent the best evidence that the issue at hand in the LXX Proverbs is in fact "foreign wisdom." He states:

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53. It is not clear whether זר or נכריה have been converted into "wicked" instead of the expected ἀλλότριος. I am inclined to think that the translator has adapted זר given that he has already done so on seven other occasions, in contrast to נכריה with which he has been very consistent (the one exception being in 5:20).

54. Goff, "Hellish Females," 40.

He [the translator] is not only relating wisdom directly to water, but the water in verse 18b is related to other, foreign literary traditions. The translator refers to a well-known Greek tradition, namely the myth about the river Styx, which is traversed on the way to Hades. In the process he does not utilize this tradition in a positive way but, on the contrary, he negatively connects this tradition with the foolish woman.<sup>55</sup>

Cook points to the “multivalent” meaning of water in Proverbs to suggest that the water here represents wisdom and, with the attribution of ἀλλότριος, specifically *foreign* wisdom.<sup>56</sup> Thus, in this exhortation to avoid contact with “strange waters” Cook finds a polemic against Hellenistic culture and/or philosophy. Even Fox, who elsewhere dismisses Cook’s arguments about foreign wisdom, admits that in the description of the woman in LXX Proverbs: “foreignness enters the picture ... in chapter 9.”<sup>57</sup> Likewise, Goff, albeit with some hesitation, concedes that: “The ‘strange’ waters in Prov 9:18a–d are reasonably understood as a reference to ethnic foreignness, as Cook and Fox suspect. One should pass through the strange waters without drinking from them (9:18b–c).”<sup>58</sup>

Although Cook and Fox have applied a nice model of life in the Hellenistic diaspora, where Greek philosophy and beliefs are constantly accessible—perhaps even pressing—but should be shunned, there is nothing in the passage itself which indicates that ἀλλότριος must point to these “foreign” ideological enticements. Cook looks to the illustrations of the woman in previous chapters whom he has linked to foreign wisdom as supporting evidence, but as we have demonstrated already (and as even Fox himself admits) the “foreign” nature of the illicit women in these earlier chapters has all but disappeared. There is no

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55. Johann Cook, “On the Role of External Traditions in the Septuagint,” in *Septuagint and Reception*, ed. Johann Cook, VTSup 127 (Brill: Leiden, 2009), 27. For Cook’s further explication of these verses see pp. 27–29 and *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 279–86.

56. The connection to the river Styx is both weak and unnecessary. It does not really fit the metaphor, for as Fox has rightly pointed out: “the river mentioned here can be traversed safely, whereas all, both foolish and wise, cross the Styx to death” (see Fox, “Strange Woman,” 41). Only if this was an isolated reference to “crossing over a foreign water,” would this possibly indicate the Styx myth, and even then it would be a very oblique reference without any supporting details. Nevertheless, in this passage the river is only one among a list of other bodies of water. There is no additional emphasis put on the river, making it highly unlikely that the translator had a specific river in mind. Cook (*Septuagint of Proverbs*, 284) and Loader (“Strange Woman,” 219) point to the context of death (9:18) as supporting evidence for an interpretation of the river Styx. Yet, the imagery does not make sense if read against this myth. In LXX Proverbs, the addressee will (presumably) die *if* he drinks from or crosses the “strange river,” whereas in Greek myth the river is not the cause of death, only that all people cross it on their way to Hades.

57. Fox, “Strange Woman,” 43.

58. Goff, “Hellish Females,” 43.

direct, contextual evidence to suggest that the Greek translator of Proverbs is using the term *ἀλλότριος* in this passage in a completely different way than he has throughout the previous chapters.

On the other hand, the water imagery does recall other passages related to the promiscuous woman. Goff, although ultimately siding with Cook and Fox, alludes to this connection, saying:

One could argue that the water imagery in Prov 9:18a–d functions like that of Prov 5:15, which urges a male addressee to drink water from his own “well,” a reference to sex within the confines of marriage. In this reading the strange waters symbolize women to whom one is not married and thus sexually out of bounds. Ethnicity would thus not be the core issue.<sup>59</sup>

This is also the view of Tan, who asserts that the context of the larger passage in which the additional verses are found allows the proper understanding of how the term *ἀλλότριος* is functioning. Significantly, the connection between water and sexual pleasure is made in the verse immediately preceding the additions. In 9:17, the foolish woman, who as even Cook argues is connected to the adulterous woman in the other passages, makes the final offer in her speech to the young man: “Take and enjoy secret bread, and the sweet water of theft.” Hence, the drinking of water here refers to illicit sexual activity (i.e., sleeping with another man’s wife is like stealing his property). The “strange waters” in 9:18 follow immediately after this speech by the adulterous woman and, thus, it seems natural to relate these waters to the foolish woman who is marked by her adultery. Consequently, *ἀλλότριος* in these additional verses does not connote anything foreign, but rather alludes to other women who are not married to the addressee and thus with whom he ought not have sexual relations. The advice here is to tell the listener that though he may pass by or even come in contact with “strange waters” meaning “other women,” he should avoid them and certainly not drink from their pleasures. This corresponds to the earlier passage in 5:16–19 where the addressee is also told not only to drink from his own cistern but not to let others drink from his well either. Likewise then, in chapter 9 he should also refrain from drinking out of another’s fountain. The protectiveness of one’s property, specifically one’s wife, may also be the context for the remaining two verses where *וַי* has been rendered with *ἀλλότριος*.<sup>60</sup>

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59. Goff, “Hellish Females,” 43.

60. These are verse 5:10 and 5:17. The former is part of a long list of the negative ramifications of being involved with the promiscuous woman from 5:3. In verse 10, one’s strength and labors will fall in to the hands of *ἀλλότριοι*. Given the context, the *ἀλλότριοι* probably refer to the husbands of the promiscuous women rather than foreigners or strangers. The “them” in 5:17 refers to the waters of one’s own cistern or well mentioned in the previous verse, which in turn are metaphors for the sexual pleasures one has with

Although in many aspects the LXX has developed upon the negative woman-type in Prov 1–9, the translator of LXX has significantly *downplayed* if not completely eliminated the attributes of “foreignness” or “strangeness” that are present (at least implicitly) in the Hebrew descriptions of this woman. Beyond how this affects Cook’s understanding of the ideological motivations of the translator, the numerous lexical changes and thematic nuancing of the negative woman type support the thesis that the stranger or foreigner are not used by the Greek translator as symbols of a negative social category. The Greek translator certainly had the textual basis in the Hebrew to make such a rhetorical move, but he does not do so. Perhaps, this is because he did not want to associate the concept of foreign or strange with such a negative character. The few times that ἀλλότριος does appear, the term is used not as a sign of someone’s social standing, but has a more neutral meaning of “something or someone that belongs to another.” As is suggested by 27:13, 5:20, and elsewhere, the Greek translator takes very seriously the issue of respecting another person’s property.

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I have demonstrated that, on the one hand, the Hebrew author frequently uses the term זר and sometimes נכרי as *topoi* for someone that is bad, untrustworthy, and in the case of the woman, sexually illicit, thus connecting these negative qualities with the social category of “stranger” or “foreigner.” On the other hand, in the LXX Proverbs the negative association with the category of “stranger” or “foreigner” has almost entirely disappeared. He has accomplished this largely by rendering זר in a variety of “strange” ways that are not semantically related to the Hebrew term. In every proverb related to financial transactions, the reference to a stranger as the symbol for an oppressive or untrustworthy person has been reworked. Similarly, in the LXX the Strange or Foreign Woman from the Hebrew prologue has all but lost her strange and foreign status.

Instead, the primary ethic of LXX Proverbs with respect to the “other,” conceptualized most often in the term ἀλλότριος, is the respect for another’s property. This, in fact, is the most frequent use of this Greek lexeme, where it has an ostensibly neutral function. The addressee is told that just as the ἀλλότριος should respect his property, so also should he respect theirs. Encroachment upon this understood social or economic boundary has significant repercussions according to the Greek Proverbs. This does not diminish the usefulness of appealing to loss of property at the hands of others (as we see in 5:10) as a deterrent to foolish or wicked behavior. Yet, the text has carefully removed ἀλλότριος from circumstances where it could transmit or perhaps attract to itself a negative connotation, instead replacing it with concepts to which a general

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his own wife. So just like the addressee should avoid other men’s women, so also should he guard his own from other men.

disapproval is naturally affixed. In the Septuagint, the neighbor and the stranger are set against each other as different, but the latter is by no means a symbol of distrust or threat. Indeed, the cumulative force of the lexical and syntactical alterations together with verses like 3:29, 27:2, and 27:13 which only just hint at a sympathetic understanding of the ἀλλότριος—that is, by identifying one’s neighbor or oneself as an ἀλλότριος—is such that the stranger and the neighbor and even the friend can intersect in the same person.

The implications of the *strange* interpretations of נָר in the LXX Proverbs call to mind Boyd-Taylor’s recent article about “Reading the LXX as a Document of Its Times” where, among other things, he speaks to the degrees to which a translator is expected to assimilate a source text to the norms of the recipient culture. With this in mind *and* by drawing on his reading of Gideon Toury’s typology of translational practices, I maintain that we can witness in the Greek translation of Proverbs, at least with respect to the lexeme נָר, one of the typical exercises of assimilation, namely, the *suppression* of features that cannot be assimilated to the recipient culture.<sup>61</sup> By eliminating references to the concept of “stranger or foreigner,” especially in contexts where they would have a negative connotation, the translator has neutralized the opposition between foreign and domestic, situating neighbor and stranger on equal levels socially. A context where a neighbor may be a stranger or a foreigner, and where social and/or financial interaction with strangers is accepted hints at a diasporic setting, where the concern is not threat from an external source but simply the maintenance of one’s own property within a mixed environment.

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61. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “Reading LXX as Document of Its Times,” 25.



# Hope in the LXX Version of Job and in Some Texts of the Fathers of the Church

*Mario Cimosà and Gillian Bonney*

**Abstract:** The object of our paper is to present the language and the contents of hope in the Greek Septuagint version of the book of Job. The starting point of our research is our paper on Job's wives in the Septuagint, which did not specifically deal with hope but rather with the prologue (Job 2:9a–d) and the epilogue (Job 42:17a–e), presented at the IOSCS meeting held in Helsinki 2010 and subsequently our article on the resurrection of the body in Job 19:26, published in 2010 by *Bibbia e Oriente*. Our paper will then take into consideration the recent discussion among scholars such as Tremblay, Mangin, Mies, Schnocks, about hope in the resurrection in the book of Job. It will therefore devote particular attention to verses 42:17a; 14:13–17; 19:25–27; and to other texts in Job.

The second part of the paper begins by exploring the question of hope in an afterlife, in the sense of eschatology, in the ancient world. The Christian interpretation of these verses is then examined in the works of one father of the church and a Christian author: St. John Chrysostom and Olympiodorus of Alexandria, in this precise order, each one according to its respective historical, literary, and theological context. Finally, in the work of these Christian exegetes, we may observe that the above texts from Job are clearly interpreted as indicating a belief in the resurrection of the body and soul from the dead.

## INTRODUCTION

The object of our paper is to present the language and the contents of hope in the Greek Septuagint version of the book of Job. The starting point of our research is our paper on Job's wives in the Septuagint, which did not specifically deal with hope but rather with the prologue (Job 2:9a–d) and the epilogue (Job 42:17a–e), presented at the IOSCS meeting held in Helsinki 2010 and subsequently our article on the resurrection of the body in Job 19:26, published

in 2010 by *Bibbia e Oriente*.<sup>1</sup> Our paper will then take into consideration the recent discussion among scholars such as Hervé Tremblay, D. Mangin, Françoise Mies, Johannes Schnocks, about hope in the resurrection in the book of Job. It will therefore devote particular attention to verses 42:17a; 14:13–17; 19:25–27; and to other texts in Job. Then the Christian interpretation of these verses will be examined in the works of some fathers of the church.

Finally, we shall try to draw some conclusions as to whether the LXX text actually alludes to the possibility of the resurrection from the dead.

# 1. STATUS QUAESTIONIS

T. Xavier Terrence of Bangalore in the introduction to a paper for the festschrift in honor of Professor Cimosa's seventieth birthday on "Resurrection: A Real Preoccupation of the Septuagint?" writes in the following way:

Death, in fact, is the greatest enigma of human life. Hence it arouses curiosity and preoccupation concerning "what is there after death?" The concept of afterlife was not a sudden revelation or discovery. It was a very slow process, a process which emerged from life experience. The best example is perhaps the LXX. As far as resurrection is concerned, the Hebrew theology of afterlife emerged through the actual life experience of the post-exilic Israelites through the translation of the LXX.<sup>2</sup>

A clear proof of this preoccupation in postexilic Judaism might be perceived in the Jewish literature of this period, that of the targum and midrash.<sup>3</sup> According to the great scholar of the targum Roger Le Déaut, in this period the biblical text was brought up to date as regards its ideas and religious concepts. Although the LXX is not strictly speaking a targum, it must be considered to be the harmonization of the biblical message with the "theology" of the later period that is reflected in the personal concepts of the Greek translator. Le Déaut, in his studies of the phenomenon of the targum, explains how it arose spontaneously

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1. See T. Xavier Terrence, "Job 19:26 as Witness to the Resurrection of the Body in Clement of Rome in comparison to Origen and Cyril of Jerusalem" (PhD diss., Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum Rome, 2006); Mario Cimosa and Gillian Bonney, "The Resurrection of the Body in LXX Job 19,26," in *BeO* 245–246 (2010): 157–70.

2. T. Xavier Terrence, "Resurrection: A Real Preoccupation of the Septuagint," in *Sophia-Paideia: Sapienza e Educazione (Sir I, 27)*, ed. Gillian Bonney and Rafael Vincent (Roma: LAS, 2012), 125–26. However, this particular expression occurs in the later period of the rabbinic era. One may find this expression in the Mishnah and in the Talmud. See J. F. A. Sawyer, "Hebrew Words for the Resurrection of the Dead," *VT* 23 (1973): 218–34 (220).

3. See Mario Cimosa, *La letteratura intertestamentaria* (Bologna: EDB, 1992), 216–17.



from ancient Jewish hermeneutics. Among various examples in different spheres of this theology of the translator, he refers to the subject of eschatology and declares that the Greek translation marked progress in Israel's thought about personal eschatology and life after death.<sup>4</sup> The belief in the resurrection after death appears to be a change in the message as regards persecution and the death of the righteous man, in which the Judaic faith discovered a solid doctrine about retribution and the resurrection. The reason for this is because the LXX is a Bible which is still *in fieri*, with neither a fixed text or canon, which allowed the translators to benefit from a rich oral tradition.<sup>5</sup> Recently, there has been the provocation of the hermeneutical work of Schnocks<sup>6</sup> and other authors<sup>7</sup> and which meets with our scientific preoccupations in the study of the LXX and the early fathers of the church, particularly of the Greek church.

## 2. JOB LXX 42:17A

We shall begin with the addition to the Greek text of Job, Job 42:17a:

[1] γέγραπται δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναστήσεσθαι μεθ' ὧν ὁ κύριος ἀνίστησιν.  
but it is written that he will rise again with those whom the Lord raises up

We had already taken note of this verse we studied the appendix to Job in the LXX, even if our interest then was turned to the Greek additions (the prologue and epilogue) about the wife of Job.<sup>8</sup> Now in this case, it seems to be the story of the hope in the resurrection in Job, which was present in Hellenistic Judaism and early Christianity exactly in line with the γέγραπται of the Testament of Job.<sup>9</sup>

4. Roger Le Déaut, "La Septante, un Targum?," in *Études sur le judaïsme hellénistique*, ed. R. Kuntzmann and J. Schlosser (Paris: Cerf, 1984); "Un phénomène spontané de l'herméneutique ancienne: Le "Targumisme," in *Bib* 52 (1971): 505–25.

5. See Le Déaut, "Septante, un Targum?," 147–95 (175–76, 180–83).

6. Johannes Schnocks, "The Hope for Resurrection in the Book of Job," in *The Septuagint and Messianism*, ed. Michael A. Knibb (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 291–99.

7. Émile Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la Vie Future: Immortalité, Résurrection, Vie Éternelle?* Histoire d'une Croyance dans le Judaïsme Ancien 1 (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 46–47; Hans C. C. Cavallin, *Life after Death*, ConBNT 7 (Lund: Gleerup, 1974).

8. Mario Cimosà and Gillian Bonney, "Job's Wives in the Septuagint, in the Testament of Job and in Early Christian Interpretation" (forthcoming). But above all Kenneth Numfor Ngwa, *The Hermeneutics of the "Happy" Ending in Job 42:7–17*, BZAW 354 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005).

9. See T. Job 4:9 and the apotheosis in chapter 52. See the monograph of Hervé Tremblay, *Job 19:25–27 dans la Septante et chez les Pères Grecs: Unanimité d'une Tradition*, EBib 47 (Paris: Gabalda, 2002). It is an excellent study of Job LXX 19:25–27, and it is important because it is part of the Old Greek version and shows how the Greek fathers of the church of the first five centuries commented on or quoted Job 19: 25–27. In

## 3. ABOUT THE TESTAMENT OF JOB

The Testament of Job was probably written in Greek during the first century CE in Egypt.<sup>10</sup> This *midrash* attributes a missionary task to Job. Yet despite the fact that it does not contain anything new about a future life, it mentions the subject frequently but not systematically. When speaking of Job, it says that Job and his children will have to suffer on account of Satan, but if he resists his name will be celebrated until the end of the world (T. Job 4:6). Despite his misfortunes, he shall be reinstated and receive double the goods that he lost so that he may realize that the Lord rewards those who obey him (T. Job 4:7–8), then “you shall be wakened for the resurrection” (T. Job 4:9). The Testament of Job 4:9 throws light on the obscure belief in 19:26 of the canonical book. But we find a continuity of the different types of existence after death: the immortal soul going up to its Creator, and the mortal body which has been buried will be destroyed by the death of Job (52:10–12). All of which points to an intermediate state after death and a divine promise of resurrection (4:9).

Although the concept of the resurrection of the body was already existent to a certain extent in the context of the Hellenistic world, the danger of limiting the survival and retribution only to the soul was always present. It is safe to say that the diaspora gave the Jews a good opportunity for interpreting and re-interpreting the Tanak with the aim of attaining a new understanding in a new situation. Apparently, Mangin considers this point in the Testament of Job, whose origin is a point of discussion, that some Greek words and texts of the Greek translation, for example, the texts referring to a belief in resurrection after death and the patience of Job, are the result of a preceding commentary and a subsequent interpretation. Consequently, they have no historical basis in an eventual Hebrew *Vorlage*. They are, on the contrary, the product of an oral tradition, of a commentary being brought up to date or an amplified narration. Mangin says “la question est de savoir si la rupture dans l’interprétation des parole et du comportement de Job a eu lieu *avec* la traduction grecque ou *après*, dans les commentaires qui en dépendent.”<sup>11</sup>

He concludes the second part of his article in *Revue Biblique* with this statement. Perhaps he does not sufficiently take into account that this is the

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this way, as the subtitle of the volume tells us, he gathers together “l’unanimité d’une tradition.” As regards Chrysostom, there is our article “Il testo biblico usato nel ‘Commento a Giobbe’ di Giovanni Crisostomo,” in *Giovanni Crisostomo: Oriente e Occidente tra IV e V secolo*, SEAug 93 (Roma: Institutum patristicum augustinianum, 2005), 417–27.

10. The Testament of Job uses the short text of the Greek version. See Bernd Schaller, “Das Testament Hiobs und die Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Buches Hiob,” *Bib* 61 (1980): 377–406.

11. See D. Mangin, “L’arbre et L’homme (II),” *RB* 115 (2008): 187.

product of targum comments, a spontaneous phenomenon of ancient Jewish hermeneutics that influenced the Greek translation that was adopted by later tradition by the New Testament and by the Greek fathers of the early church. We do not understand why we must speak of *break* and not of *continuity*. It is this conviction that we wish to resume the dialogue with other colleagues with the analysis of some texts of Job LXX, particularly Job 14:13–17 and 19:25–27 and then in the second part of this paper in some fathers of the church.

#### 4. THE HYPOTHESIS OF SCHNOCKS AND OUR POINT OF VIEW

Schnocks examines Job 14:13–17 and 19:25–27, comments on it, and makes a comparison between the MT and the LXX in order to reach some conclusions that we agree with since they are based on the conviction that the Greek text expresses a mental background where the ideas of rebirth, resurrection, or final judgement were to a certain degree familiar. If the date of composition of Job LXX might have been in the second half of the second century BCE, this hypothesis is plausibly compatible with the chronology of a Hellenistic-Egyptian background.<sup>12</sup> Although it may not be stated that hope in the resurrection already exists in the Hebrew text of Job, the Greek translation of the LXX remains faithful to its *Vorlage*, because its mental background holds the possibility in its wider context of being a witness of the resurrection of which then the addition of Job 42:17a in the LXX permitted a more explicit reading of these verses to indicate the resurrection. This will be even further developed in the New Testament and other Christian writers. It is therefore not right, as some do, to speak of dogmatic changes. It is rather the version of a difficult text in a different mental and linguistic system.<sup>13</sup> We prefer to speak of development in Israel's thought. Only the knowledge of these effects of the Greek text allow Jerome his free translation from Hebrew into Latin, as also Mies reminds us.<sup>14</sup> In this way, the translator may propose a messianic interpretation of *goel* that looks forward towards the risen Christ.<sup>15</sup>

There is no time here for us to discuss the hypothesis of Mangin who, after having thoroughly researched the text of Job LXX 14: 7–17 in the first part of his thesis, then describes the position of G. Gerleman, H. S. Gehman, and D. H.

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12. See among others, Mario Cimosà, "La data probabile della traduzione greca (LXX) del Libro di Giobbe," in *L'armonia della Scrittura: Scritti in onore di B. Boschi o.p.*, ed. Walther Binni (Bologna: Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 2006), 17–35.

13. See Johannes Schnocks, "The Hope for Resurrection in the Book of Job," in *The Septuagint and Messianism*, ed. Michael A. Knibb, BETL 195 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 291–300 (296).

14. Françoise Mies, *L'espérance de Job*, BETL 193 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), esp. 368–74.

15. See Schnocks, "Hope for Resurrection in the Book of Job," 298.

Gard by saying “that it is an over-interpretation of the Greek text” and refuses their “theological thesis,” which has also recently been resumed by Tremblay (2002).<sup>16</sup> He shares our opinion since the tradition of postbiblical Judaism and the Greek fathers of the church, as we will demonstrate in the second part of our work, are unanimously agreed on this point. We cannot even mention the interesting reflections of Kenneth Numfor Ngwa in his excellent small volume, *The Hermeneutics of the “Happy” Ending in Job 42:7–17*,<sup>17</sup> together with the interesting work of Mies, *L’espérance de Job*, whose views seem to be nearer to our train of thought.

Our point of view in reference to the Greek translation of Job 19:26 is that establishing the LXX text of verse 26 is also extremely difficult and complex. The LXX translator had to render the MT of Job in his Hellenistic context with a new comprehension of the text. He thus subjected the Hebrew text of Job to a series of paraphrases and interpretations, where he introduced or suppressed metaphors and comparisons. At this point, I shall omit here a philological analysis of the text. The LXX proposes the indications for bodily resurrection in verse 26; targum in verse 26; Peshitta in verse 27, and Vulgate in verse 25. The Vulgate prepares the ground by interpreting / exaggerating verse 25 as follows: *Scio enim quod Redemptor meus vivit, et tu in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum*. But unfortunately the Old Testament references that are “supposed” to contain bodily resurrection have suffered many textual problems.

## 5. SOME CONCLUSIONS ABOUT HOPE IN THE LXX VERSION OF JOB

Does the Old Testament speak about resurrection? The concept of resurrection, which is one of the characteristics and belief of the Christians, does not find an explicit reference in the Torah and the Prophets. In the intertestamental period, and especially in the Jewish diaspora, many passages in the Hebrew Scriptures received a resurrection coloring in the LXX version. The translators of the LXX not only translated the Hebrew Scriptures, but as they translated them, they also interpreted the Scriptures. Job 19:26 received such treatment in its translation into Greek. Perhaps, on account of the corrupt nature of the text, the hand of the translator interpreted it as a passage about resurrection. In addition to this, the Testament of Job appeared as the result of a rereading of the Hebrew book of Job with a vested interest in the resurrection. The LXX Job and the Testament of Job remained the starting point of the future interest in the book of Job as far as resurrection is concerned. In the Palestinian Jewish context, the targumic and midrashic interpretation of the Scriptures described resurrection and postresurrection elements. There was a rereading of the verses of the Scriptures through the event of the resurrection. This intertestamental tradition supplied

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16. Tremblay, *Job 19:25–27 dans la Septante*.

17. Ngwa, *Hermeneutics of the “Happy” Ending*.

material to Jesus and to Paul to explain the postresurrection life. The contribution of the New Testament marks a fuller revelation of the concept of resurrection. The apostles, the evangelists, and the early Christians were in a better position to understand resurrection, because they had witnessed in Jesus the event that was believed by many. Apart from the LXX and the Testament of Job, the history of Job 19:26 continued among Christian exegetes and theologians, especially among the Greek fathers of the church. The New Testament makes only one reference to Job in Jas 5:11 but certainly not in the context of resurrection. The first one to make use of this verse in the Christian world is Clement of Rome. Afterwards, many fathers of the church followed him, for example, Origen, who continued to interpret Job 19:26 as an Old Testament reference to the resurrection of the body.<sup>18</sup>

## 6. HOPE IN LIFE AFTER DEATH IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

Cicero, speaking of the fear of death in *Tusc.* 1.38, affirms that Pherecydes of Syros, the teacher of Pythagoras, as early as the sixth century BCE had already proclaimed the soul to be eternal and that it comes back again to be reincarnated on earth. Eschatology was an important feature of religious and philosophical speculation in the Hellenistic world that formed the background to the translation of the Septuagint and many traces of the ancient cult of Orpheus, still survived.<sup>19</sup> Plato alludes to the Orphic concept of immortality or rather reincarnation, the soul is imprisoned in the body as a punishment for some primitive crime.<sup>20</sup> The Orphic life of purification,<sup>21</sup> which offered some kind of eschatology, or more strictly speaking *metempsychosis* to man, was by tradition ascribed to an ancient past that preceded the sixth and fifth centuries BCE and linked in some way to the myth of the Titans and Dionysus.<sup>22</sup> However, Orphic eschatology did actually offer its initiates some hope of liberation from their anguish and the idea of separation of the soul from the *kosmos*.

The influence of the cult of Orpheus and the asceticism and theories of reincarnation of Pythagoras and Empedocles<sup>23</sup> on later generations and on

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18. For a full discussion on the interpretation of the verse given in the works of the fathers of the church until the fifth century, see Tremblay, *Job 19:25–27 dans la Septante*, and the doctoral dissertation of Terrence referred to in n. 1.

19. Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.177; Aeschyles, *Ag.* 1830; Euripides, *Alc.* 357ss. Pindar seems to be the first Greek poet to explain in one of his dirges that the immortality of the soul derives from its divine origin.

20. Plato, *Crat.* 400c; *Phaed.* 62b.

21. Plato, *Leg.*, 6.782c.

22. Mircea Eliade, *Storia delle credenze e le idee religiose*, vol. 2 (Firenze: Sansoni, 1980), 192.

23. Empedocles, *Ciclo universale*, vol. 4 of *Poema fisica e lustrale*, ed. Carlo Gallavotti (Milan: Lorenzo Valla–Arnoldo Mondadori, 1991), 17.

successive forms of eschatology were considerable. For Plato abandoned not only the ideas of the Sophists but also the classic mythology of the earlier poets such as Homer when he began to consider the soul to be more important than life itself. The soul, he affirms, is of divine origin and is therefore immortal.<sup>24</sup> In *Gorgias*, we find the eschatological myth that describes the body as the tomb of the soul where Socrates refers to Euripides and the Orphic-Pythagorean tradition.<sup>25</sup>

The theme of transmigration is alluded to in *Meno* 81a and *Phaed.* 107a, but in *Phaedr.* 246b the soul is declared to be identical to the movements of the sky. In *Phaedo* and *Gorgias*, we learn how the soul after death is directed towards Hades,<sup>26</sup> as described by Homer, when Odysseus descends into this dark place of the souls or shadowy images.<sup>27</sup> In Homer, there is no eschatology, but Plato specifies that the souls of the just are directed to the right while those of evil men, which were destined for reincarnation and punishment, go to the left.<sup>28</sup> The second navigation, the new method of Plato in *Phaed.* 96a to 102a marks the beginning of the ascent to the super-sensible and transcendent sphere.<sup>29</sup> Philosophy therefore as a preparation for life as the perfect citizen of the republic also became a preparation for death when the soul, freed from the bonds of flesh, might remain in the ideal world of the Ideas, to a primordial state of perfection and thus avoid a new reincarnation.<sup>30</sup>

In the Hellenistic world, shaped by the conquests of Alexander the Great, 334–323 BCE, the *polis* lost its importance and its inhabitants became individuals, citizens of the world, or cosmopolitans. It was a period of great philosophical creativity, but the two main schools of philosophy, unlike Plato and Aristotle who searched for a political ethic, were more interested in individual morality. Rather than seeking for wisdom, those Greeks and later on the many Romans who adhered to the ideas of Stoicism were in search of something eminently more practical, an ethical direction for their lives. Man by means of the practice of virtue had to save himself in life as the soul is corruptible and only those of the just survive death.<sup>31</sup>

Epicurus was even more determined to eliminate from his philosophy the second navigation of Plato, that is, the transcendent, and so he declared that ethics were superior to being. Even the Stoic notion of Providence was excluded because man, being self-sufficient, could save himself or rather attain happiness

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24. Plato, *Phaed.* 188a.

25. Plato, *Gorg.* 493.

26. Plato, *Phaed.* 108, *Gorg.* 524a.

27. Homer, *Od.* 11.84.

28. Plato, *Resp.* 614c–d.

30. G. Reale, *Storia della Filosofia antica*, vol. 2, Milano, 1997, 59–73.

30. Plato, *Meno* 81cd.

31. Epictetus, *Diatr.* 4.24: “The one sure way to freedom is to die cheerfully”; Cleanthes of Assos, *Stoici antichi. Tutti I frammenti*, 522, 231, ed. R. Radice (Milano: Bompiani, 1998).

in his life by avoiding pain and cultivating the peace of his spirit.<sup>32</sup> There was no hope of a life after death.

Many intellectuals, for example Plutarch, were disillusioned with the traditional religion of Olympus but still wished to preserve some aspects of it. True devotion was to think rightly about the gods.<sup>33</sup> In the midst of this religious syncretism and philosophical utilitarianism, many, in search of solace for their anxiety about death, turned to a form of guidance for a future life effected by means of the mystery cults, such as the Orphic, Samothrace, and Eleusinian<sup>34</sup> *mysteria* and those of Cybele, Attis, and the Corybantes, which were of an initiatory esoteric character.<sup>35</sup> In the Roman world in the west, the initiatory cult of Mithras was also widespread.<sup>36</sup> Plutarch describes the cult of Osiris, which was present in Hellenistic Greece and in the East, but he does not mention any soteriological or eschatological perspective. Apuleius, on the contrary, in the *Metamorphoses* speaks of a salvation obtained from the goddess by an act of grace.<sup>37</sup>

Without doubt, Greek skepticism also penetrated the Jewish world as we may see in the book of Qoheleth, the son of David, probably a Palestinian Jew. Writing in the third century BCE, he describes the bitterness of a life without sense. The Sheol for him is the traditional Jewish idea of a place without life (9–10). Death is to return as dust to the earth. The dead know nothing. The end of life is the same for all men, good or evil (9:2, 3, 3:19–21). There is no hope of justice for the dead (9:5). Yet the author, despite his disillusioned view of life, believes that God holds all in his hands and certainly aspires to a higher level of transcendence. Greek thought is also present in the book of Wisdom, written in about the first century BCE, in which the author distinguishes between body and soul (9:15). The soul is immortal to proclaim that God made humans for immortality (2:23) and incorruptibility is the reward of Wisdom (6:18–19).

By the time of Philo, in the period of early Judaism, the theme of retribution and eschatology, the prevailing concept of salvation, all lie with the individual and not with the nation as in the eschatology of the apocalyptic literature of the fourth century BCE to 135 CE. Philo makes no mention of the resurrection of the body. For him, true death is that of the soul. God raises the virtuous man to himself, removing him from an earthly setting. The wicked are already dead, but

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33. Epicurus considered the soul corruptible and that it disappears with death. See *Epicurea* 226, ed. Hermann Usener (Leipzig: Teubner, 1887; repr. Milan: Bompiani, 2002).

33. Plutarch, *Pyth. orac.* 402E; *Is. Os.* 351C ; 351E; 355CD.

34. Herodotus, *Hist.* 8 65. Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 12,1.

35. G. Sfantini Gasparro, “Mysteries and Oriental Cults,” in *The Religious History of the Roman Empire*, ed. John A. North and S. R. F. Price, Oxford Readings in Classical Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 276–324 (286).

36. S. R. F. Price, “Homogeneity and Diversity in the Religions of Rome,” in *Religious History of the Roman Empire*, 253–73 (258).

37. Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 361; Apuleius, *Metam.* 11, 21.

Philo expresses a certain optimism for he says that for the just death is only the beginning of a new life.<sup>38</sup> In the same period, 37–100 CE, Josephus the historian of Pharisaic origin says that the souls of the pure and obedient remain alive and obtain a most holy place in heaven; they are again sent into pure bodies.<sup>39</sup>

Around the third and sixth centuries CE the Neoplatonists, such as Plotinus, used Platonic arguments to establish the immortality of the incorporeal soul as the cause of life and movement. The soul must tend towards union with the Good, which although always present, does not save the soul.<sup>40</sup> For these reasons Paul in Eph 2:12 says to the Greek inhabitants of Ephesus that before their encounter with Christ they were without hope. In about 408 CE, Augustine, in the second discourse in his commentary on the Gospel of John, takes up again the metaphor used by Plato in *Phaedo* to speak of a third navigation.

In the midst of the sea of this world which we must cross, even if we see where we must go, while many do not see where they must go. For this reason he came from there where we must go. What did he do? He prepared a wooden cross with which we could cross the sea. In fact no one can cross the sea of this world unless he is carried by the cross of Christ.

## 7. THE PATRISTIC EXEGESIS OF JOB 14: 7–17

We shall now examine these verses in the interpretation of two different Christian authors. The first one is John Chrysostom, the second Olympiodorus of Alexandria.

### 7.1. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

John Chrysostom is one of the great fathers of the church in the East and the West. He was born in Antioch in Syria around 345–355. In 311 with the Edict of Galerius, Christianity had become *religio licita* in the empire, and in 390 the Edict of Theodosius rendered the pagan cults against the law in the empire. He lived in the period that preceded the Council of Constantinople 381 and that of Chalcedon 451 when the Arian controversy was still very much alive. Chrysostom used the literal interpretation of the Scriptures that was prevalent in Antioch. For his pastoral work, he used his sermons to comment on the Bible. The explanation tended to be practical and brief, suitable for the particular aspect which Chrysostom, who was a brilliant orator, wished to examine.

14.7 ἔστιν γὰρ δένδρῳ ἐλπίς· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐκκοπῇ, ἔτι ἐπανθήσει, καὶ ὁ ῥάδαμος αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπη. 14.8 ἐὰν γὰρ γηράσῃ ἐν γῇ ἢ ῥίζα αὐτοῦ, ἐν δὲ πέτρᾳ

38. Philo, *Leg.* 1.105; *Det.* 48; *Her.* 45.292.

39. Josephus, *B. J.* 3.5.8.

40. Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.4.15.



τελευτήσῃ τὸ στέλεχος αὐτοῦ, 14.9 ἀπὸ ὁσμῆς ὕδατος ἀνθήσει, ποιήσει δὲ θερισμὸν ὥσπερ νεόφυτον. 14.10 ἀνὴρ δὲ τελευτήσας ὥχετο, πεσὼν δὲ βροτὸς οὐκέτι ἔστιν.

We may observe some textual differences in the Greek text of this author, but it is difficult to say which Greek text he used. Scholars tend to attribute to him the use of the Lucianic recension, the work of the priest Lucian who became an Arian.<sup>41</sup> We thus find δένδρων in verse 7, followed by δέ καί after ἐάν and πάλιν ἀνθήσει. In verse 8b, we have πέτρα; in 9b, there is conjunction καί before ποιήσει. In verse 10, we find ἔσται and not ἔστιν.

Despite the pastoral nature of his commentary on Job, his interpretation is often moral and spiritual and displays the author's vast biblical, philological, and cultural background. However, his exegesis tends to be more literal than spiritual since the Antiochean method displayed a particular interest in philology that accompanied the search for the literal historical sense of the passage.<sup>42</sup>

Chrysostom, commenting on verses 7–11a, compares the fate of the rivers and trees to man's separation in death and the resurrection.

Job speaks in this way, he says, because the sea does not suffer this in time but these are immortal things, as someone said. But until, as Job says, rivers flow and there are the shadows of trees, neither the sea nor the river are parted but this is what awaits man. For if only it were like this for us, to die and rise up again. But it is not like that.

Chrysostom comments on verses 13a, 14, and 15 by alluding to the divine judgement which follows death.

This therefore, says Job, is not a question of perseverance. For if it were like that I would persevere until I rise again. For it is convenient for me to lie hidden in Hades and persevere until I become so and obey your call.<sup>43</sup> For what reason? If not even one of these things is your work do not cast me away.

Chrysostom takes up his commentary at verse 16a.

On account of this, Job declares that God is his Creator but acknowledges himself to be a sinner as God sees all. Job says, for this reason I desire to be saved since this is the work of your hands but in no way at all on account of

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41. Mario Cimosà, "Giovanni Crisostomo. Oriente e occidente tra IV e V secolo," in *Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana, Roma 6–8 maggio 2004*, SEAug (Rome: Institutum patristicum augustinianum, 2004), 417–27 (418).

42. The text used is that of Ursula und Dietrich Hagedorn, eds., *Johannes Chrysostomus, Kommentar zu Hiob*, PTS 35 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), 114–16.

43. It to be noticed how the Greek term Hades and not Sheol is used in the LXX, as, for example, in Gen 37:35; 42:43; 44:29, 31; Num 16:30; Wis 1:14.

justice or being able to deceive you or conceal my offences from you. For it is impossible to hide my sins from you.

In verses 20–22, Chrysostom returns to the subject.

See how Job underlines the ephemeral nature of life. It is impossible to turn back and come back here. Even if he leaves some children behind him it is impossible to know how they will fare. He does not know if his descendants will be numerous or few. What is worse than not knowing one's own success and knowing one's afflictions? Even if something good occurs to him after death, he will not know about it, nor will he ever do so. But what he does know is that his flesh is in pain and his soul groans aloud.

There is a variation in the text of the LXX Greek in this last phrase of 22b. We find ἐπ' αὐτῷ instead of the LXX αὐτοῦ.

## 7.2. OLYMPIODORUS OF ALEXANDRIA

The second author to be considered is Olympiodorus of Alexandria, about whom we know very little. He is known as Olympiodorus of Halicarnassus, the deacon who lived in the sixth century and was born in around 470–490 CE. He was consecrated deacon in 505–515 by the bishop of Alexandria.<sup>44</sup> In his verse by verse commentary on Job, this author first of all searches for the historical sense. He then comments the Bible with other biblical parallels and seeks for the spiritual sense of the more obscure passages in the tradition of the Alexandrian method of exegesis. Olympiodorus in this part of his commentary demonstrates that he consulted various texts of the Septuagint. In this period, the Arian heresy was still widespread. We may then only surmise that Olympiodorus lived in the period which followed the era of the great ecumenical Councils.

Olympiodorus comments upon Job 14:7–10 in the following way. First of all, he gives the literal sense. Job, he says, declares that man is the most worthless of living creatures. In fact, after this the tree is able to make the stump grow new shoots in its place, and when it reaches irrigation water it brings forth its harvest and its fruit in its place. Olympiodorus interprets this to mean the finality of human death. For he says, on the contrary, a man who has died cannot run back again into life.

14.11 χρόνῳ γὰρ σπανίζεται θάλασσα, ποταμὸς δὲ ἐρημωθείς ἐξηράνθη· 14.12 ἄνθρωπος δὲ κοιμηθεὶς οὐ μὴ ἀναστῇ, ἕως ἂν ὁ οὐρανὸς οὐ μὴ συρραφῇ· καὶ οὐκ ἐξυπνισθήσονται ἐξ ὕπνου αὐτῶν.

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44. The text used for Olympiodorus is Ursula Hagedorn and Dieter Hagedorn, eds., *Olympiodor Diakon von Alexandria: Kommentar zu Hiob*, PTS 24 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), 132–33.

Above all the sea does not dry up in time. Instead Symmachus has said, in time the sea dries up.

We may imagine that, at this point Olympiodorus, is looking at a comment made on the text by Symmachus.<sup>45</sup>

As it receives water from the sea it flows away. His thought is thus: like water which flows from the sea, he says, such is the stream which flows from the sea, as a river is dried up, likewise a dead man becomes invisible.<sup>46</sup> So is the vault of heaven if it is not in place and complete. So long as the universe is in place a man who dies is not kept together and united. But he says this is the sequence in the links of events. He said this so that someone might not bring up the subject of the time of the resurrection but this takes place only once at the end of time.<sup>47</sup> And to indicate that he taught this mystery clearly. These things which were said were well known.<sup>48</sup>

But instead according to allegory, says Olympiodorus, there is hope for the tree and above all for man. For if he is a sinner but converts to righteousness and on earth and in stone, that is to say, he believes in the fear of God,<sup>49</sup> he will grow up again from the water of rebirth or from the tears of conversion. Olympiodorus here alludes to the commandments inscribed in stone.

He continues by referring to the fate of the unrighteous. For if, he says, he dies in a state of aversion or sin, he has no true hope. In time his sin disappears,

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45. We should place the dates of Symmachus in the period of about 193–211 CE. See Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus*, PG 43 263: “Huius porro Severi temporibus Symmachus quidam Samaritanus exstitit, ex eorum numero, qui apud illos sapientes habentur. Qui ambitione ac principatus cupiditate ductus, cum voti apud suos compos esse non posset, tribulibus iratus suis, ad Iudaeos transfugit et inter proselytos professus iterato circumciditur.” also Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.1717. Olivier Munnich, “Le texte de la Septante,” in *La Bible grecque des Septante*, ed. Marguerite Harl, Gilles Dorival, and Olivier Munnich, 2nd ed. (Paris: Cerf, 1994), 148–50. See also Markus Witte, “The Greek Book of Job,” in *Das Buch Hiob und seine Interpretationen*, ed. T. Krüger et al., AThANT 88 (Zürich: TVZ, 2007), 33–54, n.87, notices traces of Symmachus in Job in 22:3; 34:10; 37:23.

46. The idea is that of the Sheol as the negation of life where man’s elements are dissolved into dust as in Gen 3:19.

48. Jerome, *Praefatio ad Job*, PL 29, 83C.

48. The Christian concept of the resurrection is of that the resurrection of both body and soul of the righteous as John 5: 29. In 1 John 4:17, it is stated that judgement and *parousia* are not separated.

49. The term *eusebeia* is used here. See the article, Mario Cimosà and Gillian Bonney, “Lex et Religio in the Book of Job according to the Greek text and the interpretation of some Christian exegetes,” in *XL Incontro di studiosi dell’antichità cristiana (Roma maggio 2012)*, SEAug 135 (Rome: Istitutum patristicum augustinianum, 2012), 143–63.

as the sea is figuratively called, the Devil and his temptations are dried up, but those who have come to the end of life are not utterly destroyed while awaiting the resurrection.

14.13 εἰ γὰρ ὄφελον ἐν αἰδῇ με ἐφύλαξας, ἔκρυψας δέ με, ἕως ἂν παύσηταί σου ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ τάξῃ μοι χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ μνείαν μου ποιήσῃ. 14.14 ἐὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ ἄνθρωπος, ζήσεται συντελέσας ἡμέρας τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ· ὑπομενῶ, ἕως ἂν πάλιν γένωμαι.

Theodotion in place of “he lives” says “he will not live.”<sup>50</sup> This is what he thinks, comments Olympiodorus, who has perhaps consulted another text.

Would that, Job says, in your anger you had kept me in Hades for this time. For blameless as I was I was imprisoned there and you did not forget me entirely but you set a time for my custody. He Job gave a reason for desiring death. For apart from his misfortunes he could have awaited the resurrection there in custody. For if, he says, a man dies when he has accomplished the days of his life, he will not pass to a state of non-existence but instead will live in his soul awaiting the resurrection. This is according to Theodotion. If, he says, a man dies, he will not live so that he may say that he is delivered from his torments.

14.15 εἴτα καλέσεις, ἐγὼ δέ σοι ὑπακούσομαι, τὰ δὲ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου μὴ ἀποποιού. 14.16 ἡρίθμησας δέ μου τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, καὶ οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ σε οὐδὲν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν μου· 14.17 ἐσφράγισας δέ μου τὰς ἀνομίας ἐν βαλλαντίῳ, ἐπεσημήνω δέ, εἴ τι ἄκων παρέβην.

Olympiodorus describes the moment of the resurrection by using texts of Paul. He uses first 1 Thess 4:16.

If, Job says, I am kept in Hades I shall await rebirth and the resurrection, when you give the command for the resurrection of the dead. But I shall obey you. The dreaded part of human nature points to the resurrection.

He then quotes 1 Cor 15:52.

For at this command, with the voice of the archangel, without the twinkling of the eye to counteract it, the resurrection takes place, as the holy disciple taught

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50. For the tradition about changes made to the text of the LXX by Theodotion and Aquila, Irenaeus in his confutation of the Ebionites, who denied the Incarnation, quotes their different translation of Isa 7:14. See Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.21.1 (SC 211), 398–400: “quemadmodum et Theodotion interpretatus est Ephesius et Aquila Ponticus, utrique Iudaei proselyti; quos sectati Ebionaei ex Ioseph eum generatum dicunt, tantam dispositionem De dissoluentes quantum ad ipsos est, frustrantes prophetarum testimonium quod operatus est Deus.” Theodotion may be dated to around 30–50 CE.

us. Blessed Job, like a prophet, proclaims these things to us and again utters a prayer of supplication and speaks.

τὰ δὲ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου μὴ ἀποποιοῦ. 14.16 ἡρίθμησας δέ μου τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, καὶ οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ σε οὐδὲν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου· 14.17 ἐσφράγισας δέ μου τὰς ἀνομίας ἐν βαλλαντίῳ, ἐπεσημῆνω δέ, εἴ τι ἄκων παρέβην.

Olympiodorus proceeds in his examination of the second part of verse 14.

Like a poet he beseeches God and says: Oh Lord, do not throw me away, the work of your hands, like something worthless, do not count these things in this way lightly against us and track down and shut in everything as in a purse, as if not to destroy any of our sins but demand justice from all men.

Job, says Olympiodorus, makes this supplication to the Lord:

do not scrutinize our sins too closely but teach us that nothing is hidden from the Lord's fixed attention whether we commit them deliberately or unwillingly.

Olympiodorus quotes Qoh 12:14.

Because we shall obey your words willingly, heeding the words of Ecclesiastes who says to this end: God will call all our deeds to judgement, all that is hidden, be it good or bad.

## 8. THE PATRISTIC EXEGESIS OF JOB 19:25–27

19.25 οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἀέναός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκλύειν με μέλλων ἐπὶ γῆς. 19.26 ἀναστήσαι τὸ δέρμα μου τὸ ἀνατλῶν ταῦτα· παρὰ γὰρ κυρίου ταῦτά μοι συνετελέσθη, 19.27 ἃ ἐγὼ ἐμαυτῷ συνεπίσταμαι, ἃ ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου ἑώρακεν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος· πάντα δέ μοι συνετέλεσται ἐν κόλπῳ.

### 8.1. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

The commentary of John Chrysostom is the following.<sup>51</sup> In this verse (19:25), there are no textual differences. Chrysostom begins by referring to the preceding verse 19:23b with two rhetorical questions or *percontatio*. Does Job think that God intends neglecting him on earth? What does that mean asks Chrysostom? If God is immortal, why do you wish your words to be written and to remain forever on earth? He then presents a psychological observation about those who suffer.

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51. Hagedorn and Hagedorn, *Johannes Chrysostomos Kommentar zu Hiob*, 130–31.

Observe, he says, the great pain of those in misfortune: they not only want those present and the onlookers but also those who come afterwards to witness their personal misfortunes so that on all sides this fellow feeling surrounds them.

Chrysostom brings in his biblical example of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:27). Then it seems to me, he continues, at times that even a wealthy man, who has suffered these things on earth and wants to recount his personal misfortunes and the circumstances of a person who has lived in luxury.

But what did he know about the resurrection, asks Chrysostom? It seems so to me, he continues, that he knew about the resurrection of the body, unless perhaps he might say that there is a resurrection as deliverance from the evils that beset him. So much so that he says: “after my deliverance I wish these terrible things to be immortal.” Chrysostom hints at the judgement after death and explains the pedagogy of God.

For this is the same great teaching and philosophy from God, that is always to keep punishment of the past before our eyes.

Here Chrysostom quotes Gen 19:4–11, Num 21:5, and Josh 7:24–26 as his biblical *exempla*, proofs or parallels. He then underlines that God has allowed all this to happen to Job, but in his mercy he will save him.

For all this which befell me, Job says, was brought on me by God and saying this he rightly provides the cause of the change. He struck me down and he will heal me.

Here Chrysostom is not making a direct quotation of the biblical text of Job 5:18 but rather paraphrasing Job’s own words in order to conclude his line of reasoning. As this is a homily, he could be quoting the verse by heart. In verse 27a, says Chrysostom, this is not the insult of a man.

For I know what happens to creatures, from that which befell my body, they are a blow from God. For this reason he says, continues Chrysostom, I know that well. I have a competent teacher sent from God and this blow has befallen me. So that whenever he says: For I see my food and the food to eat, this is not a physical illness.

Chrysostom again quotes from Job 6:7b, but he could again be using his memory as the text does not correspond to his version and is as follows: “I see food and my diet as if they were the odour of the lion.”

19:27d ἐφύλαξα, φησίν, ἐντολήν σου.

Chrysostom here adds these words to the biblical text to indicate the fate of the unrighteous.

But if, says Job, you do not believe and yet you rise up be afraid of what is clearly going to happen. For it is necessary to destroy him with all his evil. For if I suffer this in state of sinfulness you ought to be afraid and in fear.

## 8.2. OLYMPIODORUS

The commentary of Olympiodorus is as following.<sup>52</sup>

19:23–25. For I know, says Job, that I shall be set free, that is I shall die but God who always remains in his might, after my death, on account of his personal determination, well-known to all men, will render these things to me, that which has already taken place, according to the request of the righteous man.

This might refer to the idea of Ezek 18:4, the soul which sins dies. Olympiodorus then seems to allude to some persecution of the church, for he continues:

Yet the holiest churches were not deprived of such an example in the midst of their torments, but the Scriptures according to Job, either by some prophet or some holy man, as any of those of the Apostles, speak to us of the assistance and project of God. Listen to Job's hope<sup>53</sup> and learn about what God accomplished. From where did we hear of it or where did we learn about it if not from the request of this just man and the co-operation of God when this was written?

Olympiodorus provides no biblical examples here.<sup>54</sup> Olympiodorus states the faith of the church.

Job says, would that God might raise up my skin from all these sufferings. For such is the wonderful doctrine<sup>55</sup> which we have taught in the Church that the body resists trials and temptations and itself is raised up with the soul so that it may rejoice with it in the beauty of eternity. For this he said after this suffering. In fact it is one thing to suffer unjustly and another to be resurrected.

19:26-27 *παρὰ γὰρ κυρίου ταῦτά μοι συνετελέσθη, ἃ ἐγὼ ἐμavτῷ συνεπίσταμαι, ἃ ὀφθαλμός μου ἐώρακε καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος· πάντα δέ μοι συνετελέσται ἐν κόλπῳ.*

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52. Hagedorn and Hagedorn, *Olympiodor Kommentar zu Hiob*, 168–70.

53. The term used in Greek is ὑπομονή, which is synonymous to hope in Job. It also is used to describe Israel's expectation of God, its persevering faithfulness to the Covenant, in Jer 14:18; 17: 13; Pss 9:19; 38(39):8.

54. It might be supposed that he has in mind, for example, Ps 16:49; 73; 1 Sam 2:6; Ps 71:20; Dan 12:2; 2 Macc 7:14; where the text seems to allude to the resurrection of the body.

55. The term δόγμα is used in the LXX Dan 6:13; Theod Dan 2:13; 3:10, 12, 96 (29), but also by Chrysostom in his homilies on Matt 25:1 and by Olympiodorus in his commentary on Job 8:4.

All these things which I begged for, God and he alone is able to conduct such things, which my soul alone knows. For no man shares in evil in this way nor can anyone see how I am suffering. In fact I embraced in some way all the terrible things as they befell me and beset me.

Olympiodorus now explains the doctrine of the Trinity.

For my breast is received into the presence of he who is undivided. Therefore the only-begotten is said to be in the bosom of the Father on account of he who is undivided and is of the same substance of the Son to the Father.

#### 9. SOME CONCLUSIONS ABOUT HOPE IN THE CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATION OF JOB

Maimonides in his *Guide for the Perplexed* states that the book of Job is about faith.<sup>56</sup> We learn from the beginning that Job reveres God, but as he admits at the end of the book, then he knew about God from hearsay (Job 42:5). The narrative gives us an account of his constant reverence or fear of God that resists all temptations to abandon this faith in his Creator. Job thus gradually achieves a more profound depth of wisdom, that of God which bears him towards hope and ultimately to a true faith in God. In fact, he finally realizes that God's knowledge and thoughts are not like those of man. So Job, despite his terrible misfortunes, like Abraham in Rom 4:18, holds on to his faith by hoping against all hope, and, like Abraham, is rewarded by God. The addition of the epilogue to the book really seems to have the precise scope of demonstrating how Job after all his tribulations begins a new life.

This fundamental attitude of the *ὑπομονή* of Israel, the persistent, persevering hope in the Covenant, to faith in God, was therefore immediately perceived by Christian exegetes as the *τόπος* of the man of faith who notwithstanding cruel torments, remains steadfast in his hope and faith in God. The three authors examined in this paper wrote in three different contexts. For John Chrysostom, the passage Job 14:7–17 is part of a sermon in which he explains the tree and the sea in terms of the separation of body and soul in death. He is also the pastor who urges his flock not to become too attached to worldly goods, for Job is the example of he who loses all in life, because in death and the resurrection there is a final separation from everything.

Olympiodorus in his commentary also speaks of the finality of the separation of body and soul in death, but the tree shows that there is hope even for sinners who repent. In this section, he also describes the resurrection.

As regards the passage of Job 19:25–27, John Chrysostom observes Job's sufferings as those of any man. Job was convinced that he would rise again in

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56. Moses Maimonides, *The Guide for the Perplexed*, trans. M. Friedländer (New York: Dover, 1956), 303.



his body and be delivered from his torments. Yet there is a divine judgement to be faced after death so the unrighteous must be aware of this.

Olympiodorus refers to Job as an example for others in his hope. He underlines that God assisted Job and rewarded him. He declares that the resurrection of the body and the soul is doctrine of the Church.

The fact of the resurrection has been an object of contention from the very beginnings of the Church, as we may observe from Acts 17:32, 25:20. As early as 171 CE, Athenagoras saw fit to defend this fundamental point of Christian identity, and around 500 in the *History of the Franks* by Gregory of Tours, we may read of a debate on someone who “revived once more the pernicious doctrine of the Sadducees.”<sup>57</sup> For, says Tertullian, in his work of around 200 CE, the resurrection is the *fiducia* of Christians, as we might term it, the secure pledge.<sup>58</sup>

Newman in a sermon on the Ascension expresses the idea that faith accepts the word of God as firmly on the evidence given. Although the Almighty might have given us greater evidence than we possess, he speaks to us in the Bible. Yet since he has given us enough, faith does not ask for more and acts on what is enough. What is true of faith, he continues, is also true of hope.<sup>59</sup> A recent document of the Catholic Church, *Spe salvi*, affirms a similar concept. *Spe salvi facti sumus*, as we read in Rom 8:24. The distinguishing mark of Christians is that they have a future. When Paul reminded the Greek inhabitants of Ephesus that they were previously without hope, it was because they were without God.<sup>60</sup>

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57. Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks* (London: Penguin, 1974), x, 13, 560–61.

58. Tertullian, *De resurrectione mortuorum*, 1, CCSL 2, 921: “Fiducia Christianorum resurrectio mortuorum. Illam credentes sumus: hoc credere veritas cogit: veritatem deus aperit.”

59. J. H. Newman, *Parochial and Plain Sermons, Sermon 18: Subjection of the Reason and Feelings to the Revealed World* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1997), 1348.

60. Benedict XVI, *Spe salvi* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2007), 4–9.



# Πνεῦμα in the Old Greek of Isaiah

*Abi T. Ngunga*

**Abstract:** Nearly six decades ago, it was claimed that the theology of πνεῦμα in the Old Greek of Isaiah is an important subject that should deserve “une étude spéciale et approfondie” (Coste, 1954). In the absence of such a study since then, the present paper seeks to reconstruct the conception that the person responsible for this important Jewish document had of πνεῦμα. Without seeking to offer an exhaustive account of this theme within this piece of literature, a brief survey of its use throughout this text will be carried out nevertheless, while the paper will primarily focus on its occurrence in a few selected passages. It shall be demonstrated that some of the translator’s various exegetical manoeuvres in his rendition of this term in these texts, read in their given contexts, served for the benefit of the injured Jewish community in Alexandria longing for redemption. Besides this, the outcome of this study shall also lend significant support against a growing skeptical opinion among scholars about the commonly held view that considers the translation as the work of one translator.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Πνεῦμα is one of the fascinating words loaded with great important theological connotations in both the Old and New Testaments. While studies on this term in the book of Isaiah in its Hebrew form have recently received a considerably widespread scholarly interest,<sup>1</sup> surprisingly enough, not much effort has been dedicated to investigating its conception in the Greek text of this book. And yet, nearly six decades ago, it was claimed that the theology of πνεῦμα in the Old Greek of Isaiah (LXX Isaiah) is an important subject that should deserve “une

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1. Ma, for instance, has provided an in-depth study of the Spirit of God in the Isaianic traditions; see Wonsuk Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes: The Spirit of God in the Book of Isaiah*, JSOTSup 271 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2009).

étude spéciale et approfondie.”<sup>2</sup> In the absence of such a study since then, I will seek to address this issue. However, this being such an enormous subject that will require more time and space than that which we are given here, I will only investigate exegetically four selected passages pertinent to the topic within the entire corpus of LXX Isaiah (i.e., 25:4–5; 44:3–4; 57:15–16; and 63:10–14). I will attempt to understand the translator’s perspective of this topic in these texts in the way in which he dealt with it. As shall be discovered, these texts seem to share, amongst other things, a common idea that is very important to the translator, as far as his understanding of πνεῦμα is concerned. It may be also sufficient to say that their choice spread across this entire piece of literature of the LXX Isaiah will give us a better and more reliable picture of what the translator made of some of the diverse רוּחַ traditions found in its Hebrew counterpart. Before the analysis of the texts (mentioned above) is done, it is important first to provide a brief survey of the Isaiah translator’s rendering of רוּחַ, without seeking to offer any exhaustive explanation in each detected case.

## 2. THE TRANSLATOR’S RENDERING OF רוּחַ

Out of 277 times of its appearance in the LXX as a translation of רוּחַ, πνεῦμα is found 36 times in Isaiah, just one short from the book of Ezekiel (37 times).<sup>3</sup> However, Isaiah has more references to πνεῦμα among all the books within the corpus of the Septuagint literature. This is due to the translator’s addition of πνεῦμα in two passages (11:3 and 38:12) and his rendering of πνεύματι θυμοῦ for בְּרוּחַ קָדִים (27:8). Besides these and his translation of πνεῦμα for רוּחַ, our translator has also rendered the term רוּחַ as ἀνεμος (17:13; 41:16; 57:13; 64:6; see also Sir 5:9), νοῦς (40:13), βολήθεια (31:3), θυμός (59:19), πνότη (38:16), and ὀργή (59:19). If an in-depth study of these various and sometimes strange translators’ lexical choices (besides πνεῦμα) for רוּחַ were to be done alongside his deliberate insertion of πνεῦμα in each of the two texts (noted above) and his translation of 27:8 (given above), it would reveal some meaningful nuances of his perception of רוּחַ and its Greek counterpart (πνεῦμα). Unfortunately, this task will be left for another time as we shall now only focus on a sample of four texts from the thirty-six occurrences, as said earlier, of πνεῦμα as a rendering for רוּחַ.

2. Jean Coste, “Le texte Grec d’Isaïe xxv, 1–5,” *RB* 61 (1954): 36–66 (58).

3. Next to Isaiah is Psalms (thirty times) followed by Proverbs/Ecclesiastes (twenty-two times), and finally Job (eighteen times), and the remaining books share the rest of the occurrences (e.g., seven times in Genesis, five times in Exodus, fourteen times in Numbers, and twice in Deuteronomy); see Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1998), under “πνεῦμα.”

### 3. THE TRANSLATOR'S USE OF πνεῦμα

#### 3.1. LXX ISA 25:4–5<sup>4</sup>

| MT |                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | LXX                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4  | כִּי־הִיִּת מַעוֹן לְדָל מַעוֹן<br>לְאֲבִיּוֹן בְּצַר־לּוֹ מַחְסֵה<br>מוֹרָם צֶל מַחֲרֵב<br>כִּי רוּחַ עֲרִיצִים כּוֹרֵם קִיר                                                                                             | 4 ἐγένου γὰρ πάσῃ πόλει ταπεινῇ<br>βοηθὸς<br>καὶ τοῖς ἀθυμῆσασι δι' ἔνδειαν σκέπη,<br>ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν ῥύσῃ αὐτούς,<br>σκέπη διψώντων καὶ πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπων<br>ἀδικουμένων                                                                       |
| 5  | כַּחַר בְּצִיּוֹן שֶׁאוֹן זֵרִים תִּכְנִיעַ<br>חֶרֶב בְּצֶל עֵב זִמִּיר עֲרִיצִים יַעֲנֶה                                                                                                                                 | 5 ὡς ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι διψῶντες ἐν<br>Σιων ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβῶν, οἷς ἡμᾶς<br>παρέδωκας                                                                                                                                                            |
| 4  | For you have been a refuge to<br>the poor,<br>a refuge to the needy in their<br>distress,<br>a shelter from the rainstorm<br>and a shade from the heat.<br>When the blast of the ruthless was<br>like a winter rainstorm, | 4 For you have become a helper to<br>every humble city,<br>and a shelter to those that were<br>dispirited<br>because of poverty;<br>you will rescue them from evil<br>persons—<br>a shelter for the thirsty and breath for<br>ill-treated persons, |
| 5  | the noise of aliens like heat in a<br>dry place, you subdued the heat<br>with the shade of clouds; the song<br>of the ruthless was stilled.                                                                               | 5 like faint-hearted persons thirsting in<br>Sion, because of the impious, to<br>whom you delivered us.                                                                                                                                            |

In its Greek form, Isa 25:4–5 differs significantly from its Hebrew counterpart. These differences vary from translating one Hebrew word (מעון), which occurs twice in this passage, by two different Greek ones (πόλει and βοηθὸς in v. 4), inserting πάσῃ (in v. 4) without any Hebrew correspondence, paraphrasing freely a clause (לְאֲבִיּוֹן בְּצַר־לּוֹ מַחְסֵה) translated by τοῖς ἀθυμῆσασι δι' ἔνδειαν σκέπη in v. 4), and missing from time to time either a syllable attached to a word that is correctly rendered (e.g., ταπεινῇ for לְדָל in v. 4) or a few words within a clause (e.g., ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβῶν οἷς ἡμᾶς παρέδωκας in v. 5 as a rendering of שֶׁאוֹן זֵרִים תִּכְנִיעַ חֶרֶב בְּצֶל עֵב זִמִּיר עֲרִיצִים יַעֲנֶה). While many thoughts could be put forward in trying to explain the possible reasons behind these discrepancies, a task that is beyond the scope of the present study, one thing that can be said already

4. This passage has been discussed by a few scholars. One may consult, amongst others, Ronald Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah*, JSJSup 124 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 124–26. Prior to him, see Coste, “Texte Grec d’Isaïe xxv, 1–5.”

at this point, to which we shall come back, is that our translator can be described as a scribe who knew what he was doing.

Without going into too much detail, it is important to note that when it comes to the last phrase (in v. 4) that begins with καὶ πνεῦμα, rendered almost correctly for (כִּי רוּחַ) except for the conjunction καὶ (instead of the expected γὰρ or ὅτι) for כִּי, the translator's insertion of ἀνθρώπων besides ἀδικουμένων, as Richard Ottley correctly observes, has given a different turn to the meaning of the whole clause καὶ πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the first part of this verse directs the thought to the future with a peremptory statement that the Lord God (v. 1) will rescue the injured Jewish community in Alexandria from the suffering violence and oppressive control of wicked men (see ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν ῥύσῃ αὐτοὺς in v. 4), who are described in verse 5b as “ungodly men” (ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβῶν).<sup>6</sup> This assertion is followed by two beautiful pauses that can be described as two meaningful titles attributed to God: σκέπη διψώντων (“a shelter for the thirsty”) and πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων (“breath for ill-treated men”). He is called so by the “we” (ἡμεῖς, v. 5) and the “I” speaker (see Κύριε ὁ θεός μου in v. 1)<sup>7</sup>. It is for their benefit that they address the Lord in that way. By calling him (i.e., the Lord God himself) as πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων (v. 4), the Isaiah translator seems to have understood πνεῦμα as a personified life-giving figure whose manifestation, one day, will end the distress and the expectations for the redemption not only of the Alexandrian Jews (as πτωχός, ταπεινός, ἀδικομενοί, ὀλιγοψυχοί), but also of their coreligionist in Palestine, all of them as one community now thirsting in Zion (διψῶντες ἐν Σιών). In fact, taking into account both the thought (in v. 3) that these ill-treated Jewish communities will bless the Lord God one day (see ἀδικουμένων εὐλογήσουσιν σε) and the idea (in v. 5) behind their description as “faint-hearted men (ἀνθρώποι ὀλιγόψυχοι; see also Isa 35:4; 54:16; 57:15) thirsting in Zion (ἐν

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5. Richard R. Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)*, vol 2 (Cambridge: University Press, 1909; repr. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011), 225.

6. See also the use of ἀδικεῖν and ἀδικῶς (in vv. 3–4; also Isa 10:20; 23:13; 43:24; 51:23), which, according to Isac L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problem*, Mededelingen en verhandelingen van het vooraziatisch-egyptisch genootschap “Ex oriente lux” 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1948; repr. in *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies*, ed. R. Hanhart and H. Spieckermann, FAT 40 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004]), 183, “express, without any direct sanction from the Hebrew text, the violence from which Israel was made to suffer by other peoples.”

7. These have been identified by W. de Angelo Cunha, “Greek Isaiah 25:6–8 and the Issue of Coherence,” in *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 59 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 277–90 (286), as the addressers of Κύριε ὁ Θεός (in v. 1) in this passage.

Σιωπ as translation of בְּצִיּוֹן, “in a dry place,” see also Isa 32:2),<sup>8</sup> far away from the ungodly men to whom God handed them over,” our translator has made our text to be understood as an important song of redemption affirmation, which shall be uttered by those “thirsty” and “ill-treated men” (noted above). It looks to the future when this injured, frustrated, and discouraged Jewish community in Alexandria (as the primary recipient of this important piece of literature), upon their return to Zion, will not only say their gratitude to the Lord their God (v. 1) or bless him (v. 3), but also celebrate the destruction of the wicked men (ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν) and ungodly men (ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβῶν) under whom they suffered injury (vv. 4–5). Their celebration over the destruction of these “ungodly men” (ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβῶν) should make any modern reader to recall the translator’s deliberate use of εὐσεβείας as one of the virtues related to πνεῦμα that will rest upon the messianic figure depicted in LXX Isa 11:1–10 (esp. v. 2) with a specific task (in v. 4) to “take away the impious” (ἀνελῆ ἀσεβῆ). According to our translator, a similar mission, that is, “to turn impiety [ἀσεβεία] away from Jacob,” is also to be carried out by the expected redeeming figure in LXX Isa 59:20.<sup>9</sup> This task will be accomplished for the benefit of God’s people.

### 3.2. LXX Isa 44:3–4

| MT |                                                                                                                                                                       | LXX                                                                                                                                                                         |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3  | כי אצק־מים על־צמא ונזלים על־יבשה<br>אצק רוחי על־זרעך וברכתי על־צאצאֶיךָ                                                                                               | 3 ὅτι ἐγὼ δώσω ὕδωρ ἐν δίψει τοῖς<br>πορευομένοις ἐν ἀνύδρῳ, ἐπιθήσω τὸ<br>πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου καὶ<br>τὰς εὐλογίας μου ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα σου,                           |
| 4  | וצמחו בבין חציר כערבים על־יבלי־מים                                                                                                                                    | 4 καὶ ἀνατελοῦσιν ὥσει χόρτος ἀνὰ μέσον<br>ὑδατος καὶ ὡς ἰτέα ἐπὶ παραρρέον<br>ὑδωρ.                                                                                        |
| 3  | For I will pour water on the thirsty<br>land, and streams on the dry ground;<br>I will pour my spirit upon your<br>descendants, and my blessing on<br>your offspring. | 3 because I will provide water in their<br>thirst to those who walk in a dry land;<br>I will put my Spirit upon your off-<br>spring, and my blessings upon your<br>children |
| 4  | They shall spring up like a green<br>tamarisk, like willows by flowing<br>streams.                                                                                    | 4 And they shall spring up like grass in<br>the midst of water and like a willow<br>by flowing water.                                                                       |

8. I have argued elsewhere; see Abi T. Ngunga, *Messianism in the Old Greek of Isaiah. An Intertextual Analysis*, FRLANT 245 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 154, that the rendering of ἐν Σιωπ for בְּצִיּוֹן (in Isa 25:5 and 32:2) fits perfectly well with the flow of thought in each text in its own context, *pace* Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation*, 190, who only speaks of such translation as a lexical confusion displayed by our translator.

9. See Ngunga, *Messianism in the Old Greek of Isaiah*, 104.

The translator's idea of *πνεῦμα* perceived in Isa 25:4–5 (above discussed) seems to have been expressed also in his translation of Isa 44:3–4. In its Hebrew form, this passage speaks of the fertility of the dry ground joined to the gift of the spirit to be poured out upon Israel's offspring. The translator, however, has freely and clearly made the first two stitches into one single thought of the gift of water to be given to those walking in the desert (τοῖς πορευομένοις ἐν ἀνύδρῳ). By doing so, as Jean Coste correctly observes, "le grec a introduit l'idée de la marche dans le désert."<sup>10</sup> It is possible, as some scholars have thought that, by translating τοῖς πορευομένοις for וְנֹזְלִים, our translator may have made a confusion by reading נֹזֶל instead of נֹזֵל as an unfamiliar term not only to him, but also to the translators of the Torah (Exod 15:8; Num 24:7; Deut 32:2).<sup>11</sup> Be that as it may, one should note that the passage under scrutiny (read within its unit of Isa 44:1–7) is one of the seven passages in LXX Isaiah (i.e., 44:6; 47:4; 48:17; 49:7, 26; 54:5, 8) where the translator uses the participle aorist ῥυσάμενος specially to present the return from exile as a new Exodus promised.<sup>12</sup> Given this insight, the introduced translator's idea of "people walking in a dry land" (mentioned above) should be understood as a description of what was to take place in this new Exodus in view.

According to our translator, "those walking in the desert" are described as "the beloved" (ὁ ἡγαπημένος) Israel (v. 2). His rendering of ὁ ἡγαπημένος (for יִשְׂרָאֵל) is part of the Septuagint way of asserting the election of the Jewish nation (see also LXX Deut 32:15; 33:5, 26).<sup>13</sup> A striking thought worth recording here is that the perception of the Septuagint translators, as far as their use of ὁ ἡγαπημένος is concerned, fits the immediate context of each text in speaking of God's particular care for Israel (see the use of ὁ ἡγαπημένος in LXX Ps 29[28]:6) from the time of his original choice (Isa 44:1–2; cf. Deut 32:8–14) as well as the divine love shown in the exodus account.

It is to the offspring of this Jewish community as ὁ ἡγαπημένος (the beloved), now thirsty in Alexandria that the Lord as their God (v. 2) promises the outpouring of his Spirit (see "ἐπιθήσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου" in Isa 44:3b). Via all his translation's manoeuvres (noted above), including his

10. Coste, "Texte Grec d'Isaïe xxv, 1–5," 58.

11. Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias*, ATA 12.3 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934), 126; Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation*, 108.

12. Philippe Le Moigne, "'C'est moi qui établis la lumière et fis l'obscurité, qui fais la paix et fonde les malheurs': Théologie du choix des thèmes verbaux des participes (présent vs aoriste) se rapportant à Dieu, dans la Septante d'Ésaïe," in *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives*, ed. Arie van der Kooij and Michaël N. van der Meer, CBET 55 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 71–106 (90–100).

13. William Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians: Twelve Biblical and Historical Studies* (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 266.



rendition of the Hebrew verb יצק, which occurs twice (in v. 3), into two different Greek verbs (δῶσω and ἐπιθήσω), our translator has made the gift of water and the outpouring of the Spirit as two future redemption manifestations that the thirsty (and yet still described as the elected) Jewish community will simultaneously benefit at the time of new Exodus (see LXX Isa 48:21–22; also 11:1–8 and 32:2). Before leaving this passage, it is worth observing the link established by our translator, just as he did so in the previous passage (i.e., 25:4–5), between the notion of thirst and the gift of the spirit. The union of these two glosses (spirit-water) seems to indicate that we are here in the presence of a very important idea to the translator.<sup>14</sup>

### 3.3. LXX Isa 57:15–16

| MT                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | LXX                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 15 כי כה אמר רם ונשא שכן עד וקדוש<br>שמו מרום וקדוש אשכון ואת־דבא<br>ושפ־ל־רוח להחיות רוח שפלים ולהחיות<br>לב נדבאים                                                                                                                                                                | 15 Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ ὑψιστος ὁ ἐν<br>ὕψηλοις κατοικῶν τὸν αἰῶνα, Ἅγιος ἐν<br>ἁγίῳ ὄνομα αὐτῷ, κύριος ὕψιστος ἐν<br>ἁγίῳ ἀναπαυόμενος καὶ ὀλιγοψύχοις<br>διδούς μακροθυμίαν καὶ διδούς ζωὴν<br>τοῖς συντετριμμένοις τὴν καρδίαν                                                      |
| 16 כי לא לעולם אריב ולא לנצח אקצוף<br>כ־ירוּח מלפני יעטוף ונשמות אני עשיתי                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 16 Οὐκ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐκδικήσω ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ<br>διὰ παντὸς ὀργισθήσομαι ὑμῖν πνεῦμα<br>γὰρ παρ’ ἐμοῦ ἐξελεύσεται, καὶ πνοὴν<br>πᾶσαν ἐγὼ ἐποίησα.                                                                                                                                          |
| 15 For thus says the high and lofty<br>one who inhabits eternity, whose<br>name is Holy: I dwell in the high<br>and holy place, and also with those<br>who are contrite and humble in<br>spirit, to revive the spirit of the<br>humble, and to revive the heart of<br>the contrite. | 15 This is what the Lord says, the Most<br>High, who dwells forever in lofty<br>places—Holy among the holy ones is<br>his name, the Lord Most High who<br>rests among the holy ones and gives<br>patience to the faint-hearted and<br>gives life to those who are broken of<br>heart; |
| 16 For I will not contend forever, nor<br>will I always be angry; for then the<br>spirit would grow faint before me,<br>even the souls that I have made.                                                                                                                            | 16 I will not punish you forever, nor will<br>I always be angry with you, for a<br>Spirit shall go forth from me, and I<br>have made every breath.                                                                                                                                    |

Moving from LXX Isa 44:3–4, we come to LXX Isa 57:15–16. This passage seems also to reinforce the discovery made so far from our study. In its Hebrew form, as far as verse 16 is concerned, as David Baer correctly observes, we read that “God promises that his anger will not last forever. If it did, human suffering

14. So Coste, “Texte Grec d’Isaïe xxv, 1–5,” 58–59.

would prove terminal rather than redemptive.”<sup>15</sup> Baer also goes on to say that, “the Hebrew expression [in this verse] is difficult, but nearly all scholars agree that the רוּחַ in question is the human spirit, which grows faint.”<sup>16</sup> The Isaiah translator, however, after speaking of the Lord (in v.15) as the one who gives patience to the faint-hearted/discouraged (ὀλιγοψύχοις διδοὺς μακροθυμίαν) and life to those who are broken-hearted (διδούς ζωὴν τοῖς συντετριμμένοις τὴν καρδίαν), puts on his mouth (in v. 16) the following significant words: “I will not punish you [ὕμᾱς] forever, nor will I always be angry with you [ὕμῖν], for πνεῦμα ... παρ’ ἐμοῦ ἐξελεύσεται καὶ πνοὴν πᾶσαν ἐγὼ ἐποίησα.” In other words, the translator here seems to regard πνεῦμα, not as understood in its Hebrew counterpart where רוּחַ is seen as “the spirit” detained in weakness before God, but rather as God’s spirit or at least that of a divine being who goes out from the Lord’s presence.<sup>17</sup> In this way, our translator, as William Horbury rightly points out, “makes the verse [i.e., v. 16] into a definite oracle of a spirit which ‘shall come forth’ (ἐξελεύσεται) from God.”<sup>18</sup> It has been claimed that the translator rendering of ἐξελεύσεται within its literary context (see also 11:1; 51:4–5; see also LXX Num 24:7) seems to lend support to the possibility that the πνεῦμα spoken of here is messianic.<sup>19</sup> Although one may argue that this rendition does not necessarily compel such interpretation, this suggestive thought, however, should not be completely ruled out. For it is worth noting that this verse sixteen of Isa 57 (including its use of πνεῦμα) has been interpreted messianically in postbiblical literature.<sup>20</sup> Given this idea, what is still surprising with our translator in his dealing with the text under scrutiny is that, as with 25:4–5 and 44:3–4 (both texts discussed above), he did not hesitate to count the outpouring of πνεῦμα among the benefits of the messianic hope promised to the injured and broken-hearted Jewish community in Alexandria, thirsting for redemption.

Thus far, the key point with regard to the concept of πνεῦμα, as far as our translator’s perspective of it is concerned, is that πνεῦμα seems to have been understood, amongst other thoughts pertinent to it that could be detected in its use elsewhere within the entire corpus of LXX Isaiah, as the life-giving phenomenon for the Alexandrian Jews (and their coreligionist in Palestine). Upon their return in Zion (far away from their painful diaspora in Egypt), they shall bless (εὐλογῇ) the Lord their God, invoking him as πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπων ἀδικουμένων (breath for ill-treated men) (25:3–4). By attributing πνεῦμα to the

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15. David A. Baer, *When We All Go Home: Translation and Theology in LXX Isaiah* 56–66, JSOTSup 318 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 103.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 103–5.

18. William Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London: SCM Press, 1998), 101.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., 191–92 (n. 131).

Lord himself, LXX Isaiah seems not only to have lent the word a new dimension within the messianic expectation in early Judaism, but also to have played a significant part in the development of its meaning in some subsequent Greek literature, such as the New Testament where one not only hears, for instance, God being described as Spirit (e.g., John 4:24; 1 Cor 15:45), but also can observe our aforementioned detected link between water and the gift of Spirit (John 7:38–39).

#### 3.4. LXX ISA 63:10–14

| MT                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | LXX                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 10 והמה מרו ועצבו את־רוח קדשו ויהפך<br>להם לאויב הוא נלחם־בם                                                                                                                                                          | 10 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἠπειθήσαν καὶ παρώξυναν τὸ<br>πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐστράφη<br>αὐτοῖς εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπολέμησεν<br>αὐτούς                                     |
| 11 ויזכר ימי־עולם משה עמו איה המעלם<br>מים את רעי צאנו<br>איה השם בקרבו את־רוח קדשו                                                                                                                                   | 11 καὶ ἐμνήσθη ἡμερῶν αἰωνίων ὁ<br>ἀναβιβάσας ἐκ τῆς γῆς τὸν ποιμένα<br>τῶν προβάτων ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς ἐν<br>αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον;                              |
| 12 מוליד לימין משה זרוע תפארתו בוקע<br>מים מפניהם לעשות<br>לו שם עולם                                                                                                                                                 | 12 ὁ ἀγαγὼν τῇ δεξιᾷ Μωυσῆν, ὁ<br>βραχίων τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ; κατέσχισεν<br>ὑδῶρ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι<br>αὐτῷ ὄνομα αἰώνιον                                      |
| 13 מוליכם בתהמות כסוס במדבר לא<br>יכשלו                                                                                                                                                                               | 13 ἤγαγεν αὐτούς δια τῆς ἀβύσσου ὡς<br>ἵππον δι' ἐρήμου, καὶ οὐκ ἐκοπίασαν,                                                                                         |
| 14 כבהמה בבקעה תרד רוח יהוה תניחנו<br>כן נהגת עמך לעשות לך שם תפארת                                                                                                                                                   | 14 καὶ ὡς κτήνη διὰ πεδίου. Κατέβη<br>πνεῦμα παρὰ κυρίου καὶ ὠδήγησεν<br>αὐτούς οὕτως ἤγαγες τὸν λαόν σου<br>ποιῆσαι σεαυτῷ ὄνομα δόξης.                            |
| 10 But they rebelled and grieved his<br>holy Spirit; therefore he became<br>their enemy; he himself fought<br>against them.                                                                                           | 10 But they disobeyed, and provoked his<br>holy Spirit: therefore he turned to<br>them in enmity, and he himself<br>warred against them.                            |
| 11 Then he remembered the days of<br>old, of Moses, his people: Where is<br>the one who brought them up out<br>of the sea with the shepherds of his<br>flock? Where is the one who put<br>his holy Spirit within him? | 11 Then the one who brought up from<br>the land the shepherd of the sheep<br>remembered the days of old: Where<br>is the one who put within them his<br>holy Spirit |
| 12 who caused his glorious arm to<br>march at the right hand of Moses,<br>who divided the waters before                                                                                                               | 12 who led Moses with his right hand?<br>Where is his glorious arm? He<br>overcame the water from before him,                                                       |

|    |                                                                                                                                                 |    |                                                                                                                                                  |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|    | them to make for himself an everlasting name,                                                                                                   |    | to make himself an everlasting name                                                                                                              |
| 13 | who led them through the depths? Like a horse in the desert, they did not stumble.                                                              | 13 | He led them through the deep like a horse through the wilderness, and they did not become weary,                                                 |
| 14 | Like cattle that go down into the valley, the Spirit of the Lord gave him rest. Thus you led your people, to make for yourself a glorious name. | 14 | and as cattle through a plain. A spirit came down from the Lord and guided them. Thus you led your people, to make for yourself a glorious name. |

This last passage to be analyzed in support, to some extent, of the proposal put forward in this study that some of the translator's various exegetical manoeuvres in his rendition of *πνεῦμα* (for רוח) served for the benefit of the injured Jewish community in Alexandria is the only text in Isaiah where the phrase "Holy Spirit" (see *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* for רוח קדש) occurs (see LXX Ps 50[51]:13[11]). Besides this phrase that appears twice in it, the passage also contains *πνεῦμα* without the adjective *ἅγιον* (see v. 14). There are many important discrepancies between the Hebrew and Greek text of this passage that would require a great deal of scholarship,<sup>21</sup> which is unfortunately not possible to pursue here due to the restriction of our scope and purpose of the study.

Given this constraint, we must now focus only on the concept of *πνεῦμα* as found in it. First and foremost, this passage is a recollection of the Exodus narrative (see LXX Isa 63:7a). In this text, the most intriguing cases among the three appearances of *πνεῦμα* are found in verse 11 and verse 14. In verse 11, after reducing the role of Moses to that of a shepherd only,<sup>22</sup> the Isaiah translator then speaks of the Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) being put *not exclusively* on him (i.e., Moses for the leadership of Israel) as read in MT *but* on the whole Jewish community. A possible reason which may have been behind the translator's shift of emphasis on the Spirit's recipient from his source text is that, in this new Exodus in view (which can be discerned by means of the translator's use of the participle aorist<sup>23</sup> ὁ ἀγαγών in v. 12), as Philippe Le Moigne correctly observes, "Moses is dead and there is nothing he can do for Israel. But the Lord is still alive, today as

21. Le Moigne, "'C'est moi qui établis la lumière et fis l'obscurité,'" 95–96, has a helpful discussion on vv. 11–12 of this passage.

22. Ibid., 96.

23. In LXX Isaiah, it can be observed that the use of participle aorist in passages with exodus tone serves both as reminder of the first Exodus and as a firm promise of the second one (see, e.g., LXX Isa 43:16–17; 48:17, 20–21; 49:25–26; 63:10–14).

yesterday and he acts for his people as he has always done.”<sup>24</sup> Through his translation manoeuvres, our translator makes the text not only to insist on the idea that the Lord himself (see LXX Isa 63:8–9) will intervene in favour of Israel, but also to speak of πνεῦμα as a gift that was bestowed and to be endowed yet again (see *θείς* in participle aorist) by Him (i.e., the Lord) upon them all and for their benefit as well.

The above idea related to πνεῦμα becomes even more obvious in verse 14. Here, our translator rendered *רוח יהוה* as “the anarthrous πνεῦμα παρὰ κυρίου”<sup>25</sup> (cf. Vulg. and Syriac); thus leaving any reader with the impression that the translator has seen the descent (*תרד*) imagery not as a movement of the beast going down into a valley and finding rest there, but rather as an activity of a commissioned spirit from the Lord (see *κατέβη* having πνεῦμα as its subject, rather than “beast” as in MT). The mission of this divine agent is detected via the connective conjunction *καί* (without any Hebrew counterpart). Regardless of the precise manoeuvres involved in the process of his translation, what seems to be clear from our translator in his dealing with this verse is that he refers to πνεῦμα as a divine instrument that led the Israelites in the past, thus making the whole pericope to speak of πνεῦμα consistently as a vital gift exclusively for the benefit of all, but not as in MT where at one moment it is for Moses *only* as the national hero upon whom the Lord “put his holy *רוח*” (vv. 11–12) and at another one for the Israelites (v. 10 and v. 14). This πνεῦμα perceived as “coming down” from the Lord will also certainly complete their liberation action in the new Exodus in view (above mentioned) as expressed in his use of the aorist indicative *ὠδήγησεν* (with πνεῦμα as its subject in v. 14) that is more likely to be understood as a proleptic (or futurist) aorist (see also his use *ὁ ἀγαγών* in v. 12 noted above). This appears to be in consistency with his view of πνεῦμα as the Lord-given gift for the benefit of all.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

From the study of the four selected texts (LXX Isa 25:4–5; 44:3–4; 57:15–16; and 63:10–14) that intended to investigate the conception of πνεῦμα in the way in which the translator dealt with the topic, this study discovered that through his various exegetical manoeuvres, our translator made πνεῦμα to be associated with the gift of water. This “Spirit-water” imagery was perceived by him as a life-giving phenomenon with a vital function to quench the thirst of both the injured Jewish community from the diaspora and their coreligionist in Zion that is described as a thirsty land. It is in Zion, away from the “wicked” and “ungodly”

24. “Parce que Moïse est mort, et qu’il ne peut plus rien faire pour Israël; Dieu est vivant, aujourd’hui comme hier, et il agit pour son peuple comme il l’a toujours fait”, writes Le Moigne (see “C’est moi qui établis la lumière et fis l’obscurité,” 95–96).

25. Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 197.

men, that this gift will be bestowed upon them. It is there also that an important figure endowed with *πνεῦμα* for their redemption will appear. When he does, things will be different as the thirsty land will be transformed into a place full of water (see LXX Isa 25:4–5; 44:3; 57:16; cf. 32:2).

Besides the “Spirit-water” metaphor (noted above), another important outcome of this study is that of detecting the personification of *πνεῦμα* via the translator’s attribution of *πνεῦμα* to the Lord God himself. This image of the Lord God as *πνεῦμα* is profound. It seems to echo a classical statement on the nature of God expressed in the Hellenistic period. It bears, along with both the “Spirit-water” picture (25:4–5; 44:3–4; 57:15–16 noted above) and the language of “coming down” of (the) spirit from the Lord (as detected in 63:10–14), significant overtones in the later development of the meaning of *πνεῦμα* in both early Judaism and early Christianity.

One of the implications of this study within the framework of ongoing research on this important Jewish theological text of LXX Isaiah is that it could reasonably be said that the “Spirit-water” imagery, which was also perceived as a vital thread running throughout the book, should lend significant support not only for the unity of this piece of literature, but also against a growing skeptical opinion among some scholars concerning the commonly held view that considers its compositional aspect as the labour of a single translator.

A final important element that needs to be pointed out is to restate to some degree what Coste said at the end of his study of LXX Isa 25:1–5 that the meaning of any text of the Septuagint cannot be grasped at first contact. It requires an extremely diligent and careful work. It is only by comparing the philological work of its version and the original version itself can any student of this text identify significant words and various nuances which bear the *personal stamp* of the translator.<sup>26</sup> This has been attested in this study of the Isaiah translator’s perception of *πνεῦμα* from a sample of only a few texts from a significant number of his rendering of *πνεῦμα* (for רוּחַ) and will continue to be so for any further investigation of any concept (in the Greek Bible in general, and) in the whole of the LXX Isaiah in particular, including either his other strange lexical choices for רוּחַ or his addition of *πνεῦμα* in a few passages as noted in the introductory of part of this study.

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26. Coste, “Texte Grec d’Isaïe xxv, 1–5,” 65–66.

# Truths Translated: Notes on LXX Isaiah 2:6–21

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**Abstract:** In this article, I analyze the subtle differences between the Septuagint and the Masoretic Text of Isa 2:6–21. The differences are explained both in relation the Hebrew *Vorlage* and in light of the historical context of the Septuagint. Sometimes, the inconsistencies of the Septuagint reflect social conflicts, whether political or familial. The use of ἀλλοφυλός in LXX Isa 2:6, for example, could be polemical, and the translational inconsistencies in LXX Isa 2:13 could be the result of a feud between priestly families. I will argue that the peculiar translation of Isa 2:11 is due to the translator's perception of the MT. The translation of וְשָׁפַל into καὶ πεσεῖται in Isa 2:17 can best be explained in light of contemporary politics. Scrutinising a small passage, I attempt to reconstruct the complex linguistic, contextual, and ideological process behind the Septuagint: exegesis.

## 1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Past research in LXX Isa 2:6–21 has mainly focused on the problematic relation between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint. This focus is due to the large number of text critical problems in MT Isa 2. In 1892, Bernhard Duhm wrote about this text: “Dies Stück ist das schlechtest erhaltene des ganzen Buches.”<sup>2</sup> There is, however, more to this passage than just a perplexing *Vorlage*. Arie van der Kooij has argued repeatedly that the Septuagint of Isaiah is not only a translation but also a literary composition in its own right.<sup>3</sup> The peculiar renditions

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1. I would like to thank Dr M. N. van der Meer for his encouragement and support.

2. Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, HKAT 3.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892), 39.

3. E.g. Arie van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision*, VTSup 71 (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

in Isa 2 can be analyzed both with reference to the Masoretic Text and in light of their new literary context, the Septuagint. In this article, I will present a close reading of LXX Isa 2:6–21 that will pay attention to both of these aspects. Some of the more interesting renditions in Isa 2:6, 10, 11, 13 and 17 will be compared both to the Masoretic Text and to one another.<sup>4</sup> By paying special attention to the relation and the coherence between the individual renditions, I aim to reveal something of the translator's linguistic, contextual, and ideological exegesis.

## 2. VERSE 6

- MT כִּי נָטַשְׁתָּה עַמֶּךָ בֵּית יַעֲקֹב כִּי מָלְאוּ מְקֹדֶם וְעֹנְנִים כִּפְּלִשְׁתִּים וּבִלְדֵי נְכָרִים יִשְׁפְּקוּ:<sup>5</sup>
- NRSV For you have forsaken the ways of your people, O house of Jacob. Indeed they are full of diviners from the east and of soothsayers like the Philistines, and they clasp hands<sup>6</sup> with foreigners.
- LXX ἀνῆκε γὰρ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι ἐνεπλήσθη ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς<sup>7</sup> ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν κληδονισμῶν ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ τέκνα πολλὰ ἀλλόφυλα ἐγενήθη αὐτοῖς.
- NETS For he has abandoned his people, the house of Israel, because their country, like that of the *allophytes*, was filled with divinations as it had been at the beginning, and many *allophyte* children were born to them.

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4. See Takumitsu Muraoka, "Translation Techniques and Beyond," in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint: Proceedings of the IOSCS Congress in Helsinki 1999*, ed. Raija Sollamo and Seppo Sipilä, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 82; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 13–22, esp. 22.

5. In the mediaeval manuscript Kennicott 96, a first scribe wrote עָמִי, a second scribes erased the *yod* and added a final *kaph*; codex Reuchlinianus reads ישראל instead of יַעֲקֹב; Kennicott 96 omits מְקֹדֶם, while Kennicott 93 adds אֶרֶץ in the margin. Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Book of Isaiah*, The Hebrew University Bible Project (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1995), ad loc.

6. The NRSV apparently interprets this phrase economically, following Wildberger. He translated: "und mit fremden Gesindel klatschen sie in die Hände." This interpretation implies the reading וּבִלְדֵי instead of וּבִלְדֵי. Hans Wildberger, *Jesaja: Das Buch, der Prophet und seine Botschaft*, 3 vols., BKAT 10 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1972–1982), 1:91, 99; see also George Buchanan Gray and Arthur Samuel Peake, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah I: Introduction and Commentary on I–XXVII*, ICC (Edinburgh: Clark, 1912), 49, 52–54, 57–59.

7. The geographical expression "from the east" (מְקֹדֶם) is translated into the temporal expression "at the beginning" (ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς). This seems odd, but the addition of the comparative particle ὡς, the addition of the article το, and the translation of קֶדֶם into ἀρχῆς are common features in Num 9:11; Josh 24:2; Isa 45:21; 63:19; Zech 12:7; see also Tob 7:11.



Seven problems arise in the relation between Hebrew and Greek texts of Isa 2:6. (1) The second person singular “you have forsaken” is translated into the third person singular “he has abandoned.” (2) Similarly, the second person singular “your people” is translated into the third person singular “his people.” (3) The vocative<sup>8</sup> “O house of Jacob” is translated into the accusative “the house of Israel.” (4) “Their country” is inserted. (5) “And of soothsayers” (ועננים) is translated into “divinations,” κληδονισμῶν. (6) The article ἡ is inserted. (7) The enigmatic Hebrew phrase שפיקו נברים ובילדי נברים is translated into καὶ τέκνα πολλὰ ἀλλόφυλα ἐγενήθη αὐτοῖς.

It is possible to explain the grammatical differences from the alleged inaccuracy of LXX Isaiah. According to Isaac Seeligmann, the translator was not very fastidious about his grammar: “With this we come to a characteristic trait in our translator; he often sacrifices grammatical accuracy to his own stylistic text-formulation. He deals pretty arbitrarily with gender and mood of the verb, with person and number.”<sup>9</sup> The translator was, however, neither incapable nor indifferent to grammatical precision. In the translation of the third person instead of the second person, the translator transforms the Hebrew plea into a Greek argument.<sup>10</sup> This argument no longer involves the reader but God’s actions with regard to Israel.

In contrast to the Hebrew verb שט, “to give up,” the Greek verb ἀνίημι has a more positive meaning. In contemporary papyri, ἀνίημι is an agricultural, technical word for “to leave fallow, uncultivated.”<sup>11</sup> Through minor alterations and insertions, the translator transforms the message of verse 6. What is the subject of this message? In MT Isa 2:6a, “the house of Jacob” is the implicit subject of the verb “they are full” (מלאו). But the translator inserts a different subject, “their land” (ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν), a subject that has no counterpart in the MT. The possessive pronoun “their” (αὐτῶν) later in verse 6, refers to “the house of Israel.” In the Greek text, the subject shifts from the *people* of the house of Jacob to the *land* of Israel.<sup>12</sup> The article ἡ (2:6b), ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν (2:7), and ἡ γῆ

8. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 1:92–93.

9. Isaac L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 56.

10. Takumitsu Muraoka, “Isaiah 2 in the Septuagint,” in *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michaël N. van der Meer et al., VTSup 138 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 317–40, esp. 324.

11. Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias*, ATA 12.3 (Münster: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934), 180; see Exod 23:11; Isa 5:6.

12. Codex Venetus, Lucianic manuscripts 46 and 233, catenae 301, 403, and 534, the Syrohexaplaric translation, Justinus and Eusebius read ιακωβ instead of Ισραηλ. Joseph Ziegler, *Isaias*, Septuaginta 14 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), ad loc.; see also Keunjoo Kim, “Theology and Identity of the Egyptian Jewish Diaspora in Septuagint of Isaiah” (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 2009), 26 n. 3.

(2:8) all refer back to “their country” in verse 6b. Therefore, this web of alterations and additions is essential to the development of the argument in LXX Isa 2:6.

The translation of וַנִּינִים into the genitive κληδονισμῶν is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, the *waw* is not translated. In the Masoretic Text, a direct object to the verb מלא is missing.<sup>13</sup> Consequently, scholars have suggested several emendations.<sup>14</sup> In the Septuagint, however, the omission of the *waw* enables “divinations” to function as a direct object to “was filled with” (ἐνεπλήσθη), which takes the genitive. Secondly, the word κληδονισμός conveys a relation to LXX Deuteronomy, where the rare words κληδονιζόμενος and κληδόνων occur (18:10, 14).<sup>15</sup> Since Deut 18 explicitly prohibits the consultation of diviners, the translator probably had this text in mind while translating Isa 2:6.

The translation of the phrase καὶ τέκνα πολλὰ ἀλλόφυλα ἐγενήθη αὐτοῖς has a significant parallel in Hos 5:7.<sup>16</sup> Here, the Hebrew כִּי בָנִים זָרִים יָדוּ is translated into ὅτι τέκνα ἀλλότρια ἐγεννήθησαν αὐτοῖς. Whether or not LXX Isa 2:6 is an anaphoric, harmonizing translation depends on the dating of the Septuagint of the Minor Prophets. It is, however, likely that the translation of Isaiah preceded the translation of the Minor Prophets.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, our translator is probably just trying to make sense of a puzzling Hebrew text. For the verb שִׁפֵּק poses a problem to ancient and modern translators alike.<sup>18</sup> It seems our translator regarded שִׁפֵּק as a parallel to מלא in 2:6–8, “to be rich, abundant.”<sup>19</sup>

In the same phrase, both פְּלִשְׁתִּים and נִכְרִים are inconsistently translated into ἀλλόφυλοι, “foreigners.” With the exception of the Pentateuch and Judges, where פְּלִשְׁתִּים is transcribed into Φυλιστιειμ, פְּלִשְׁתִּים is usually translated into “foreigners.”<sup>20</sup> However, the translation of נִכְרִים into ἀλλοφυλός is peculiar to

13. Targum Jonathan reads אתמליאת ארעהון.

14. E.g., קסמי מקדם, Duhm, *Buch*, 40; מקסם מקדם, Otto Kaiser, *Der Prophet Jesaja: Kapitell 1–12*, ATD 17 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 1963), 24; קסמים מקדם, Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 1:93; מעקדים, D. W. Thomas, “A Lost Hebrew Word in Isa 2:6,” *JTS* 13 (1963): 323–24; see also Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, “קִדָּע,” *HALOT* 1:873; כשפים (cf. Mic 5:1), Joseph Blenkinsopp, “Fragments of Ancient Exegesis in an Isaian Poem (Jes 2 6–22),” *ZAW* 93 (1981): 51–62, esp. 52; idem, *Isaiah 1–39*, AB 19 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 193; H. G. M. Williamson, *Commentary on Isaiah 1–5*, vol. 1 of *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 1–27*, ICC (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 190–95.

15. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 107.

16. “Ebenso wird die Wiedergabe der Stelle Js 2,6 von Os 5,7 LXX abhängig sein.” Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 104–5.

17. Cécile Dogniez, “L’indépendance du traducteur grec d’Isaïe par rapport au Dodekapropheton,” in *Isaiah in Context*, 229–60.

18. Kaiser, *Prophet*, 24; Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 1:91, 93, 99; Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 192–94.

19. See 1 Kgs 20:10; Job 20:22; Eccl 15:18; 39:16; 42:17; Sir 15:18.

20. For other examples in Isaiah, see LXX Isa 11:14; 14:29, 31.

LXX Isaiah. In the other books of the Septuagint, נכר is translated into ἀλλότριος, “stranger.”<sup>21</sup> By repeating the word ἀλλόφυλοι, the translator draws attention to them. But who are they? Seeligmann identified the ἀλλόφυλοι with the pagan peoples in the vicinity of Israel. They adopted a hostile attitude during the persecutions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BCE). For that reason they are called “foreigners” in the translation of Isaiah. Seeligmann used this identification for the establishment of a *terminus post quem* for LXX Isaiah, 140 BCE.<sup>22</sup> One of the most interesting renditions in LXX Isaiah is the translation of פלשתים into Ἑλλήνες, “Greeks,” in Isa 9:11. This observation is essential to Roland De Vaux’s argument. He identified the ἀλλόφυλοι with the population of the coastal cities in Palestine, because these cities were more Hellenized than other cities in Palestine, according to De Vaux.<sup>23</sup> Daniel R. Schwartz stated that Ἑλλήνες did not necessarily refer to Greeks or Hellenes in particular, but rather to pagans in general.<sup>24</sup> Whether ἀλλοφυλός in LXX Isa 2:6 denotes political opponents, Hellenized Palestinians or pagans in general, the heightened sense of polemic between the Jews and the ἀλλόφυλοι is evident in the Greek of Isa 2:6.<sup>25</sup>

### 3. VERSE 10

MT

בוא בצֹר וְהִטְמֵן בְּעֶפֶר מִפְּנֵי פַחַד יְהוָה וּמִהֲדָר גְּאֻנּוֹ:<sup>26</sup>

NRSV Enter into the rock, and hide in the dust from the terror of the Lord, and from the glory of his majesty.

21. Rodrigo de Sousa, “The Land is Full of Foreign Children: Language and Ideology in LXX Isa. 2.6,” in *Studies on the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon*, ed. Geoffrey Kahn and Diana Lipton, VTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 181–96, esp. 189.

22. Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 87.

23. Roland De Vaux, “Les Philistins dans la Septante,” in *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch: Beiträge zur Septuaginta: Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler*, ed. Josef Schreiner, FB 1 (Würzburg: Echter, 1972), 185–94, esp. 191–93.

24. Daniel R. Schwartz, “‘Judaean’ or ‘Jew’? How Should We Translate Ioudaios in Josephus?” in *Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Jörg Frey, Daniel R. Schwartz, and Stephanie Gripenrot, ANEC 71 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 3–27, esp. 15–17; contra Steve Mason, “Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History,” *JSJ* 38 (2007): 457–512.

25. The polemical meaning of ἀλλοφυλός may have its original background in the description of war. See Anselm C. Hagedorn, “Looking at Foreigners in Biblical and Greek Prophecy,” *VT* 57 (2007): 432–48; van der Kooij’s contribution to this volume.

26. Isa 2:9b–10 is missing in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>. Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (London: SCM, 1994), 163; Marvin Alan Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4 and the Post-exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition*, BZAW 171 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), 141.

LXX καὶ νῦν εἰσέλθετε εἰς τὰς πέτρας καὶ κρύπτεσθε εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ φόβου κυρίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ὅταν ἀναστῇ θραῦσαι τὴν γῆν.

NETS And now enter into the rocks, and hide in the earth from before the fear of the Lord and from the glory of his strength when he rises to crush the earth.

(1) The Septuagint inserts “and now.” (2) The infinitives בוא and והטמן are translated into the plural imperatives εἰσέλθετε and κρύπτεσθε. (3) The phrase “when he rises to crush the earth” (ὅταν ἀναστῇ θραῦσαι τὴν γῆν) has no equivalent in the MT.<sup>27</sup>

The collocation καὶ νῦν occurs five times in LXX Isaiah.<sup>28</sup> It has no Hebrew counterpart in only three instances (2:5, 10; 40:8). According to Philippe Le Moigne, the function of “and now” in 2:10 is both conjunctive and disjunctive. It is conjunctive, because the passage is still about the humiliation of man. It is disjunctive, since the discourse shifts from the past to the present.<sup>29</sup> According to Le Moigne and van der Kooij, “now” retains its temporal function in the collocation καὶ νῦν.<sup>30</sup> Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs stresses, however, the rhetorical function of “and now.” According to her, the function of the compound καὶ νῦν is emphatic, that is, it invigorates the imperatives in 2:5, 10.<sup>31</sup>

The opinions of Le Moigne and van der Vorm-Croughs are not mutually exclusive. What if the collocation καὶ νῦν has both a temporal and a rhetorical function in its present context? Through καὶ νῦν, the translator stresses the imperatives *and* points towards a certain period of time. The answer to the question when this will occur, is elucidated by another inserted temporal particle, “when” (ὅταν). The phrase “when he rises to crush the earth” is an addition. In 2:19, 21 this exact same phrase is a translation of the Hebrew “when he rises to terrify the earth” (בקומו לערץ הארץ). Therefore, some scholars suggested the translator’s *Vorlage* also read “when he rises to terrify the

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27. Codex Vaticanus, codex Marchalianus, and hexaplaric manuscript 88 and the Syrohexapla omit ὅταν ἀναστῇ θραῦσαι τὴν γῆν in accordance with MT. Contrary to MT, however, the phrase בקומו לערץ הארץ is also attested in Kennicott 96. Ziegler, *Isaiah*, ad loc.; Goshen-Gottstein, *Book of Isaiah*, ad loc.

28. LXX Isa 2:5, 10; 26:11 (אף); 40:28; 51:13 (י).

29. 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, 2001), 328–34.

30. Arie van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of Isaiah and the Hebrew Text of Isa 2:22 and 36:7,” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich*, ed. Peter W. Flint, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam, VTSup 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 377–86, esp. 381–82.

31. Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses*, SCS 61 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 93–94.

earth.”<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, in light of the harmonizing tendency of LXX Isaiah, the absence of this phrase from the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>), and the relation between the temporal particles *καὶ νῦν* and *ἔταν*, the Greek phrase *ἔταν ἀναστῆθαι θραῦσαι τὴν γῆν* is probably an addition.

#### 4. VERSE 11

MT עֵינֵי גְבוּהוֹת אָדָם שָׁפָל וְשׁוּחַ רוּם אָנָשִׁים וְנִשְׁגָּב יְהוָה לְבָדּוֹ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא:

NRSV The haughty eyes of people shall be brought low, and the pride of everyone shall be humbled; and the Lord alone will be exalted on that day.

LXX οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ὑψηλοί, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ταπεινός· καὶ ταπεινωθήσεται τὸ ὕψος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὑψωθήσεται<sup>33</sup> κύριος μόνος ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.

NETS For the eyes of the Lord are lofty, but man is lowly, and the loftiness of men shall be brought low, and the Lord alone will be exalted in that day.

(1) The Greek text of Isa 2:11 consists of four phrases instead of the *tricolon* of the Hebrew text.<sup>34</sup> In the MT, the plural subject “the haughty eyes of people” (עֵינֵי גְבוּהוֹת אָדָם) and the singular verb שָׁפָל are incongruent. Parallel texts in Isa 2:17 and 5:15 are of little help, since they offer different readings of a similar text. Whereas 2:17 has two singular subjects (רוּם אָנָשִׁים and גְבוּהוֹת הָאָדָם), 5:15 has a plural verb (תִּשְׁפַּלְנָה). Similarly, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 2:11 reads a plural verb (תִּשְׁפַּלְנָה). The precise intertextual relation between 2:11, 17, and 5:15 is the subject of an ongoing debate. H. G. M. Williamson suggested that the grammatical incongruence in 2:11 led the translator to render the text in the way he did: “Indeed, it may have been precisely the apparent grammatical difficulty in MT which led him to divide the first part of the verse into separate clauses.”<sup>35</sup>

(2) The Septuagint inserts “the Lord.” Four possible solutions to this problem have been offered. The first two solutions focus on the orthography of the second *yod* in עֵינֵי. (a) Joseph Ziegler and Seeligmann suggested the translator read עֵינֵי as

32. Duhm, *Buch*, 41; Gray and Peake, *Isaiah*, 55, 59; Kaiser, *Prophet*, 25.

33. “G Is 2, 11, qui traduit le nifal par ὑψωθήσεται suffit à prouver la bonne connaissance de la rac. Il en résulte qu’en 9, 10, G devait être capable de discerner le sens réel de H. S’il a dérogé, c’est en raison de son herménétique du passage.” Jean Koenig, *L’herméneutique analogique du judaïsme antique d’après les témoins textuels d’Isaïe*, VTSup 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 98 n. 26.

34. Here, the particle *δέ* has an adversative meaning. John Dewar Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1934), 165; Le Moigne, “Livre d’Ésaïe,” 361–63; van der Vorm-Croughs, *Old Greek of Isaiah*, 88.

35. Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 197.

an abbreviation of *עיני יהוה*, “the eyes of the lord.”<sup>36</sup> (b) Le Moigne proposed that the translator read *עינו*, “his eyes,” instead of *עיני*. The confusion between *waw* and *yod* is one of the most characteristic traits of the Great Isaiah Scroll. The translator must have thought the third person singular suffix referred to God.<sup>37</sup> (c) The third solution is a change of vocalization. By reading *גְבוּהוֹת* instead of *גְבוּהוֹת*, the substantive is transformed into an adjective. The feminine plural adjective *גְבוּהוֹת* is congruent with *עֵינִים*.<sup>38</sup> This solution explains neither the incongruence between the plural subject and the singular verb nor why the adjective breaks the construct chain. Consequently, this solution obscures rather than elucidates the relation between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint. (d) The fourth solution concentrates on the poetic structure of Isa 2:11. Through the insertion of *κρυπτός*, the translator created a contrast between God and man (cf. 2:17). Takumitsu Muraoka suggested that the translator’s poetic concern was the *cause* of the difference between the Hebrew and Greek versions.<sup>39</sup>

Another clue to the mystery of LXX Isa 2:11 might be the translator’s perception of the Hebrew word “lofty,” *גְבוּהוֹת*, for *גְבוּהוֹת* occurs only twice in the Old Testament (Isa 2:11, 17). The word gained the negative meaning of “pride” in Targumic Aramaic and Middle Hebrew.<sup>40</sup> But in the Damascus Document<sup>a</sup>, “the everlasting heights” (*גְבוּהוֹת עוֹלָם*; 4QD<sup>a</sup> I, 15) denote the ancestral tradition, justice and truth.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, according to our translator, *גְבוּהוֹת* must have had a positive meaning. In 2:11, *גְבוּהוֹת* is applied to God, and in 2:17, it is not translated. Why? The contents of 2:17 are decisively negative and therefore incompatible with the translator’s positive perception of the word *גְבוּהוֹת*.

## 5. VERSE 13

MT ועל כל־אֲרָזֵי הַלְבָּנוֹן הָרָמִים וְהַנִּשְׂאִים וְעַל כָּל־אֲלֻזֵּי הַבָּשָׁן:

NRSV against all the cedars of Lebanon, lofty and lifted up; and against all the oaks of Bashan;

36. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 61; Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 65–66.

37. Le Moigne, “Livre d’Ésaïe,” 292–93.

38. Goshen-Gottstein, *Book of Isaiah*, ad loc.

39. Muraoka, “Isaiah 2,” 331.

40. HALOT 1:171.

41. “When «the scoffer» arose, who poured out over Israel waters of lies and made them stray into a wilderness without path, causing the everlasting heights to sink down, diverging from tracks of justice and removing the boundary with which the forefathers had marked their inheritance,” 4QD<sup>a</sup> I, 14–16; trans. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1:552–53; cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7 II, 8; 4QH<sup>e</sup> 1, 7.

LXX καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν κέδρον τοῦ Λιβάνου τῶν ὑψηλῶν καὶ μετεώρων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν δένδρον βαλάνου Βασαν

NETS both against every cedar of Lebanon, of them that are lofty and high, and against every acorn tree of Basan,

The differences between MT and LXX Isa 2:13 are very subtle. (1) The plural “the cedars of Lebanon” (אֲרָזֵי הַלְבָּנוֹן) is translated into the singular “cedar of Lebanon” (κέδρον τοῦ Λιβάνου). (2) “Lofty and lifted up” (הַרְמִים וְהַנְשָׂאִים) is translated into the genitive τῶν ὑψηλῶν καὶ μετεώρων. A straightforward translation, or so it would seem. In the MT the plural adjectives refer back to the plural “cedars.” But, as we have seen, this is translated into the singular “cedar.” Thus, the translator renders the substantive and the adjectives incongruently. The grammatical forms of ὑψηλῶν and μετεώρων are most likely masculine plural. Ergo, the translator interprets *personally* (cf. Isa 10:33–34, see below).<sup>42</sup> The NETS quite aptly translates: “of *them* that are lofty and high.”

MT Isa 10:33–34 is remarkably similar to Isa 2:13. Both the vocabulary and the theme of 10:33–34 are comparable to Isa 2:9–17. The words שָׁפַל, גָּבַהּ, רָם, לְבָנוֹן, and נָפַל occur in both passages. The theme of the humiliation of men and the theme of the fall of the trees are reminiscent of Isa 2:13. Hermann Barth even suggested Isa 10:27b–32, 33b–34 was a reinterpretation of 2:9–17.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, it would be interesting to compare LXX Isa 10:33–34 (1) to the MT and (2) to LXX Isa 2:13.

MT הִנֵּה הָאֵדוֹן יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת מִסְעָף פֶּאֶרָה בְּמַעְרָצָהּ<sup>44</sup> וְרָמֵי הַקֹּזֶמָה גְּדוּעִים וְהַגְּבִהִים יִשְׁפָּלוּ:  
וְנִקְףָּ סִבְכֵי הַיַּעַר בְּבִרְזֵל וְהַלְבָּנוֹן בְּאֵדִיר יְפוֹל:

NRSV Look, the Sovereign, the Lord of hosts, will lop the boughs with terrifying power; the tallest trees will be cut down, and the lofty will be brought low. He will hack down the thickets of the forest with an axe, and Lebanon with its majestic trees will fall.

LXX ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης κύριος σαβαωθ συνταράσσει τοὺς ἐνδόξους μετὰ ἰσχύος, καὶ οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τῇ ὕβρει συντριβήσονται, καὶ οἱ ὑψηλοὶ<sup>45</sup> ταπεινωθήσονται, καὶ πεσοῦνται οἱ ὑψηλοὶ μαχαίρα, ὁ δὲ Λίβανος σὺν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς πεσεῖται.

42. Joaquim Carreira Marcelino Das Neves, *A Teologia da Tradução Grega dos Setenta no Livro de Isaías (Cap. 24 de Isaías)* (Lisbao: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1973), 276–77, 292–93; cf. Isa 5:14, 17; 10:19, 33–34; 24:13; 28:1, 29; 33:8; 41:16.

43. Hermann Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit: Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesajaüberlieferung*, WMANT 48 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1977), 75.

44. The BHS suggests במעצה, “tool, axe, knife,” instead of במערצה (see Isa 44:12; Jer 10:3). BHS, ad loc.

NETS For behold, the Sovereign, the Lord Sabaoth, will mightily confound the glorious ones, and the lofty will be crushed in their insolence, and the lofty will be brought low. And the lofty will fall by dagger, and Lebanon will fall with its lofty ones.

(1) The *hapax legomenon* “the boughs” (פארה) is translated into “the glorious ones” (οἱ ἔνδοξοι). “The tallest trees” (רמי הקומה), “the lofty” (הגבהים), “the thickets of the forest” (סבכי היער) and “majestic [trees]” (באדיר<sup>46</sup>) are consistently translated into “the lofty” (οἱ ὑψηλοί). The meaning of אדיר is unclear in its present context. Some scholars proposed that אדיר is parallel to ברול and should therefore have a similar meaning.<sup>47</sup> It seems, however, that אדיר refers to trees in Isa 10:34. Firstly, the poetic structure of the bicolon in Isa 10:34 seems to be chiasmic rather than synthetic. If the verb ונקף is parallel to יפול, then אדיר is parallel to סבכי היער. Secondly, the adjective אדיר occasionally refers to trees (Ezek 17:23; Zech 11:2). Thirdly, the Syriac word ʾadrā actually means “oak.”<sup>48</sup> Therefore, the adjective אדיר in Isa 10:34 probably refers to trees. It appears that the translator was aware of this sense, because he translates all the references to trees—including אדיר—into “the lofty” (οἱ ὑψηλοί).

(2) As we have seen, LXX Isa 2:13 is a personal translation. The translation of פארה into οἱ ἔνδοξοι and the translation of רמי הקומה, הגבהים, סבכי היער, and אדיר into οἱ ὑψηλοί are examples of the same tendency in LXX Isaiah. According to Ziegler, Isa 10:33–34 has been “völlig beseitigt und persönlich gedeutet” in the Greek translation.<sup>49</sup> MT Isa 10:33–34 is adorned with metaphors, but the Septuagint conveys the message more directly. This translational tendency raises the question whether the translator had a particular group in mind. Who were the translator’s enemies?

Whereas MT Isa 2:13 and 10:33–34 oppose the Assyrians,<sup>50</sup> the Septuagint criticises the ὑψηλοί and the ἔνδοξοι.<sup>51</sup> Joaquim Carreira Marcelino Das Neves

45. Some manuscripts (46, 233, 403) and Theodoret of Cyrus read οἱ μετέωροι instead of οἱ ὑψηλοί.

46. The NRSV seems to imply the reading באדיריו instead of באדיר. See D. L. Christensen, “The March of Conquest in Isaiah X 27 c–34,” *VT* 26 (1976): 385–99, esp. 392; *HALOT* 1:13–14.

47. E.g., קרדון, *BHS*, ad loc.; עדיר, G. Dalman, “Palästinische Wege und die Bedrohung Jerusalems nach Jesaja 10,” *PJ* 12 (1916): 37–57, esp. 57; באדר, N. H. Tur-Sinai, “A Contribution to the Understanding of Isaiah i–xii,” in *Studies in the Bible*, ed. Chaim Rabin, *ScrHier* 8 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1961), 154–88, esp. 186; cf. באיתים, Duhm, *Buch*, 104; ארדיו, E. Robertson, “Some Obscure Passages in Isaiah,” *AJSL* 49 (1933): 313–24, esp. 322.

48. *HALOT* 1:13–14.

49. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 82.

50. Jacques Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe I–XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, EBib, 2 vols. (Paris: Gabalda,



identified the ὑψηλοί and the ἔνδοξοι with the “impious Jews.”<sup>52</sup> According to him, a conflict lingered on between the Egyptian and Jerusalem Jews. The deprived Egyptian Jews accused the Jerusalem elite of abandoning them in favor of wealth.<sup>53</sup> However, van der Kooij argued that the Jewish community behind LXX Isaiah centered around a family of priestly descent.<sup>54</sup> Onias III was forced to relinquish the high priesthood, in favor of his younger brother Jason. Onias IV fled to Egypt, established a Jewish community, and built his own temple in Leontopolis.<sup>55</sup> But neither he nor his adherents gave up the ambition to regain what was once theirs, the high priesthood. From this perspective, the conflict between the Jews of Egypt and Jerusalem was not a conflict about wealth but a dispute between competing priestly families. If the word ὑψηλοί attests to a conflict within second-century Judaism—as Das Neves suggested—it could either be a conflict between classes or a dispute between families.<sup>56</sup>

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1977–1978), 1:266–68; Ronald Ernest Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1980), 120–21; see Isa 37:24. Or is Isa 10:33–34 directed against the Judaeans? Kaiser, *Prophet*, 251; Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 1:427. Nielsen suggested Isa 10:33–34 was originally directed against the Assyrian king, and 11:1 was inserted later to promulgate the reign of a messianic king. Kirsten Nielsen, *There is Hope for a Tree*, trans. Christine and Frederick Crowley, JSOTSup 65 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), 123–40, esp. 136.

51. Das Neves, *Teologia*, 90–93.

52. “In conclusion, the concept of ὑψηλόν refers to the human arrogance of the impious Jews. It is, however, a complex concept, that appears in a metaphorical way in vv. 2, 13, 14, 15, concerning the ‘height’ of fortresses. In ch. 2 as a whole, God turns against the impious in general and against the arrogant Jews in particular (cf. vv. 6–12; 17–22).” Das Neves, *Teologia*, 128 (my translation).

53. *Ibid.*, 78, 94, 121, 267.

54. Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, OBO 35 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 33–65; Josephus actually describes Onias IV as “one of the high priests in Jerusalem” (εἷς τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀρχιερέων). Josephus, *B.J.*, 7.423.

55. Josephus, *B.J.*, 1.33; 7.420–32; *A.J.*, 12.388; 13.63, 67, 70, 72, 285; 14.131–32; 20.233.

56. Arie van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of Isaiah,” in *Laws, Prophets, and Wisdom: On the Provenance of Translators and Their Books in the Septuagint Version*, by Johann Cook and Arie van der Kooij, CBET 68 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 63–85.

## 6. VERSE 17

MT וְשַׁח גְּבוּהוֹת הָאָדָם<sup>57</sup> וְשָׁפַל רוּם אֲנָשִׁים וְנִשְׁגַּב יְהוָה לְבָדּוֹ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא:

NRSV The haughtiness of people shall be humbled, and the pride of everyone shall be brought low; and the Lord alone will be exalted on that day.

LXX καὶ ταπεινωθήσεται πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πεσεῖται ὕψος ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὑψωθήσεται κύριος μόνος ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.<sup>58</sup>

NETS And every person shall be humbled, and the loftiness of men shall fall, and the Lord alone will be exalted on that day.

(1) גְּבוּהוֹת has no equivalent in the Greek translation. The omission of גְּבוּהוֹת is due to the translator's positive perception of the word, and the negative message of 2:17 (cf. 2:11). In his classic formulation of the translational liberty of the Septuagint of Isaiah, Ziegler argued that the translator occasionally left out words or phrases when they did not suit his interpretation:

“Zugleich werden wir sehen, daß der Js-Übers. nicht ängstlich darauf bedacht ist, seine Vorlage genau, Wort für Wort wiederzugeben; er macht sich kein Gewissen daraus, schwere, seltene Wörter einfach auszulassen, wenn dadurch der Sinn des Satzes nicht gestört wird.... Oftmals scheint er von irgendeinem Gedanken beherrscht zu sein und übersetzt dann unter dem Einfluß dieses Gedankens die betreffenden Stellen.”<sup>59</sup>

(2) “The man” (הָאָדָם) is translated into “every man” (πᾶς ἄνθρωπος). The addition of “every” is due to the frequent occurrence of πᾶς (כָּל) in the direct context.<sup>60</sup> Through this translation, the text gains a more general meaning and validity.

(3) The Hebrew expression “and he shall be humbled” (וְשָׁפַל) is translated into “and he fell” (καὶ πεσεῖται). It is possible to explain the peculiar rendition καὶ πεσεῖται by means of the reading וְנָפַל, “and he fell,” instead of וְשָׁפַל. The reconstruction of one letter, a *nun* instead of a *shin*, could clarify the reading of

57. A Kennicott MS has אָדָם instead of הָאָדָם. Goshen-Gottstein, *Book of Isaiah*, ad loc.

58. Codices 301, 407, 410, 538 and Cyril's lemmata omit πᾶς ἄνθρωπος; codices 301 and 407 omit καὶ πεσεῖται; codex Vaticanus, codices 301, 407, 410 and 538 read ὕβρις instead of ὕψος; a large number of codices read τὸ ὕψος τῶν ἀνθρώπων; codex 377 omits the phrase καὶ ὑψωθήσεται κύριος μόνος ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ. Ziegler, *Isaias*, ad loc.

59. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 7–8.

60. Ibid., 58; van der Vorm-Croughs, *Old Greek of Isaiah*, 71-2; see Isa 4:5; 19:7; 25:8; 29:7; 40:4, 15, 16, 26; 41:11; 46:10; 49:9, 11; 58:6.

the Septuagint. Nevertheless, *καὶ πεσεῖται* could also be a political alteration. This hypothesis is supported by four arguments. Firstly, confusion between the *shin* and the *nun* is very rare.<sup>61</sup> Secondly, the Greek verb *πίπτειν* has a much broader meaning than the Hebrew verb *נָפַל*. Occasionally the Greek verb may denote a military defeat.<sup>62</sup> Thirdly, the verb occurs in Isa 14:12. The Hebrew text of Isa 14 recounts the fall of the king of Babylon, whereas the Greek translation refers to Antiochus IV, according to Seeligmann and van der Kooij. Hence, the verb *ἐξέπεσεν* (*נָפַל*) in 14:12 could also refer to Antiochus.<sup>63</sup> Fourthly, LXX Daniel and 1 Maccabees use analogous phrases to allude (directly or indirectly) to the defeat of Antiochus IV. The parallel expressions *καὶ πεσοῦνται τραυματίαι πολλοί* in LXX Dan 11:26 and *καὶ ἔπεσον τραυματίαι πολλοί* in 1 Macc 1:18 speak of the second military expedition of the Syrian army to Egypt. This military expedition ended in a humiliating rebuke by the Roman diplomat Gaius Popilius Laenas.<sup>64</sup> Hahnhart dated these texts shortly after the retreat of the Syrian army and shortly before the sacking of the Jerusalem temple in 167 BCE.<sup>65</sup> Hence, the translation of *וַשְׁפֹּל* into *καὶ πεσεῖται* might be a conscious alteration.<sup>66</sup>

## 7. CONCLUSION

The individual renditions in LXX Isa 2:6–21 are closely related to one another. In 2:6, the shift from the second to the third person transforms the text into an argument. The translator emphasizes the role of the *ἀλλόφυλοι*. In 2:10, the insertions of the collocation *καὶ νῦν* and the phrase *ὅταν ἀναστῇ θραῦσαι τὴν γῆν*

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61. Kennicott 93, a thirteenth century manuscript, offers an ostensible exception to this rule. In Isa 10:33–34, this manuscript reads *πεσοῦνται* for the Hebrew *וַשְׁפֹּל*, instead of *ταπεινωθήσονται, καὶ πεσοῦνται οἱ ὑψηλοί*. At first sight, the similarities between Isa 2:9–17 and 10:33–34 make this reading an interesting case. But on second thought, a *homoioteleuton* is a better explanation of this divergent reading.

62. LSJ 1406–7; see Thucydides, 2.89.7; Herodotus, *Hist.*, 7.18; 8.16.

63. Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 84; van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 33–65; see Ronald L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah*, JSJSup 124 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 209–34.

64. Cicero, *Phil.* 8.23; Livy, *Ab urbe cond.* 45.12; Polybius, *Hist.* 29.27.

65. Robert Hahnhart, “Die Übersetzungstechnik der Septuaginta als Interpretation: Daniel 11:29 und die Ägyptenzüge des Antiochus Epiphanes,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta und zum hellenistischen Judentum*, ed. Reinhard Gregor Kratz, FAT 24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 80–94.

66. For a similar interpretation, see L. Monsengwo-Pasinya, “Deux textes messianiques de la Septante: Gn 49,10 et Ez 21,32,” *Bib* 61 (1980): 357–76, esp. 368–73. Monsengwo-Pasinya argued that *ἐταπεινώσας τὸ ὑψηλὸν καὶ τὸ ταπεινὸν ὑψώσας* ( *הַשְׁפִּיל הַשְׁפִּיל הַגְבָּה וְהִגְבָּה* ) in LXX Ezek 21:31 referred to the fall of Zedekiah into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar.

point towards the same period of time. In 2:13 and in 10:33–34, the Septuagint consistently translates metaphors personally. This translational tendency probably testifies to a conflict within second-century Judaism. The peculiar translation “for the eyes of the Lord are lofty” in 2:11 and the omission of גְּבוּהוֹת in 2:17 are probably both due to the translator’s perception of the rare Hebrew word גְּבוּהוֹת. The translation of וְשָׁפַל into καὶ πεσέῃται is not the result of a misreading or a different *Vorlage*, but could be the consequence of the translator’s political interpretation. The translator created a new and coherent prophecy through interconnected alterations. A prophecy—to quote William Shakespeare—“to truths translated, and for true things deem’d” (Sonnet 96).

# Dodekapropheton Quotations in Matthew's Gospel

Gert J. Steyn

**Abstract:** This study intends to briefly investigate the text form of each of the ten explicit quotations from the Twelve Prophets (12P) in Matthew's gospel. The first four form an *inclusion* with a quote from Micah and two quotations from Hosea in the centre. The next three quotations form an *inclusion* with two quotations from Malachi and a quote from Jonah in the centre. The last three quotations are from Zechariah. Three of the ten quotations belong to the Markan material, one to Q material, and the remaining six are situated in *Sondergut Matthäus* material—three of which are fulfilment quotations.

The situation regarding the text form of the 12P quotations in Matthew is rather complex and most of the 12P quotations differ substantially from the extant witnesses of the passages quoted. This investigation assesses the text-critical data in order to establish whether there is evidence of alternative text forms that might support or coincide with the Matthean readings. After all ten cases have been analyzed, it is concluded that Matthew follows Mark closely with the 12P in his Markan material. But in the single 12P quotation from the Q material, Matthew is closer to Micah than to Luke. However, none of the three 12P fulfilment quotations agree with the existing or extant LXX text forms. In fact, they display closer alignment towards the known Hebrew texts. Does this perhaps point to an alternative *Vorlage* or a testimonium collection? The contribution ends with some interesting trends that were observed in Matthew's *modus operandi* when quoting from the 12P.

Given the prominence of the Torah in the writings of Philo of Alexandria,<sup>1</sup> a contemporary of Paul, it is noteworthy that Philo never quotes from the Twelve

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1. More than 80 percent of the quotations by Philo of Alexandria were taken from the Pentateuch.

Prophets (12P) except twice from Hos 14:9<sup>2</sup> and once from Zech 6:11.<sup>3</sup> He refers in those introductory formulae only to a “prophet” in a generic sense and never explicitly mentions their names. The situation is somewhat different amongst the New Testament writers when it comes to the citation of the 12P.<sup>4</sup> From approximately thirty-two occurrences in the New Testament, explicit quotations from the 12P are largely to be found in Paul’s Letter to the Romans (six times), Matthew’s Gospel (ten times), Luke-Acts (six times), and the Johannine literature (six times).

# 1. SEQUENCE AND DISTRIBUTION OF 12P QUOTATIONS IN MATTHEW’S GOSPEL

This study intends to focus only on Matthew’s gospel and to briefly investigate *the text form of each of the ten explicit quotations from the 12P contained in Matthew*. These 12P quotations were taken from five books: Hosea (twice), Jonah (once), Micah (twice), Zechariah<sup>5</sup> (three times), and Malachi (twice). The sequence and distribution of the 12P quotations are quite interesting. The number ten firstly draws attention—although it might likely be mere coincidence. But it certainly is striking that the first four 12P quotations form an *inclusio* that starts and ends with a quote from Micah and has two quotations from Hosea in the centre. The next three quotations form an *inclusio* with two quotations from Malachi and that has a quote from Jonah in the centre. The last three quotations are from Zechariah. But there are no clues from the introductory formulae—such as those of the fulfilment quotations—that the 12P quotations in Matthew’s gospel might go back to a precompiled list of passages. They are scattered amongst Matthew’s source material and at least four of these were taken from his known literary sources. Three of these form part of the Markan material, which contains two quotations from Malachi and one from Zechariah. The fourth quotation (from Micah) belongs to Q material. The remaining six quotations are situated in *Sondergut Matthäus* material (SMt)—three of which

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2. (1) “Your fruit has been found from me: who is wise and will understand these things? Who is prudent and will know them?” (*Mut.* 139); (2) “Fruit from me has been found by you. What wise man will understand this? Will any intelligent person comprehend it?” (*Plant.* 138). (Translations of Philo from C. D. Yonge, *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged* [Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995]).

3. “Behold, a man whose name is the East!” (*Conf.* 62).

4. Philo also quotes from Hosea and Zechariah, and Paul in turn, from Hosea and Malachi.

5. For a discussion of the Zechariah quotations in Matthew, see John Nolland, “The King as Shepherd: The Role of Deutero-Zechariah in Matthew,” in *The Gospel of Matthew*, vol. 2 of *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels*, ed. Thomas R. Hatina (London: T&T Clark, 2008) 133–46; Clay A. Ham, *The Coming King and the Rejected Shepherd: Matthew’s Reading of Zechariah’s Messianic Hope*, NT Monographs 4 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005), 20–47, 69–83.

are fulfilment quotations (FQ). The following table presents an overview of the situation:

| Matthew                          | 12P quote                   | Material   | Theme                                |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| Matt 2:6                         | Mic 5:1, 3 +<br>2 Kgdms 5:2 | SMt        | The messiah as ἡγούμενος and ποιμήν  |
| Matt 2:15                        | Hos 11:1                    | SMt-FQ     | Jesus as υἱός—called from Egypt      |
| Matt 9:13; 12:7                  | Hos 6:6                     | SMt        | Son of Man requires ἔλεος vs. θυσίαν |
| Matt 10:35–36<br>(// Luke 12:53) | Mic 7:6                     | Q material | Nature of the Christian community    |
| Matt 11:10<br>(// Mark 1:2)      | Exod 23:20 +<br>Mal 3:1     | Mark/Philo | A messenger preparing the way        |
| Matt 12:40                       | Jonah 2:1<br>(1:17)         | SMt        | Son of Man three days buried         |
| Matt 17:10<br>(// Mark 9:11)     | Mal 3:23                    | Mark       | Son of Man like Elijah               |
| Matt 21:5<br>(// John 12:15)     | Zech 9:9 +<br>Isa 62:11     | SMt + FQ   | Jesus as βασιλεύς                    |
| Matt 26:31<br>(// Mark 14:27)    | Zech 13:7                   | Mark       | Jesus as ποιμήν                      |
| Matt 27:9                        | Zech 11:13 +<br>Jer 32:6–9  | SMt + FQ   | Israel's price set on Jesus          |

As can be observed from the table above, at least four of the 12P quotations in Matthew's gospel seem to be composite or conflated quotations—three of which belong to the *Sondergut Matthäus* material and one which probably goes back in the Jewish tradition via Mark's composite version ultimately to a quote from Exod 23:20 by Philo of Alexandria. As will become clear from the comparative analyses below, most of the 12P quotations differ substantially from the extant witnesses of the passages quoted. The situation regarding the text form of the 12P quotations in Matthew is thus rather complex and several questions arise: Why were only these specific five 12P used? Were these quotations taken from a so-called *Testimoniensammlung*, from other early Jewish and early Christian traditions, or from Matthew's own first hand engagement with his Scriptures? Or were those in the *Sondergut Matthäus* material simply quoted from memory—if the introductory formula of the last of these 12P quotations ascribes it to Jeremiah when it in fact actually seems to have been taken from Zechariah? Even more important for this study: can we identify an early text form of the LXX that underlies these quotations?

Our investigation will attempt to collect and screen the text-critical data in order to establish whether there is evidence of alternative text forms that might support or coincide with the Matthean readings. Extant witnesses of the Dead Sea scrolls (DSS) and LXX will be surveyed here.

2. DODEKAPROPHETON QUOTATIONS IN THE MARKAN MATERIAL (12P<sup>Mk</sup>)

The first and third 12P quotations in this section are introduced in Mark's gospel with an introductory formula that uses *γέγραπται*—a formula that is followed by Matthew also when he quotes these two quotations. The text form of all three these 12P quotations in Matthew are virtually identical to that of Mark, with both Matthew and Mark deviating from the text form of the 12P.

## 2.1. CASE 1: MAL 3:1 (+ EXOD 23:20) IN MATT 11:10 (MARK 1:2); A MESSENGER PREPARING THE WAY

In Hellenistic Judaism, Philo of Alexandria already quoted Exod 23:20 in his works (*Agr.* 51; *Migr.* 174)<sup>6</sup> with the motif of a messenger who prepares the way. The text form between the two Philonic passages is not identical, and some differences occur in *Agr.* 51 when compared to *Migr.* 174, which in turn is virtually identical with the LXX version of Exod 23:20. These differences are the inclusion of *ἐγώ εἰμι*, the absence of the definite article *τόν* before *ἄγγελόν*, *εἰς πρόσωπόν* instead of *πρὸ προσώπου*, and *τοῦ φυλάξαι* instead of *ἵνα φυλάξῃ*. This in itself poses some questions regarding Philo's intratextual *Vorlage*—a discussion which will not be pursued here.

Philo, *Agr.* 51

ἰδοὺ ἐγώ εἰμι, ἀποστέλλω ἄγγελόν μου  
εἰς πρόσωπόν σου τοῦ φυλάξαι σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ

Philo, *Migr.* 174

χρησμός γάρ ἐστιν  
ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου  
πρὸ προσώπου σου, ἵνα φυλάξῃ σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ,  
ὅπως εἰσαγάγῃ σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἡτοίμασά  
σοι. πρόσεχε αὐτῷ καὶ εἰσάκουε αὐτοῦ, μὴ  
ἀπείθῃ αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ὑποστείλῃται σε· τὸ  
γὰρ ὄνομά μου ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ

Noteworthy (in the context of *Agr.* 50–51) is the motif of a shepherd, which is not only attributed to kings and wise men, but is also “justly being attributed” to God with reference to the author of the Psalms who has drawn this conclusion, according to Philo, as a “prophet.” Philo explicitly refers to the imagery of Ps 23 and the value of studying the song from which he deduces that God is “like a shepherd and a king” (ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ βασιλεὺς θεός) who “appointed his first-born son” (λόγον καὶ πρωτόγονον υἱόν) as “immediate superintendent” over his creation and as “the lieutenant of the great king”—upon which Philo then quotes Exod 23:20.

6. The references were identified by Craig L. Blomberg, *Matthew*, NAC 22 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2002), 39.



The same reference to Exod 23:20 appears the first time in early Christianity in Mark 1:2 where it is combined with Mal 3:1.<sup>7</sup> Hereafter the combination of Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1<sup>8</sup> surfaces again as an explicit quotation in Matt 11:10<sup>9</sup> and in Luke 7:26–28. Allusions to Mal 3:1 occur, in turn, in Matt 11:3, Luke 1:17, and Rev 22:16.

| Mal 3:1                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Exod 23:20                                                                                                                                                                  | Mark 1:2                                                                                                                                                          | Matt 11:10                                                                                                                                                                                |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ἰδοὺ <u>ἐγὼ</u><br>ἐξαποστέλλω<br>τὸν ἄγγελόν μου,<br><u>καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται</u><br><u>ὁδὸν</u><br>πρὸ προσώπου μου,<br>καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἥξει εἰς<br>τὸν ναὸν κύριος, ὃν<br>ὕμεῖς ζητεῖτε, καὶ ὁ<br>ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης,<br>ὃν ὕμεῖς θέλετε ἰδοὺ<br>ἔρχεται, λέγει κύριος<br>παντοκράτωρ. | Καὶ<br>ἰδοὺ <u>ἐγὼ</u> ἀποστέλλω<br>τὸν ἄγγελόν μου<br><br>πρὸ προσώπου σου,<br>ἵνα φυλάξῃ σε<br><u>ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ</u> , ὅπως<br>εἰσαγάγῃ σε εἰς τὴν<br>γῆν, ἣν ἡτοίμασά<br>σοι. | Καθὼς<br>γέγραπται ἐν<br>τῷ Ἡσαΐα τῷ<br>προφήτῃ·<br>ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω<br>τὸν ἄγγελόν μου<br><br>πρὸ προσώπου σου,<br><u>ὃς κατασκευάσει</u><br><u>τὴν ὁδὸν σου</u> . | οὗτός ἐστιν περὶ οὗ<br>γέγραπται·<br><br>ἰδοὺ <u>ἐγὼ</u> ἀποστέλλω<br>τὸν ἄγγελόν μου<br><br>πρὸ προσώπου σου,<br><u>ὃς κατασκευάσει</u><br><u>τὴν ὁδὸν σου</u><br><u>ἔμπροσθέν σου</u> . |

Mark's gospel begins with this "composite" quotation, which is a combination by Mark of Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1<sup>10</sup> (and perhaps also Isa 40:3).<sup>11</sup> Mark 1:2

7. Ham stated that "the presence of the same combination of texts in Mk 1.2 complicates any determination of the source of the composite quotation among the various gospel traditions" ("The Minor Prophets in Matthew's Gospel," in *The Minor Prophets in the New Testament*, ed. Maarten J. J. Menken and Steve Moyise, LNTS 377 [London: Bloomsbury, 2009] 39–56, here 49).

8. No extant witnesses of neither Exod 23:20, nor of Mal 3:1, were found amongst the DSS. See David L. Washburn, *A Catalog of Biblical Passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002).

9. Mark Goodacre has drawn attention to the fact that "Q theorists have always struggled with the minor agreements / Mark-Q overlap in this complex" ("Mark, Elijah, the Baptist and Matthew: The Success of the First Intertextual Reading of Mark," in Hatina, *Biblical Interpretation*, 73–84, here 80 n. 18).

10. So also, amongst others, Craig L. Blomberg, "Matthew," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007) 1–110, here 38. Ham, however, reckons that Mal 3:1 "may itself allude to Exod 23.20" (*Minor Prophets*, 49).

11. Steve Moyise, *Jesus and Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 19, 24, 29, 40.

attributes it, however, not to Malachi or Exodus but to Isaiah (some Markan witnesses simply attribute it to “the prophets”). Matthew 11:10<sup>12</sup> largely follows the text form of Mark’s conflated quotation. Craig Blomberg rightly concluded that

the part of Matthew demonstrably relying on Malachi (“who will prepare your way before your face”) does not bear enough verbal similarity to the LXX, and the clause overall is too short to enable us to determine whether the Greek Scriptures were utilized or whether Matthew was translating independently from the Hebrew.<sup>13</sup>

What Matthew presents here differs in some aspects from the Malachi version, in other aspects from both Exodus and Malachi and again in other aspects from Mark’s Gospel.

- Matthew and Mark follow Exodus against Malachi by
  - reading ἀποστέλλω and not ἐξαποστέλλω
  - omitting καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται
  - substituting the μου of πρὸ προσώπου with σου
  - transposing ὁδός (acc. in Mark and Matt; dat. in Exod) after πρὸ προσώπου σου
- Matthew follows Mark against Exodus and Malachi by adding ὃς κατασκευάσει.
  - In the Matthean parallel passage (Matt 3:3) of Mark 1:2, Matthew quoted Isa 40:3. It is striking that a very similar phrase is found twice in Isa 40: ὁμοίωμα κατεσκεύασεν αὐτόν (v. 19) and ὁ κατασκευάσας (v. 28).<sup>14</sup> This is a rare expression in the LXX. Does this mean that Mark’s conflated quotation might actually have been influenced by vocabulary in the broader context of Isa 40? Was such an Isa 40 tradition known to Matthew and might this be the reason why he opted for the quotation from Isa 40:3 in the same context where Mark originally placed his conflated quotation from Exod 23:20 + Mal 3:1?
  - The combination between κατασκευάζειν and ὁδός is also found by Philo when he refers to the “two ways” (δύο εἰσὶν ... ὁδοί) of which one leads “to plain truth, owing to which we have such assertions as (δι’ ἧς κατασκευάζεται), ‘God is not as a man’” (*Somn.* 1.237)—the latter statement being a reference to Num 23:19.

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12. For a discussion on how Matthew understood this passage, see Moyise, *Jesus and Scripture*, 40–41.

13. Blomberg, *Matthew*, 40.

14. See Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003).

- Matthew follows Malachi
  - Matthew omits the explicit reference to Isaiah from Mark's introductory formula—perhaps because he knows it does not belong to Isaiah but rather to Malachi or Exodus or to both.
  - The emphatic first person singular personal pronoun, ἐγώ, of Malachi is present in the third century Washington Papyrus but is lacking in codices Vaticanus, the original of Sinaiticus, and some other LXX witnesses.<sup>15</sup> Whereas Codex Vaticanus also excludes it<sup>16</sup> in the Markan tradition, Sinaiticus in turn includes it<sup>17</sup> in Mark 1:2. Matthew either follows the Malachi tradition or the Markan tradition which included ἐγώ, because the Matthean tradition shows no signs of excluding ἐγώ.
- Particular Matthean adjustments
  - Matthew adds at the end of the quotation emphatically the words ἐμπροσθέν σου, which occurs nowhere amongst the Exodus, Malachi, Philonic or Markan versions of the passage.

Summary: The quotation in Matt 11:10 is a conflated quotation between Mal 3:1 and Exod 23:20—a combination already to be found in Matthew's Markan source (Mark 1:2).<sup>18</sup> The Exodus part already occurred in Philo's works. Matthew largely follows Mark's version, whose *Vorlage* aligns closer to Exod 23:20 than to Mal 3:1. It certainly included ἐγώ as in Philo (*Agr.* 51), LXX Exod 23:20, Mal 3:1, and the Sinaiticus version of Mark 1:2. The inclusion of ὁ κατασκευάσας shows Matthew's dependence on Mark, who was probably influenced by the broader context of Isa 40—hence Mark's reference to Isaiah in his introductory formula as the origin for his quotation. Matthew probably knows that the quotation does not come from Isaiah and omits this reference. The addition of Matthew's ἐμπροσθέν σου is most likely not a remnant of his *Vorlage*. It is nowhere attested in the extant textual tradition and is an editorial addition at the end of the quotation for the sake of emphasis.<sup>19</sup>

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15. See the following LXX witnesses: C'-68-239 CoSyh Eus.dem.et.ecl Cyr.comm Aug.civ. 18,35.

16. It is also excluded amongst the Markan witnesses by D Θ 28\* 565 2427 l 2211 pc lat co Ir<sup>lat</sup>

17. It is also included amongst the Markan witnesses by A L W J<sup>1,13</sup> 33 ℳ vg<sup>cl</sup> sy<sup>h</sup> sa<sup>ms</sup> bo<sup>ms</sup> Or Eus.

18. Maarten J. J. Menken, however, is of the opinion that this quotation in Matthew was derived from Q (*Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist*, BETL 173 [Leuven: Peeters, 2004] 247–48).

19. According to Ham, "Several interpretative alterations suggest that the citation has the character of an implicit midrash seeking to apply the citation to a current situation" (*Minor Prophets*, 50).

2.2. CASE 2: MAL 3:23 IN MATT 17:10 (MARK 9:11);<sup>20</sup> SON OF MAN LIKE ELIJAH

The text of Mal 3:14–24 was found amongst the DSS in 4Q76 (4QXII<sup>a</sup>).<sup>21</sup> There are, however, no differences between 4Q76 and the Masoretic Text (MT), and both versions are identical. To be noted here are possible differences between the Hebrew versions, on the one hand, and those of the LXX, on the other hand, which might be of relevance to the two phrases quoted by Mark and Matthew in this case under investigation. It should thus be noted that the Hebrew הנביא had been translated with τὸν Θεσβίτην and not with προφηγῆς in the LXX. Furthermore, the Hebrew plurals אבות בנים were translated with the singulars πατρός and υἱόν in their first occurrence here in LXX Mal 3:24. In their second occurrence, however, in the Hebrew phrase ולב בנים על-אבותם (“and the hearts of sons/children to their fathers”) the LXX presents a completely different translation when reading: καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ (“and the heart of a man towards his neighbor”).

Mal 3:23–24 (LXX 4:4–5)  
καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω  
ὑμῖν Ἡλίαν τὸν Θεσβίτην  
πρὶν ἔλθειν ἡμέραν κυρίου  
τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ,  
ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν  
πατρός πρὸς υἱόν καὶ καρδίαν  
ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον  
αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἔλθω καὶ πατάξω  
τὴν γῆν ἄρδην.

Mark 9:11  
ὅτι λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς  
ὅτι Ἡλίαν δεῖ ἔλθειν  
πρῶτον,  
12 ὁ δὲ ἔφη αὐτοῖς  
Ἡλίας μὲν ἔλθων πρῶτον  
ἀποκαθιστάνει πάντα.

Matt 17:10–11  
οἱ γραμματεῖς λέγουσιν ὅτι  
Ἡλίαν δεῖ ἔλθειν πρῶτον,  
11 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν  
Ἡλίας μὲν ἔρχεται καὶ  
ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα.

The phrase ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω in Mal 3:23 is identical to that of Exod 23:20 and (except for ἐξαποστέλλω) to Mal 3:1, which was used in the previous quotation (cf. Matt 11:10).

Mark's “quotation” (sic) differs substantially from the text of Mal 3:23–24. It is presented within the format of a dialogue consisting of a question asked by the disciples about what the scribes wrote concerning the coming of Elijah and an answer given to them by Jesus. Both lines (question and answer) simply *allude* to elements from the Malachi passage without the pretention to explicitly quote from the passage—as can be observed from the absence of a proper

20. This occurrence is generally not listed as a quotation by scholars. See Oskar Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition; Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile*, NovTSup 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1987); J. R. C. Cousland, “Matthew's Earliest Interpreter: Justin Martyr on Matthew's Fulfilment Quotations,” in Hatina, *Biblical Interpretation* 45–60, here 50; and Ham, *Minor Prophets*, 39–56.

21. See Washburn, *Catalog*, 156.

introductory formula, which should have preceded such an explicit quotation, even if it is embedded within a dialogue. This case is thus clearly intended to rather be an *allusion* to the Malachi passage than being an explicit quotation, and it should be treated in this manner.

The question line of Mark's allusion (Ἡλίαν δεῖ ἔλθεῖν πρῶτον) resembles the wording of Mal 3:23 (Ἡλίαν τὸν Θεσβίτην πρὶν ἔλθεῖν), but it differs by including an eschatological δεῖ and interchanging πρὶν ἔλθεῖν with ἔλθεῖν πρῶτον. The main difference, however, is the omission of the LXX τὸν Θεσβίτην (or for that matter the Hebrew הַנְּבִיִּי). This qualification of the *real* Elijah, according to Malachi, does not apply to the *second* eschatological Elijah and is thus omitted by Mark (and Matthew). That the omission should be ascribed to the hands of Mark and Matthew becomes clear from the fact that none of the extant witnesses of either Mark or Matthew attempted an insertion here in the New Testament textual tradition. Matthew thus follows Mark closely here in the structure and wording of the allusion and deviates substantially from Mal 3:23-24. Matthew chose, however, to change Mark's ἔφη to ἀποκριθεὶς. This aligns the dialogue closer to the typical question and answer style of the rabbinic teachers, which, in turn, fits one of Matthew's characteristic profiles of Jesus.

The answer line of Mark's allusion (Ἡλίας μὲν ἔλθων πρῶτον ἀποκαθιστάνει πάντα) differs substantially from the Malachi versions (ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει). The LXX "hearts of fathers to children" and "hearts of people to their neighbors" have simply been summarized with a single πάντα by Mark's (and Matthew's) Jesus. Matthew, although being close again to Mark, substitutes Mark's ἔλθων πρῶτον, which is closer to LXX Malachi's ἔλθεῖν, for ἔρχεται καί. The textual traditions of both Mark and Matthew display, however, several variant readings at a few points in this answer line. These variants are most likely the result of intertextual adaptations amongst the scribes in the textual traditions of Mark and Matthew in order to adapt the wording of the one gospel according to that of the other gospel.

Summary: Matthew 17:10-11 is most likely *not* intended as an explicit quotation but rather as an allusion. Matthew closely follows his Markan source in presenting a dialogue here. Both the question and answer lines of Matthew and Mark's allusion differ from the available Mal 3:23 *Vorlagen* at their disposal. Matthew follows Mark verbatim on the question line but displays some editorial changes to his Markan source on the answer line of the allusion.

## 2.3. CASE 3: ZECH 13:7 IN MATT 26:31 (MARK 14:27); JESUS AS ποιμὴν

*Intertextual Occurrences*<sup>22</sup>

The shepherd motif, which was associated figuratively with God, cultic leaders, and the messiah, was not unknown in the Jewish literature. This became clear from the opening case above in Philo of Alexandria (*Agr.* 50-51) and can be observed also amongst the DSS in the Cairo Geniza Fragment B (CD-B XIX, 7–11), which also quotes Zech 13:7<sup>23</sup>, and in Isa 40:11 (ὡς ποιμὴν ποιμανεῖ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ).

| Zech 13:7                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Mark 14:27                                                                                                                                                          | Matt 26:31                                                                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Ῥομφαία, ἐξεγέρθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας μου καὶ ἐπ' ἄνδρα πολίτην αὐτοῦ, <u>λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας</u> καὶ ἐκσπάσατε τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ ἐπάξω τὴν χεῖρά μου <u>ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας.</u></p> | <p>καὶ <u>λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς</u> ὅτι πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε<sup>†</sup>, <u>ὅτι γέγραπται·πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα,</u> καὶ τὰ πρόβατα <u>διασκορπισθήσονται.</u></p> | <p><u>γέγραπται γάρ· πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης.</u></p> |

The position of this quotation within Mark's context has been clearly illustrated by Emerson Powery: "we first note the ceremonial structure of the passage, including a symbolic (religious) meal (14:22–25), a hymn (14:26), a scriptural passage (14:27), an interpretation (14:27), and a discussion on the interpretation of the scripture (14:28–30)."<sup>24</sup>

- Matthew follows Mark against Zechariah by
  - reading πατάξω and not πατάξατε
  - reading τὸν ποιμένα and not τοὺς ποιμένας in its first occurrence
  - omitting ἐκσπάσατε and adding διασκορπισθήσονται<sup>25</sup>—but transposing it from Mark's position before τὰ πρόβατα. Codex Alexandrinus and some other Markan witnesses<sup>26</sup> follow the same sequence as Matthew
  - omitting καὶ ἐπάξω τὴν χεῖρά μου

22. See Justin, *Dial.* 53.29–30

23. See Blomberg, *Matthew*, 92. The reference is lacking in Washburn, *Catalog*, 155.

24. Emerson B. Powery, *Jesus Reads Scripture: The Function of Jesus' Use of Scripture in the Synoptic Gospels*, BibInt 63 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 77–78.

25. Several Matthean witnesses chose here the third person singular (διασκορπισθήσεται). These include ϣ<sup>37–45</sup> D K W Γ Δ Θ ϣ<sup>1</sup> 565. 579. 1424 *pm*. The reconstructed text of NA27 with the third person plural is followed by ϣ<sup>53</sup> a A B C L 067. 0281 ϣ<sup>13</sup> 33. 700. 892. 1241 *pm*.

26. These include Ψ ϣ<sup>1</sup> 28 lat.

- Matthew follows Zechariah against Mark by reading
  - τῆς ποιμνῆς—similar to Zechariah's ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας

Summary: Matthew again closely follows his Markan source on his quotation in Matt 26:31,<sup>27</sup> but either changes the word order in the latter part of the quotation or still follows a Markan tradition similar to that of Codex Alexandrinus. Matthew's addition of τῆς ποιμνῆς at the end of the quotation might either reflect his first hand knowledge of the Zech 13:7 passage, or it is merely an emphatic addition which refers to the τὸν ποιμένα earlier in the quotation.

### 3. DODEKAPROPHETON QUOTATIONS IN THE Q MATERIAL (12P<sup>Q</sup>)

#### 3.1. CASE 4: MIC 7:6 IN MATT 10:35–36 (LUKE 12:53); NATURE OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

##### *Intertextual Occurrences*

Possible intertextual quotations in pre-Christian Jewish sources do not convince.<sup>28</sup> Micah 7:6 seems to be firstly explicitly quoted in Matt 10:35–36 and Luke 12:53.

The extant LXX versions represent a fairly literal translation of the Hebrew. To be noted especially here is the occurrence of the preposition  $\pi$  which has been twice translated with ἐπὶ and the very literal translation of the last line, which has  $\Psi\aleph\aleph \Psi\aleph$  (ἀνδρὸς—οἱ ἄνδρες).

| Mic 7:6 LXX                                                                                                                                                        | Matthean Q <sup>29</sup>                                                                                                                               | Matt 10:35–36                                                                                                                                                            | Luke 12:53                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>6</sup> διότι υἱὸς<br>ἀτιμάζει<br>πατέρα,<br><u>θυγάτηρ</u><br>ἐπαναστήσεται<br>ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα<br>αὐτῆς, νύμφη<br>ἐπὶ τὴν πενθεράν<br>αὐτῆς,<br>ἐχθροὶ ἀνδρὸς | ἦλθον γὰρ<br>διχάσαι<br><br>υἱὸν κατὰ<br>πατρός<br>καὶ θυγατέρα<br>κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς<br>κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς<br>αὐτῆς καὶ<br>νύμφην<br>κατὰ τῆς<br>ἐχθροὶ τῆς | ἦλθον γὰρ διχάσαι<br>ἄνθρωπον<br>κατὰ τοῦ πατρός<br><u>αὐτοῦ</u><br>καὶ θυγατέρα<br>κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς<br>αὐτῆς καὶ νύμφην<br>κατὰ τῆς πενθερᾶς<br>αὐτῆς,<br>καὶ ἐχθροὶ τοῦ | διαμερισθήσονται<br>πατὴρ ἐπὶ υἱῷ καὶ υἱὸς<br>ἐπὶ πατρί, μήτηρ<br>ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα<br>καὶ <u>θυγάτηρ</u> ἐπὶ τὴν<br>μητέρα,<br>πενθερὰ ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην<br>αὐτῆς<br>καὶ νύμφη ἐπὶ τὴν<br>πενθεράν. |

27. So also Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 221; Ham, *Minor Prophets*, 53.

28. For a list and discussion of possible allusions to this passage, see Blomberg, *Matthew*, 36–37.

29. James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q: Synopsis Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas With English, German, and French Translations of Q and Thomas*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 384.

οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐν τῷ    πενθερᾷς αὐτῆς,    ἀνθρώπου  
οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.    [καὶ ἐχθροὶ τοῦ    οἱ οἰκιακοὶ αὐτοῦ.  
                         ἀνθρώπου  
                         οἱ οἰκιακοὶ  
                         αὐτοῦ]

LXX Micah lists four categories and so does Matthew: son (man)–father, daughter–mother, daughter-in-law–mother-in-law, enemies–household members. Luke, however, lists six categories: the first three groups are repeated, and enemies are left out. The Gospel of Thomas (16:3a), in turn, makes mention of five in a household (“three against two and two against three”), but only explicitly mentions “father against son and son against father” (16:3b). It is hard to tell if Mark 13:12 implies the same passage from Mic 7:6, but it might allude to it. In this case, there are three groups: brother–brother, father–child, children–parents.

- Matthew’s version of this quotation from Mic 7:6 is much closer to the text form of the LXX 12P, but his text substitutes the two ἐπί- constructions of Micah with two κατὰ- constructions, which might probably have been present already in his Q source. He also adds another κατὰ with the first pair at the beginning of his quotation. Then, furthermore, substitutes υἱός at the beginning for ἄνθρωπον and οἱ ἄνδρες at the end for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
- Luke differs more radically from the text form of Mic 7:6. He retains the two ἐπί- constructions but adds four more! He, furthermore, combines θυγάτηρ (Mic 7:6) and θυγατέρα (Matt 10:35) and moves νύμφην from its position earlier in the texts of both Micah and Matthew to the end of the quotation.

Blomberg concludes: “It is difficult to demonstrate dependence exclusively on either the MT or the LXX, but the sense of both is clearly retained.”<sup>30</sup> In this author’s opinion, it might actually be more correct to formulate “demonstrate *direct* dependence” as Matthew probably borrowed this quotation from his Q source.

Summary: Matthew’s version closely resembles the text form of LXX Mic 7:6, but this resemblance is most likely due to the *Vorlage* of his Q source.<sup>31</sup> The preferences for κατὰ and ἄνθρωπος might therefore be the result of Matthew’s Q *Vorlage*. There is insufficient evidence at this point in our investigation to establish whether 12P<sup>Q</sup>, in turn, represents another LXX version.<sup>32</sup>

30. Blomberg, *Matthew*, 37.

31. So also Ham, *Minor Prophets*, 48.

32. Ham agrees: “These variations make difficult any conclusion about the use of a particular version of the Old Testament text” (*Minor Prophets*, 49).



#### 4. DODEKAPROPHETON QUOTATIONS IN THE "FULFILMENT FLORILEGIUM"<sup>33</sup> (12P<sup>SM-T-FF</sup>)

The next three cases belong to the group of so-called "fulfilment quotations" (ff) in Matthew. All three of them contain the basic introductory formula διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος—with some expansions in the first and third cases. They differ from those quotations from Mark which were introduced with γέγραπται as well as with the quotation from Q, which, in turn, was introduced with a simple γάρ. It is fairly well accepted that the fulfilment quotations are pre-Matthean<sup>34</sup> and represent another LXX *Vorlage* than that known to us today.<sup>35</sup>

##### 4.1. CASE 5: HOS 11:1 IN MATT 2:15;<sup>36</sup> JESUS AS υἱός

Hos 11:1<sup>37</sup>

Matt 2:15

ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τῶ τοῦ  
προφήτου λέγοντος

καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ

ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.

This is a very brief quotation from Hos 11:1 in Matt 2:15. There are, nonetheless, three divergences from Hosea:

- Matthew reads ἐκάλεσα instead of Hosea's compound verb μετεκάλεσα;
- Matthew prefers τὸν υἱόν above Hosea's τὰ τέκνα;
- Matthew uses the first person singular pronoun μου instead of Hosea's third person singular pronoun αὐτοῦ.

These alternatives in Matthew align his quotation much closer with the MT than with the LXX,<sup>38</sup> resulting in "a mixed text form less close to the LXX than is the case with references to the Old Testament elsewhere in Matthew."<sup>39</sup>

33. See, for instance, Martin C. Albl, "And Scripture Cannot Be Broken": *The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections*, NovTSup 96 (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

34. Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 21–28: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 2005), 467–68.

35. See the work of Maarten Menken in this regard.

36. See also Sib. Or. 1:419; 3:702; Wis 2:13, 16

37. No extant witnesses of Hos 11:1 were found amongst the DSS. See Washburn, *Catalog*, 142.

38. So also Blomberg (*Matthew*, 7–8) who cautions, however, against the viewpoint of Menken (*Matthew's Bible*, 133–42) that "the quotation is too short to prove literary dependence" on the MT.

39. Ham, *Minor Prophets*, 44.

#### 4.2. CASE 6: ZECH 9:9 (CONFLATED WITH ISA 62:11) IN MATT 21:5 (JOHN 12:15),<sup>40</sup> JESUS AS βασιλεύς

This quotation was dealt with at another occasion when it was compared with the DSS (1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>) and the LXX.<sup>41</sup> It was then concluded that

This is a conflated quotation taken from passages from Isa 62:11 and Zech 9:9. Only the beginning of the quotation in Matt 21:5 shows similarities with the reconstructed Isaiah LXX text form. The last two thirds do not belong to Isaiah but to Zechariah. Neither the Isaiah part nor the Zechariah part of the quotation appears in Mark or Luke. John's gospel, however, provides a paraphrase of the Zechariah section in John 12:15.<sup>42</sup>

An extensive quotation to Zech 9:9 can be found in Sib. Or. 8:324–328<sup>43</sup> “in a section that clearly is a Christian interpolation.”<sup>44</sup> An allusion to Zech 9:9 also occurs in Mark 11:2.

| Zech 9:9                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Isa 62:11                                                                                                                     | Matt 21:5                                                                                                                                                                                     | John 12:15                                                                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Χαῖρε σφόδρα,<br><br>θύγατερ Σιων·<br>κῆρυσε, θύγατερ<br>Ιερουσαλημ<br>ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου<br>ἔρχεται σοι, δίκαιος<br>καὶ σώζων αὐτός,<br>πραῦς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκώς<br>ἐπὶ ὑπόζυγιον καὶ<br>πάλλον <u>νέον</u> . | Εἶπατε<br>τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιων<br>Ἰδοὺ σοι ὁ σωτὴρ<br>παραγίνεται ἔχων<br>τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μισθὸν<br>καὶ τὸ ἔργον πρὸ<br>προσώπου αὐτοῦ. | διὰ τοῦ προφήτου<br>λέγοντος·<br><br>εἶπατε<br>τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιών<br>ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου<br>ἔρχεται σοι<br>πραῦς καὶ<br>ἐπιβεβηκώς ἐπὶ ὄνον<br>καὶ ἐπὶ πάλλον <u>νίδον</u><br><u>ὑπόζυγιον</u> . | καθὼς ἐστιν<br>γεγραμμένον·<br><br>μὴ φοβοῦ,<br>θυγάτηρ Σιών<br>ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου<br>ἔρχεται,<br>καθήμενος<br>ἐπὶ πάλλον ὄνου. |

40. See Justin, *Apol.* 35; *Dial* 53.

41. See Gert J. Steyn, “The Text Form of the Isaiah Quotations in the *Sondergut Matthäus* compared to the Dead Sea Scrolls, Masoretic Text and LXX,” in *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*, ed. Johann Cook and Hermann-Josef Stipp, VTSup 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 427–46, here 444. No extant witnesses of Zech 9:9 were found amongst the DSS.

42. Steyn, “Text Form of the Isaiah Quotations,” 444.

43. “Rejoice, holy daughter Sion, who have suffered much. Your king himself comes in, mounted on a foal, appearing gentle to all so that he may lift our yoke of slavery, hard to bear, which lies on our neck and undo the godless ordinances and constraining bonds” (John J. Collins, “Sibylline Oracles,” in *OTP* 1: 317–472, here 425).

44. Blomberg, *Matthew*, 64. Ham is of the opinion that “its Christian redactor may well know the LXX text of Zech 9.9 from Matthew’s own wording” (*Minor Prophets*, 52).

In the earlier study on this quotation referred to above, it was already observed that “apart from two possible omissions in the latter part of the quotation” (ἐπί and υῖόν), “the Matthean textual tradition shows no alternatives. Furthermore, none of the variant readings in the Isaiah LXX textual tradition supports any part of the last two thirds of the NT quotation.”<sup>45</sup>

But there are a few differences between the LXX and MT texts of Zech 9:9. The LXX changes the Hebrew passive form נושע into active (σώζων); probably reads עָנִי (“afflicted”) as עָנָו (“humble”—πραῦς); and substitutes וְעַל-עֵיִר בֶּן-אֶתְנָנוֹת (“and on a colt, the offspring of a donkey”) for ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον (“a beast of burden and a young foal”<sup>46</sup>).<sup>47</sup> The text form of the quotation in Matthew's version is, in this instance, closer to that of the MT than to the LXX.<sup>48</sup>

Summary: Matthew's quotation in 21:5 is a conflated quotation between Isa 62:11 and Zech 9:9, although it is introduced by Matthew with reference to διὰ τοῦ προφήτου in the singular. The Isaiah section of the quotation agrees verbatim with the available LXX versions. The latter part of the quotation largely agrees with the known versions of Zech 9:9. There is no textual evidence to support a possible *Vorlage* that lacks the phrase δίκαιος καὶ σώζων αὐτός, and its absence in Matthew's version might cautiously be ascribed to his own editorial hand. The fact that the latter part of the conflated quotation is in closer agreement with the MT than with the LXX versions points either to a different *Vorlage* used by Matthew than those from the LXX known to us or to Matthew's knowledge and even perhaps to an independent translation of the Hebrew text.

#### 4.3. CASE 7: ZECH 11:13 IN MATT 27:9; ISRAEL'S PRICE SET ON JESUS

The text of Zech 10:11-11:2 and 12:1-3 survived in fragment 4Q82 (4QXII<sup>g</sup>) amongst the DSS witnesses, but the fragment lacks Zech 11:13<sup>49</sup> and is thus of no value for comparative purposes regarding the quotation from Zech 11:13 in Matt 27:9. Matthew already used verse 12 from Zech 11 in Matt 26:15, which is not under discussion here.

45. Steyn, “Text Form of the Isaiah Quotations,” 444.

46. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 817.

47. Blomberg, *Matthew*, 64.

48. Blomberg, too, reminds that “as frequently happens in his unparalleled fulfillment quotations, Matthew deviates from the LXX at least somewhat in the direction of a more literal translation of the MT” (Blomberg, *Matthew*, 64).

49. Contra Washburn, *Catalog*, 155.

Zech 11:13

<sup>13</sup> καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς με Κάθες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον, καὶ σκέψομαι εἰ δόκιμόν ἐστιν, ὃν τρόπον ἐδοκιμάσθην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. καὶ ἔλαβον τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς καὶ ἐνέβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον.

Matt 27:9

τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ,

Scholars have tried to connect and identify Matthew's reference to Jeremiah,<sup>50</sup> although the quotation itself is closer to MT Zech 11:13. One suggestion is to see a connection with Jer 32:6–9<sup>51</sup> where Jeremiah buys a field and sells it for seventeen shekels of silver. It is then argued that Matthew's quotation is a composite quotation and that he only referred to one of the passages.<sup>52</sup> Another suggestion proposes Jer 19, which offers a “cluster of images that Matthew might be citing.”<sup>53</sup> Whatever the case may be, this quotation in Matthew seems to be a composite quotation of which the first part closely aligns with LXX Zech 11:13. The second part (τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ) is difficult to identify from the LXX and might reflect some echoes or allusions to Jeremiah. However, turning to MT Zech 11:13, it becomes clear that the quotation in Matt 27:9 is eventually closer to the Hebrew text and that Matthew seems to have interchanged the two halves of Zech 11:13.<sup>54</sup>

Summary: The quotation in Matt 27:9 aligns closer with MT Zech 11:13 than with LXX Zech 11:13. However, the “creative combination of citation and allusion makes it difficult to determine whether the evangelist has followed the

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50. So, for instance, Steve Moyise: “Not least that he (i.e. Matthew, *GJS*) attributes the saying to Jeremiah. It would appear that Matthew has considerably reworded Zechariah 11.12–13 and combined it with phrases from Jeremiah 18.2-3 and perhaps also Jeremiah 32.6–15” (*Jesus and Scripture*, 131).

51. Cousland even refers to this as a “joint quotation” (*Matthew's Earliest Interpreter*, 54).

52. A viewpoint mainly supported by commentators such as William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *Commentary on Matthew XIX–XXVII*, vol. 3 of *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 569. See Blomberg, *Matthew*, 95.

53. Supported by scholars such as Ham, *Minor Prophets*, 55; Douglas J. Moo, “Tradition and Old Testament in Matt. 27:3–10,” in *Studies in Midrash and Historiography*, ed. R. T. France and David Wenham, GPBS 3 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 157–75; A. Conrad, “The Fate of Judas: Matthew 27:3–10,” *TJT* 7 [1991]: 158–68, and Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 651. See also Blomberg, *Matthew*, 95.

54. Luz, *Matthew* 21–28, 467–68.

MT or the LXX, although the wording does not agree with the LXX against the MT at any point.”<sup>55</sup>

#### 5. DODEKAPROPHETON QUOTATIONS IN THE *SONDERGUT MATTHÄUS* (12P<sup>SM-T-P</sup>)

The next three cases all belong to material that is only found in Matthew's gospel and are thus situated within the *Sondergut Matthäus*.

##### 5.1. CASE 8: MIC 5:1, 3 (+ 2 KGDMS 5:2) IN MATT 2:6;<sup>56</sup> THE MESSIAH AS ἡγούμενος AND ποιμήν

A Greek text of Mic 5:1–4, which follows the MT, was found amongst the DSS in 8Hev1 (8HevXIIgr).<sup>57</sup>

Mic 5:1 in 8HevXIIgr

Καὶ σύ,  
οἶκος ... ἐ]φραθα,  
ὀλι[γ]οστὸς τοῦ [εἶ]ναι  
ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰουδα  
ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξ[ελεύσε]ται  
τοῦ εἶ[ναι] ἄρχ[ο]ντα  
ἐν τῷ ἱσραήλ

Mic 5:1 in LXX

Καὶ σύ, Βηθλέεμ  
οἶκος τοῦ Εφραθα,  
ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι  
ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰουδα  
ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξελεύσεται  
τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα  
ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ

2 Kgdms 5:2

Σὺ ποιμανεῖς τὸν λαόν  
μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ

Matt 2:6

οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ  
προφήτου  
καὶ σὺ Βηθλέεμ,  
γῆ Ἰούδα,  
οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ  
ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα  
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται  
ἡγούμενος,  
ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου  
τὸν Ἰσραήλ.

This is a rewritten and paraphrased quotation that is substantially different in text form from Mic 5:1. Only the first phrase (καὶ σὺ Βηθλέεμ) and the ending (Ἰσραήλ) mark the parameters of the text from which it is quoted. Two further pointers confirm identification with Mic 5:1 and 3: εἶ ἐν ... Ἰούδα and ἐκ σοῦ ... ἐξελεύσεται.

Although largely following the structure of the two sentences from which Matthew quoted, some changes that he made are interesting. Without listing them all, attention might be drawn firstly to the substitution of ἄρχοντα in Mic 5:1, 3 to ἡγούμενος in Matt 2:6—possibly alluding to the Latin *praefectus* who ruled as governor over a minor Roman province, such as Pilate to whom Jesus was handed

55. Ham, *Minor Prophets*, 55.

56. Cf. Justin, *Apol* 34.1–4; *Dial.* 78.1.

57. See Washburn, *Catalog*, 148.

over later (Matt 27:2).<sup>58</sup> Secondly, Matthew adds the phrase ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου at the end of his quotation, which is “perhaps inspired by the theme of Mic 5:4.”<sup>59</sup> It is striking that this phrase agrees with that of 2 Kgdms 5:2 and that Matthew either consciously conflated the quotation<sup>60</sup> or simply applies familiar biblical language during the process of his quotation.

Without sufficient “verbal parallelism to prove dependence on the LXX,”<sup>61</sup> scholars agreed that the text “is somewhat closer to the MT”<sup>62</sup> and that “the predominant witness is to the Hebrew text.”<sup>63</sup> Several differences between Matthew and the LXX, on the one hand, might actually be explained as being due to Matthew’s hand during the process of his adaptation and application of the LXX quotation within the context of his audience.<sup>64</sup> Some other differences, on the other hand, might be due either to Matthew’s independent translation of the Hebrew<sup>65</sup> or to another LXX *Textvorlage* with closer resemblance to our known Hebrew texts.

## 5.2. CASE 9: HOS 6:6 IN MATT 9:13 AND MATT 12:7; SON OF MAN REQUIRES ἔλεος VERSUS θυσίαν

### *Intertextual Occurrences*

- Hos 6:6 is twice explicitly quoted by Matthew (9:13; 12:7).
- Allusions to the passage are to be found in Sib. Or. 2:80–83<sup>66</sup> and 8:334.<sup>67</sup> It is interesting to note that also the quotation from Zech 9:9 in the fulfillment quotation of Matt 21:5 was present in Sib. Or. 8:324. Despite

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58. See Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, vol. 1 (New York: United Bible Societies, 1996), 481.

59. Blomberg, *Matthew*, 6.

60. Supported by Nolland, *King as Shepherd*, 138; Lidija Novakovic, “Matthew’s Atomistic Use of Scripture: Messianic Interpretation of Isaiah 53.4 in Matthew 8.17,” in Hatina, *Biblical Interpretation*, 147–62, here 161 passim.

61. Blomberg, *Matthew*, 6. See Ham: “The wording of the citation differs from both the MT and the LXX” (*Minor Prophets*, 43).

62. Nolland, *King as Shepherd*, 134.

63. David S. New, *Old Testament Quotations in the Synoptic Gospels, and the Two-Document Hypothesis* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 20.

64. See Blomberg for a discussion and substantiation of several of these divergences (*Matthew*, 6).

65. It is technically not correct when Blomberg (*Matthew*, 7) speaks of an independent translation of “the MT.”

66. “God wants not sacrifice but mercy instead of sacrifice” (Collins, *Sibylline Oracles*, 347).

67. “Since he is imperishable he pays no attention to perishable sacrifices” (Collins, *Sibylline Oracles*, 425).

the fact that these sections belong to a Christian interpolation, it raises an inevitable question about the relation between Matthew and the Sibylline Oracles regarding at least these two quotations, which makes up a *third* of the Matthean quotations when his Markan and Q material is excluded.

- Further New Testament allusions occur in Mark 12:33 and Matt 23:23.

Hos 6:6<sup>68</sup>

διότι ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν  
καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ ἦ  
ὅλοκαυτώματα.

Matt 9:13

πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε τί  
ἐστὶν  
ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν

Matt 12:7

εἰ δὲ ἐγνώκειτε τί ἐστὶν  
ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν,  
οὐκ ἂν κατεδικάσατε  
τοὺς ἀναιτίους.

There are a number of interesting features regarding this quotation.

- Firstly, it is a Matthean doublet and is quoted twice by Matthew at different occasions.
- Secondly, it is not introduced with any of the familiar introductory formulas but presented with similar formulas:
  - “Go and learn what this means” (πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε τί ἐστὶν, Matt 9:13)
  - “But if you had known what this means” (εἰ δὲ ἐγνώκειτε τί ἐστὶν, Matt 12:7)
- Thirdly, it is a very brief quotation which is verbatim quoted and presented as a type of maxim which, in both cases in Matthew “is a literal rendering of the MT, agreeing with the LXX.”<sup>69</sup>
- Fourthly, it is quoted in both instances in Matthew within contexts where Jesus speaks.

### 5.3. CASE 10: JONAH 2:1 IN MATT 12:40;<sup>70</sup> SON OF MAN THREE DAYS BURIED

The text of Jonah 1:15–2:1 was found amongst the DSS in 4Q76 (4QXII<sup>a</sup>) and Jonah 2:1, 4–7 in 8Hev1 (8HevXIIgr). Both versions support the MT.<sup>71</sup> Allusions to Jonah 2:1 also occur in Matt 16:4 and 1 Cor 15:4.

Jonah 2:1 [1:17]

Καὶ προσέταξε κύριος κήτει μεγάλῳ  
καταπιεῖν τὸν Ἰωнан· καὶ ἦν Ἰωνας ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ  
τοῦ κήτους τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας.

Matt 12:40

ὥσπερ γὰρ  
Ἦν Ἰωνᾶς ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους τρεῖς  
ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας,

68. No extant witnesses of Hos 6:6 were found amongst the DSS. See Washburn, *Catalog*, 141.

69. Ham, *Minor Prophets*, 46.

70. “The reference to Jonah 2.1 appears with no introductory formula, but the degree of agreement in wording with the LXX and its rendering of the MT accounts for its recognition as an implicit citation” (Ham, *Minor Prophets*, 51).

71. See Washburn, *Catalog*, 146.

Similar to the previous case, also here Matthew

- strictly stays close to his LXX pretext;
- situates it within the context of a Jesus speech;
- introduces the quotation neither with a form of γέγραπται, nor with λέγοντος, but closer to the Q case of Matt 10:35–36, which used a simple γάρ, here in Matt 12:40 with ὥσπερ γάρ.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Reaching the end of our comparative analysis on the 12P quotations in Matthew, it is now time to revisit our questions posed at the beginning of this study: Why were only these five prophets used? Were these quotations taken from a so-called *Testimoniensammlung*, from other early Jewish and early Christian traditions, or from Matthew's own first hand engagement with his Scriptures? But even more important for this study: can we identify an early text form of the LXX that underlies these quotations?

In order to attempt any answers to these questions, the first thing to do is to distinguish between two categories of explicit 12P quotations in Matthew, namely, those of Matthew's secondary sources Mark and Q (12P<sup>Mk</sup> and 12P<sup>Q</sup>) and those in his *Sondergut* material (12P<sup>SMt</sup>). In the latter group, one should probably again distinguish between 12P quotations that belong to Matthew's "fulfilment florilegium" (12P<sup>SMt-ff</sup>) and the rest of the "proper SMt" quotations (12P<sup>SMt-p</sup>). Seven quotations from the 12P were thus found via Matthew's secondary sources (Mark, Q, and a pre-Matthean "Fulfilment Florilegium"). Quotations from 12P<sup>Mk</sup> and 12P<sup>Q</sup> were copied by Matthew with clear traces of his own editorial involvement. The question remains, however: to what extent did Matthew align these quotations according to his own knowledge of a particular 12P version, being that one in Hebrew or in Greek?

- In the *Markan material* employed for the quotations from Mal 3:1, 3:23, and Zech 13:7, Matthew closely follows Mark. Both Matthew and Mark are distanced from the reading of Mal 3:1 and 3:23. In the case of the quotation of Zech 13:7, however, Matthew is close but different from Mark.
- The *Q material* of Matt 10:35–36 is closer to Mic 7:6 than what Luke 12:53 is, but Luke retains the ἐπὶ of Mic 7:6 rather than using κατὰ as Matthew does.
- None of the three *fulfilment quotations* agree with the existing or extant LXX text forms. In fact, they display closer alignment towards our known Hebrew texts.

The remaining three quotations from 12P<sup>SMt</sup> in the *Sondergut Matthäus material* might display similar trends as those followed by Matthew in his use of his other sources. To put it differently: if Matthew did not slavishly and consistently copy



his Markan and Q sources, would he do so differently in making use of his 12P source(s)? The conflated and paraphrased passage from Mic 5:1, 3 (+ 2 Kgdms 5:2) in Matt 2:6 contains only a number of markers, or key words (*Stichwörter*), with which the connection to its *Vorlagen* can still be made. But the latter two 12P<sup>SMt</sup> cases, that is, Hos 6:6 in Matt 9:13; 12:7, and Jonah 2:1 in Matt 12:40 are identical with the known versions of the LXX. Does this point to Matthew's own reading of (the LXX) 12P scroll? But if this is the case (that he uses this Scripture source in these two cases so slavishly), why not use his other sources then in the same manner?

Some interesting trends can be observed in Matthew's *modus operandi*:

- *Starts literal, then free*: Interesting in Matthew's use of his sources—whether he found the quotations from Mark, Q, the list of fulfilment quotations, or perhaps by himself in a LXX version for his SMt—is that in each instance the quotation starts verbatim or very close to that of his source but proceeds then into a paraphrase or a conflation with another quotation.
- *Substitutions with synonyms*: Matthew substitutes several words and phrases with alternative, but synonymous words and phrases in the quotations that he took from his secondary sources. These alternative terms (e.g., ἀποκριθεὶς [Matt 17:11] for ἔφη [Mark 9:12]; ἄνθρωπον [Matt 10:35] for υἱός [Mic 7:6]; τὸν υἱὸν [Matt 2:15] for τὰ τέκνα [Hos 11:1], πᾶλλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου [Matt 21:5] for πᾶλλον νέον [Zech 9:9], and a number of substitutions in Matt 2:7) will have to be investigated in the rest of Matthew's gospel in order to determine to what extent he prefers this particular terminology, on the one hand, and where else in his source material he might substitute those of his source text(s) for these, on the other hand.
- *Reversed word order*: Another interesting feature could be noticed regarding the order of the elements in the quotations. Despite the fact that Matthew often makes use of composite quotations, he will almost always retain the order of elements in his source texts (following the pattern A–B–C), whereas in other New Testament authors, they often would transpose these elements, starting with the middle part of the section that they quote (e.g., B–A–C, or B–C–A. See, for instance, Paul, Hebrews, and 1 Peter).

Blomberg's apt summary on Matthew's *modus operandi* in the quotation of Matt 2:6 actually applies to the other cases where Matthew quotes from the 12P as well: "Matthew's text form resembles targumic and midrashic approaches that often reproduce some words of the MT verbatim, paraphrase others, insert additional texts, and add interpretive commentary."<sup>72</sup>

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72. Blomberg, *Matthew*, 6.



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