

Lucifer of Cagliari and the Text of 1–2 Kings

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Lucifer of Cagliari and the Text of 1–2 Kings

Tuukka Kauhanen



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Preface

My study of Lucifer of Cagliari as a textual witness of the books of Kings was started in 2012 when I worked as a Postdoctoral Researcher in the project *Birth and Transmission of a Holy Tradition*, directed by Dr. Juha Pakkala and funded by a EURYI award from EUROHORCs and the European Science Foundation, at the University of Helsinki. I continued pursuing the study as an Academy of Finland Postdoctoral Researcher during 2014–2016, working in connection with the Academy of Finland Centre of Excellence *Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions*, directed by Prof. Martti Nissinen.

In 2014–2015 I had the pleasure of staying five months as a visiting scholar at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, working in connection with Prof. Julio Trebolle, Prof. Pablo Torijano, and Prof. Andrés Piquer, who are preparing the Göttingen Septuagint edition of Kings. I want to thank Julio, Pablo, and Andrés for their wonderful hospitality and the numerous interesting discussions. In 2016 I spent four months in Oxford enjoying the elevating atmosphere and the magnificent libraries. I am grateful to the staff of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies and the members of Christ Church for their warm welcome and support, especially to Prof. Jan Joosten and Prof. Alison Salvesen. Other colleagues outside Finland who have given me helpful feedback and support include Prof. Christoph Levin, Prof. Reinhard Müller, and Prof. Adrian Schenker.

I have had valuable feedback and support from many Finnish colleagues, first and foremost from my team-leaders Juha Pakkala and Anneli Aejmelaeus. A young postdoc could not have more encouraging teachers and mentors! All my friends and colleagues in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Helsinki, especially my colleagues in the Centre of Excellence, deserve my warmest thanks. A special thanks goes to two of my doctoral students, Timo Tekoniemi and Paavo Huotari, who have assisted in many tasks relating to this study.

Dr. Robert Whiting has meticulously revised the English of this book. He has also provided several helpful comments on the content. For any remaining mistakes I am solely responsible.

Helsinki, February 2017
Tuukka Kauhanen

Abbreviations

Witnesses and Text-Critical Signs

+	add(s)
–	<i>minus</i> ; the group of witnesses except for the manuscript(s) cited (e.g., <i>s</i> ⁻¹³⁰)
-	hyphen; combines those manuscripts that belong to the same group (e.g., 236-313)
>	omit(s) the lemma
*	the original reading of the manuscript (contrast c)
	separates variation units within the same verse
1° etc.	first, second, etc. occurrence of the same word within the verse in question
1° ∩ 2°	parablepsis from the first to the second occurrence of the same word within the verse in question
(1) etc.	verse 1, 2, etc.
8ḤevXIIgr	The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever
α'	Aquila's version
σ'	Symmachus's version
θ'	Theodotion's version
A	Codex Alexandrinus
Aeth	Ethiopic version of 2 Chronicles; see Hanhart
Al.	<i>alia</i> , "other [witnesses]"
Ant	Fernández Marcos, Natalio, and José Ramón Busto Saiz. <i>El texto antioqueno de la Biblia Griega</i> . 3 vols. Madrid: Instituto de Filología del CSIC, 1989–1996.
Arm	Armenian version of 2 Chronicles; see Hanhart
B	Codex Vaticanus
Brooke-McLean	Brooke, A. E., N. McLean, and H. St. J. Thackeray. <i>The Old Testament in Greek: According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial</i>

- Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint.* 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906–1940
- c correction in the manuscript by another than the first hand (contrast *)
- Diercks Lucifer. *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt.* Edited by Gerardus Frederik Diercks. CCSL 8. Turnhout: Brepols, 1978.
- Du Cange Du Cange, Charles du Fresne. *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis.* Edited by Léopold Favre. Paris: Niort, 1883–1887.
- Forcellini Forcellini, Egidio (Aegidius). *Lexicon totius latinitatis cum appendicibus.* Edited by Giuseppe Furlanetto, Francesco Corradini, and Giuseppe Perin. Bonn: Forni, 1965.
- Hanhart Hanhart, Robert. *Paralipomenon liber II.* SVTG 7.2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014.
- homoiot homoioteleuton
- G *Genovefensis* 1351
- Hartel Lucifer. *Luciferi Calaritani opuscula.* Edited by Wilhelm Hartel. CSEL 14. Vienna: Gerold, 1886.
- L manuscript group that witnesses the Lucianic or Antiochian revision
- La^b the text of *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* according to J. Belsheim, *Palimpsestus vindobonensis: Antiquissimae Veteris testamenti translationis latinae fragmenta; E Commentariis theologicis (Theologisk Tidsskrift) separatim expressa.* Christianiae, 1885.
- La^M Old Latin marginal readings according to Ciriaca Morano Rodríguez, *Glosas marginales de Vetus Latina en las Biblias Vulgatas españolas: 1–2 Samuel.* TECC 48. Madrid: CSIC, 1989; and Antonio Moreno Hernández, *Glosas marginales de Vetus Latina en las Biblias Vulgatas españolas: 1–2 Reyes.* TECC 49. Madrid: CSIC, 1992.
- La¹¹⁵ the text of *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* according to Bontifatius Fischer, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson. “Palimpsestus Vindobonensis: A Revised

	Edition of <i>L</i> 115 for Samuel-Kings.” <i>BIOSCS</i> 16 (1983): 13–87.
Lat.	Latin
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
LXX	Septuagint
mg	marginal reading (contrast txt)
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MT	the Masoretic Text according to BHS
OG	Old Greek
OL	Old Latin
om	<i>omittit/omittunt</i> ; the witnesses cited omit the word(s) in question
pr	<i>praemittit/praemittunt</i> ; the witnesses cited place the reading before the lemma
Rahlfs	The LXX text according to Alfred Rahlfs, <i>Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes</i> . Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935.
rel	<i>reliqui</i> ; the rest of the witnesses, i.e., those not cited for the other readings in the variation unit in question
s nom	<i>sine nomine</i> (possibly Hexaplaric readings that bear no attribution)
Souter	Souter, Alexander. <i>A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.</i> Oxford: Clarendon, 1949.
Stelten	Stelten, Leo F. <i>Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin: With an Appendix of Latin Expressions Defined and Clarified</i> . 10th ed. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2013.
Syh	Syrohexpala
sub ast	<i>sub asterisco</i> ; the reading is marked with an asterisk in the witness cited
Trebolle-Torijano	readings that Julio Trebolle Barrera and Pablo A. Torijano, the editors of <i>Kings (Kingdoms)</i> for the Göttingen Septuagint, have chosen for their provisional critical text
tr	<i>transponit/transponunt</i> ; the witnesses cited change the word order; ante/post ... tr: the witnesses move the word before/after the word mentioned
txt	the reading of the continuous text of the manuscript (contrast mg)

Ugenti	Lucifer. <i>Lucifer Calaritanus: De regibus apostaticis et Moriundum esse pro dei filio</i> . Edited by Valerio Ugenti. Studi e Testi Latini e Greci 1. Lecce: Milella, 1980.
V	<i>Vaticanus Reginensis Latinus</i> 133
Vg.	The Vulgate according to <i>Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem</i>
vid	<i>ut videtur</i> ; the witness seems to attest the reading for which it is cited

Ancient Texts

3–4 Rgns	3–4 Reigns
<i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
<i>Athan.</i>	Lucifer, <i>De Athanasio libri</i> 2
Apos. Con.	Apostolic Constitutions and Canons
Aug	Augustine
Bede	Venerable Bede
Cod. Theod.	Codex theodosianus
<i>Civ.</i>	Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei</i>
<i>Comm. Isa.</i>	Jerome, <i>Commentariorum in Isaiam libri</i> XVIII
<i>Comm. Matt.</i>	Origen, <i>Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei</i>
<i>Comm. Nahum</i>	Jerome, <i>Commentariorum in Nahum Liber</i>
<i>Conv.</i>	Lucifer, <i>De non conveniendo cum haereticis</i>
<i>Cur.</i>	Augustine, <i>De cura pro mortuis gerenda</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	Ratherius Veronensis, <i>Epistulae</i>
Eus	Eusebius
<i>Haer.</i>	Irenaeus, <i>Adversus haereses (Elenchos)</i>
<i>Hom. Gosp.</i>	Venerable Bede, <i>Homilies on Gospels</i>
Iren	Irenaeus
Luc	Lucifer
<i>Mor.</i>	Lucifer, <i>Moriendum esse pro Dei filio</i>
Orig	Origen
<i>Orig. Comm. Cant.</i>	Rufinus, <i>Origenis Commentarius in Canticum</i>
<i>Orig. Hom. Num.</i>	Rufinus, <i>Origenis in Numeros homiliae</i>
<i>Quaest.</i>	Theodoret of Cyr, <i>Quaestiones in Reges et Paralipomena</i>
<i>Parc.</i>	Lucifer, <i>De non parcendo in deum delinquentibus</i>
<i>Praep. ev.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Praeparatio evangelica</i>
Ps-Aug	Pseudo-Augustine
Pss. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon

<i>Reg.</i>	Lucifer, <i>De regibus apostaticis</i>
Ruf	Rufinus
<i>Test.</i>	Cyprian, <i>Ad Quirinum testimonia adversus Judaeos</i>
Tht	Theodoret of Cyr

Secondary Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
<i>AbrN</i>	<i>Abr-Nahrain</i>
AGLB	Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel (= Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel: Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel)
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
BAC	Bible in Ancient Christianity
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Iovaniensium
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . Edited by Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.
BIOSCS	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBL	Collectanea Biblica Latina
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DLD	Database of Latin Dictionaries
DSI	De Septuaginta investigations
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
<i>GELS</i>	Muraoka, Takamitsu. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> . Leuven: Peeters, 2009.
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>

JSJSup	Supplements to Journal for the Study of Judaism
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
KJV	King James Version
KK	Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften
Lewis-Short	Lewis, Charlton T., and Charles Short. <i>Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrew's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1989.
LLT	Library of Latin Texts
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
NA ²⁷	Aland, K., et al., eds. <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . 27th revised ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1999.
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCB	New Century Bible
NETS	New English Translation of the Septuagint
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OTL	Old Testament Library
PG	Migne, J.-P., ed. <i>Patrologia graeca</i> [= <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus</i> : Series Graeca]. 162 vols. Paris: Garnier, 1857–1886
PGL	Lampe, Geoffrey W. H., ed. <i>Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.
PL	Migne, J.-P., ed. <i>Patrologia latina</i> [= <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus</i> : Series Latina] 217 vols. Paris: Garnier, 1844–1864
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBTS	Sources for Biblical and Theological Studies
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SEAug	Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTG	Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum

TECC	Textos y Estudios «Cardenal Cisneros»
<i>Text</i>	<i>Textus</i>
TLG	<i>Thesaurus linguae graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature</i> . Online: http://www.tlg.uci.edu .
Tov-Polak	Tov, Emanuel, and Polak, Frank. <i>The Revised CATSS Hebrew/Greek Parallel Text</i> . 2004. Used via BibleWorks 8.
<i>TQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
TS	Texts and Studies
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Introduction

Purpose and Method

There are particular problems in discerning the oldest attainable text of the books of Kings. At times the Hebrew text has been poorly preserved and the significant differences of order and length between the Hebrew and Greek texts suggest that the Hebrew text underwent literary growth still at a very late stage. The text-historical situation gives rise to a need for a comprehensive approach to the textual and literary- or redaction-critical problems: literary-critical studies cannot be carried out on the basis of only the Masoretic Text (MT) and text-critical studies have to take into account the complex composition history of Kings. The Greek LXX (LXX) translation of 1–2 Kings (3–4 Kingdoms or 3–4 Reigns in the LXX) is an essential witness in serious textual studies of these books. Studies particularly by Julio Trebolle Barrera, Adrian Schenker, and Philippe Hugo underline the need of taking the LXX seriously and using it correctly.¹

However, the LXX itself is far from being an easy witness. The translation was probably made in the second century BCE and the Hebrew base text (*Vorlage*) was somewhat different from the Hebrew text that later developed into the MT. It appears that the textual transmission of the Greek version of Kings divided into two streams at quite an early stage. The one tradition, witnessed mainly by Codex Vaticanus (B), underwent the Hebraizing kaige revision probably around the turn of the era. As a

1. Julio Trebolle Barrera, *Centena in Libros Samuelis et Regum: Variantes textuales y composicion literaria en los libros de Samuel y Reyes*, TECC (Madrid: Instituto de Filologia C.S.I.C., 1989) and multiple articles on the subject; Adrian Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher*, OBO 199 (Fribourg: Academic, 2004) and several articles; Philippe Hugo, *Les deux visages d'Élie: Texte massorétique et Septante dans l'histoire la plus ancienne de 1 Rois 17–18*, OBO 217 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006) and several articles.

result, in about 60 percent of Kings (1 Kgs 1:1–2:11; 1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs) B and the majority attest the revised kaige text.² In addition, similar kaige-type readings can be found sporadically in the nonkaige section (1 Kgs 2:12–21:43) as well. The other part of the transmission, the proto-Lucianic text, was mainly untouched by the kaige revision. However, it served as a base text for a later Christian revision, done probably around the year 300 CE and associated with the martyr Lucian of Antioch.³ This Lucianic or Antiochian revision, witnessed mainly by the manuscript group *L*, was quite extensive, and in the kaige section there is a real chance that occasionally the original reading has been lost under two different revisions. There are traces of a third text type, commonly called Hexaplaric, in Codex Alexandrinus (A) particularly. This text type derives from the LXX column of Origen's Hexapla, and it mostly consists of additions made according to the Hebrew text.

Reaching the original, or “oldest attainable,” translation, commonly called the Old Greek (OG), requires discerning the revisional elements in the textual traditions and choosing the best variant where variation occurs. Occasionally one must resort to a textual emendation if the OG reading appears to have been lost under the revisions. In some parts of Kings, this task is greatly assisted by daughter versions of the LXX, the Latin ones in particular. The most extensive of the Latin textual witnesses for the LXX is the quotations from Kings in the works of a fourth-century Sardinian bishop, Lucifer of Cagliari. This study seeks to provide a full text-critical analysis of all these quotations. The research questions are the following:

1. Which type of text(s) does Lucifer use when quoting from Kings? More specifically, what is his position between the B, *L*, and Hexaplaric texts?

2. Information on the kaige revision can be found in any recent LXX handbook. For detailed information on the history of research, see Robert A. Kraft, “Reassessing the Impact of Barthélemy's Devanciers, Forty Years Later,” *BIOSCS* 37 (2004): 1–28.

3. On the tendencies of the Lucianic revision, see esp. Sebastian P. Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuaginta Version of 1 Samuel*, Quaderni di Henoch 9 (Turin: Silvio Zamorani, 1996), 225–51, 297–98, and Natalio Fernández Marcos, “Literary and Editorial Features of the Antiochian Text of Kings,” in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Jerusalem 1986*, ed. Claude E. Cox, SCS 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 292–98. The Lucianic or Antiochian text can be found in the edition Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega: 1–2 Reyes*, TECC 53 (Madrid: CSIC, 1992) (hereafter Ant).

2. How do Lucifer's quoting habits and the citation context affect the wording of the quotations?
3. What is Lucifer's relationship to other pre-Vulgate Latin ("Old Latin" = OL) witnesses?
4. Does Lucifer attest original readings of the LXX that have been lost in the other textual witnesses?
5. Is it possible that Lucifer retained Hebrew readings lost in all or most of the other textual traditions?
6. How should Lucifer's quotations be used in literary- or redaction-critical argumentation?

The method is to compare all of Lucifer's quotations from Kings with the other extant Greek witnesses as well as OL witnesses where available. The probable reasons for the textual variation will be analysed, and in each instance an attempt will be made to choose the best possible candidate for the OG reading.

When the text-critical analysis brings out noteworthy readings by Lucifer that are suggested to go back to Hebrew readings, separate literary-critical analyses are provided. From text-historical considerations it follows that any literary-critical argument that is based on Lucifer's support for a reading not surviving in any Greek witness must be tested in the light of the question "What is Lucifer's relation to the Old Greek reading?" There are two possibilities:

1. Lucifer alone attests the OG reading (through a Latin rendering, of course). The reading in the B text must then be either corrupt or a result of early correction according to the Hebrew text, and the Lucianic reading (if disagreeing with B) must result from stylistic correction (or, in a rare case, from corruption).
2. Some corruption has taken place in the transmission of the OL text used by Lucifer (or during translation or in the Greek base text of that translation) or Lucifer himself has modified the quotation.

In the latter case, Lucifer's reading should not be used as a witness to any Hebrew reading; it results from an inner-Greek or inner-Latin development during the transmission of the text, or it goes back to Lucifer's manner of quotation. In the former case, by contrast, the reading of Lucifer is a *reliable witness to an ancient Hebrew reading*, namely, that of the Hebrew base text of the LXX, *witnessed by the OG reading witnessed by Lucifer*.

There is a special methodological problem area related to the study, namely, the use of *indirect evidence* in textual criticism. In the case of the LXX, indirect evidence means textual material other than Greek biblical manuscripts: daughter versions and quotations by ancient authors. There are five major problems that have to be tackled when using a witness such as the quotations by Lucifer: (1) the nature of the quotation, (2) linguistic preferences of the author, (3) possible influence of the OL translation(s) behind Latin quotations, (4) problems relating to translation from Greek to Latin, and (5) possible contamination from biblical manuscripts or general corruption in the transmission of the works of the ancient author. I will briefly elaborate each point.

1. The nature of the quotation needs to be taken into account before using the quotation as a textual witness. Criteria for identifying reliable quotations have been set especially by New Testament textual critics, for example, by Carroll D. Osburn.⁴ He defines five categories for the classification of quotations, arranged according to the degree of literalness: citation (verbally exact), adaptation, allusion, reminiscence (mostly an echo), and locution (using biblical language in a general way). Lucifer's quotations are quite easy to classify as he generally makes a sharp distinction between a verbatim citation and a paraphrastic adaptation or an allusion.
2. The linguistic preferences of the author are an important aspect, especially considering that Lucifer may have translated a considerable portion of his quotations himself and that his Latin style outside the quotations is very elegant. Considerable caution must be exercised when speculating with possible Greek readings underlying Lucifer's quotation. Lacking a Latin-Greek index to Lucifer's biblical quotations, one has to resort to handiwork with biblical concordances and Scripture indexes when considering possible Greek words underlying a certain Latin word.⁵

4. C. D. Osburn, "Methodology in Identifying Patristic Citations in NT Textual Criticism," *NovT* 47 (2005): 313–43.

5. I have treated this topic in "Using Patristic Evidence: A Question of Methodology in the Textual Criticism of the LXX," in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 59 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 677–90.

3. The evidence from Lucifer's quotations from Kings does not allow one to conclude definitely whether Lucifer used existing Latin translations or translated himself. Even the question of whether there ever existed a single OL translation for Kings is open to debate—I remain sceptical. (See the following sections.)
4. The problems in reproducing some Greek expressions in Latin are well known, and regarding small details such as minor word-order issues it is often advisable not to cite Lucifer as a definitive witness: his reading may well have been brought about by the needs of the Christian Latin language. In the words of Eugene Ulrich, we must make a "distinction between what the Latin language is able to reflect theoretically and what in practice the individual translator did reflect."⁶
5. Generally speaking, the biblical quotations in the works of a patristic author are liable to contamination from the Bible text familiar to the copyists. In Lucifer's works, however, that does not constitute a problem; it appears that the biblical text was not revised at all, certainly not according to the Vulgate; the only faint reflections of Vulgate influence in the two manuscripts of Lucifer's works are in the form of familiar proper nouns such as Elijah or Solomon.

All these problems must be given due consideration before any quotation by Lucifer can be used in textual criticism.

Lucifer and His Works

The person and life of Lucifer of Cagliari is quite well known, thanks to several independent fourth-century sources.⁷ Lucifer was the bishop of

6. Eugene Ulrich, "Characteristics and Limitations of the Old Latin Translation of the Septuagint," in *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 283. See also Bontifatius Fischer, "Limitations of Latin in Representing Greek," in *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, ed. Bruce M. Metzger (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 362–74.

7. Valerio Ugenti provides a compilation of ancient testimonies on the life of Lucifer: Lucifer, *Lucifer Calaritanus: De regibus apostaticis et Moriundum esse pro dei filio*, ed. Valerio Ugenti, *Studi e Testi Latini e Greci* 1 (Lecce: Milella, 1980), xvii–xxxii (hereafter Ugenti). Not much modern literature is dedicated to the life and works of Lucifer. Among the few are Gustav Krüger, *Lucifer: Bischof von Calaris* (Leipzig:

Cagliari (Lat. *Caralis* or *Calaris*; the adjective “Cagliarian” is *Calaritanus*) in Sardinia, probably from the year 353 CE until his death in 370. At the Council of Milan in 355 he served as a legate for Pope Liberius (pope 352–366) defending Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria (ca. 296–373), against the accusations by the Arians. The emperor, Constantius II, was strongly pro-Arian, and he soon disbanded the council and exiled Lucifer together with other anti-Arian delegates. For the following seven years Lucifer travelled in the East, from Syria to as far as Thebes in Egypt. During his exile, Lucifer wrote at least the five works that have survived to us. Lucifer was able to return to Sardinia in 362 where he attempted to purify his diocese from Arian influence. After Lucifer’s death in 370 the Sardinian extremely anti-Arian faction became known as the “Luciferians.” At least a part of the church in Sardinia has venerated Lucifer as a saint. To my knowledge, there is not an official decree by the pope concerning Lucifer’s sanctity or the lack of it.

Lucifer’s works have survived in two medieval manuscript: *Vaticanus Reginensis Latinus* 133 (V) from the ninth century and *Genovefensis* 1351 (G) from the sixteenth century.⁸ Lucifer’s writings are more or less unknown to theologians and classicists in general. It is indeed true that their literary style and theological substance is not very laudable. Claudio Moreschini and Enrico Norelli go as far as to state:

Careful thought was not a mark of Lucifer’s opposition to Arianism. Nor do his works, which survive probably due to the solicitude of his followers, show any high intellectual abilities. Still less do they show the ability to offer any solution to the crisis caused by Arianism except for a denial pure and simple of the views of his adversaries, even of the more conciliatory among them. Lucifer ... wrote five treatises in defense of the Nicene faith. In these, the continual repetition of the same arguments is accompanied by a violent attack, likewise repetitive, on the emperor.⁹

Breitkopf & Härtel, 1886; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969) and the collection of papers of a Lucifer conference: Sonia Laconi, ed., *La figura e l’opera di Lucifero di Cagliari: Una rivisitazione*, SEAug 75 (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2001). The following short outline is based on Krüger’s book and major encyclopaedias.

8. See the edition: Lucifer, *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt*, ed. Gerardus Frederik Diercks, CCSL 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), xxxviii–xlv (hereafter Diercks).

9. Claudio Moreschini and Enrico Norelli, *Early Christian Greek and Latin Litera-*

This lack of general interest in Lucifer's works explains why there are no standard English titles for them. The translator of Moreschini and Norelli's work cited above, Matthew J. O'Connell, uses the following: *There Must Be No Agreement with Heretics* (*De non conveniendo cum haereticis*; *Conv.*), *On Apostate Kings* (*De regibus apostaticis*; *Reg.*), *On the Venerable Athanasius* (*De Athanasio*; *Athan.*), *No Pardon for Those Who Sin against God* (*De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus*; *Parc.*), and *We Must Die for the Son of God* (*Moriundum esse pro Dei Filio*).¹⁰ I have decided to keep the Latin titles with their usual abbreviations.

To my knowledge, there are few studies that pertain to Lucifer's use of a particular biblical book: an article on the Minor Prophets containing only a textual comparison with no analysis, two on the Gospels of Luke and John, and a multivolume book on the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline letters.¹¹ Gerardus Frederik Diercks's edition of Lucifer's works dedicates a section in its introduction to questions pertaining to the biblical text(s) used by Lucifer.¹² Robert Hanhart analysed three quotations by Lucifer from 2 Esdras noting their affinity with the Lucianic text.¹³ There is no certainty about whether Lucifer mainly used an existing Latin version or translated himself from the Greek. In Diercks's evaluation, the form of the quotations suggests that he did both. This is—with more or

ture: *A Literary History*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, vol. 2 (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005), 251.

10. Moreschini and Norelli, *Early Christian Greek and Latin Literature*, 251.

11. Minor Prophets: Artur Allgeier, "Der Text einiger kleiner Propheten bei Lucifer von Calaris," in *Miscellanea Biblica et Orientalia R. P. Athanasio Miller oblate*, ed. Adalbert Metzinger (Rome: Herder, 1951), 286–300. Gospels of Luke and John: Heinrich Josef Vogels, "Die Lukaszitate bei Lucifer von Calaris," *TQ* 103 (1922): 23–25; Vogels, "Die Johanneszitate bei Lucifer von Calaris," *TQ* 103 (1922): 183–85. Acts of Apostles and Pauline letters: A. M. Coleman, *The Biblical Text of Lucifer of Cagliari* (Acts), 3 vols. (Welwyn 1927; repr. Oxford 1946–1947).

12. Diercks, cv–cxiii. An overview of editions of Lucifer's texts, including comments on how the biblical quotations were treated in the editions, can be found in Giuseppe Corti, *Lucifero di Cagliari: Una voce nel conflitto tra chiesa e impero alla metà del IV secolo*, *Studia Patristica Mediolanensia* 24 (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2004), 251–68. Occasionally I will make a reference to differing readings provided by Ugenti's edition of Lucifer's *De regibus*. For criticism of this edition see the review by Bengt Löfstedt, review of *Lucifer Calaritanus: De regibus apostaticis et Moriundum esse pro dei filio*, by Lucifer Calaritanus, ed. Valerio Ugenti, *Speculum* 57 (1982).

13. Robert Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des 2. Esrabuches* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 109–11.

less hesitation—acknowledged in the remarks of Pierre Sabatier, Alfred Rahlfs, A. V. Billen, and Robert Weber.¹⁴

Lucifer's text of Kings has been touched upon by half a dozen scholars. In his classic study of the Lucianic text in Kings, Rahlfs analysed five passages from different works by Lucifer. Rahlfs found that there are differences between specific passages, but, on the whole, Lucifer is closer to the Lucianic text although the degree of this closeness varies from quotation to quotation. Rahlfs cautiously suggests that Lucifer may have retained a proto-Lucianic text, mostly but not completely in agreement with B, that was to some extent revised according to the Lucianic text.¹⁵ Antonio Moreno has analysed the relationship between Lucifer's quotations from Kings and the marginal readings in a group of Spanish Vulgate witnesses. Moreno notes a rather strong affinity between the marginal readings and Lucifer's quotations from Kings and concludes that they attest a common Greek base text with Lucianic features.¹⁶ The editors of the Antiochian text provide calculations on a limited number of readings by Lucifer. Their figures suggest that Lucifer's text was closer to the *L* text overall.¹⁷

Trebolle's *Centena in Libros Samuelis et Regum* is among the most learned studies combining textual and literary criticism in a nuanced manner. In a considerable number of cases Trebolle suggests that the earliest form of the text can be found in the OL translation, often witnessed by Lucifer's quotation. In addition to the monograph, Trebolle has published a vast number of articles both in Spanish and English with similar insights. In studies by Schenker, too, Lucifer now and then gets the last word in reconstructing the oldest form of the text.¹⁸ Finally, there is an article by Antonio Piras concerning the text of Lucifer's *De Athanasio*. On the question of Lucifer's biblical text, Piras merely refers to Rahlfs, simplifying his view considerably.¹⁹

14. Pierre Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae* (Remis: Apud Reginaldum Florentain, 1743), xliii (par. ci); Alfred Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, Septuaginta-Studien 3, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 151; A. V. Billen, *The Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), 7; Robert Weber, *Les anciennes versions latines du Deuxième livre des Paralipomènes*, CBL 8 (Rome: Abbey of St Jerome, 1945), xxii.

15. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 151–53.

16. Antonio Moreno Hernández, *Glosas marginales de Vetus Latina en las Biblias Vulgatas españolas: 1–2 Reyes*, TECC (Madrid: CSIC, 1992), 253–54.

17. Ant, li–liii.

18. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, and several articles on the subject.

19. Antonio Piras, "Kritische Bemerkungen zur Schrift De Athanasio des Lucifer

Lucifer's quotations from the books of Kings range from a couple of verses to as long as twenty-nine verses and they constitute 11 percent of the whole text (counting the number of verses quoted as against the total number of verses in Kings in Rahlfs's LXX edition). His manner of quoting is curiously twofold: he evidently aims at an accurate reproduction of the biblical text—he clearly means to cite, not to paraphrase—but within a citation he may take some liberties. Most notably, he has a tendency to abridge the text somewhat, especially in the long quotations: words and clauses that are not really needed for the argument can be left out completely. Then again, Lucifer may make small explicative additions, although these are somewhat rarer than omissions. Occasionally, a short clause may be rewritten, often to clarify the meaning or to straighten up the syntax. Almost all of the modifications that Lucifer makes are due to the requirements of logic, language, and style: the citing context does not appear to play a role. Lucifer cites Kings mostly in contexts in which he depicts apostate kings as predecessors of Emperor Constantius. However, there is not a visible tendency to alter the quotations in order to make the kings in question look even worse. The only way that the context appears to affect the quotations is that if the utterly condemnatory feeling in the quotation is retained, small details in the text can be altered or omitted.

Already a first glance at Lucifer's quotations from Kings reveals that they follow neither the B text, nor the Lucianic text specifically. This means that Lucifer does not attest either of the two major revisions, the kaige revision or the Lucianic revision, at least not in a pure form. This observation allows for the following hypothesis: *Lucifer's LXX text is essentially the original text, with occasional corruptions and peculiarities relating to the Latin translation and Lucifer's manner of quotation.* However, since Lucifer's active writing dates half a century later than the supposed date of the Lucianic recension (ca. 300 CE; Lucifer's works were written around 360 CE), his text may contain occasional secondary Lucianic readings. Rahlfs already suggested that this might be due to his OL text, where he had one,

von Calaris," VC 46 (1992): 71 n. 12: "Für die Bücher der Könige behauptet Rahlfs jedoch, daß sich die lateinische Übersetzung auf die griechische Fassung Lucians stützt." Piras makes it sound like Rahlfs meant that the Latin translation was made wholly on the basis of the recensional Lucianic text which is exactly the opposite of what Rahlfs (*Lucians Rezension*, 153–54) maintains. Piras even speaks about "Lucians Übersetzung" (p. 59)! The only passage from Kings Piras discusses is 1 Kgs 21:17–24, quoted by Lucifer in *Athan.* 1.19, and of that he treats only v. 23.

already containing revisions according to a Lucianic Greek text.²⁰ This is all the more probable since Lucifer, though coming from the West, wrote in the East and may well have used local Greek texts.²¹ Thus, an agreement between Lucifer and the Lucianic text is not, as such, an argument for the originality of the reading in question.

It is worthwhile to ask what Lucifer's relation to the Hebrew text of Kings is. Both the form of the quotations and text-historical considerations make it almost certain that Lucifer had no access or could not use a Hebrew text. Therefore, the Greek text is always between Lucifer's Latin and the Hebrew base text of the LXX, commonly called the *Vorlage*. If now-lost Hebrew readings can be recovered by using Lucifer as the sole witness, it requires one to suppose that Lucifer attests a Greek reading that has been lost in all the other witnesses. If that reading reflects a Hebrew reading, the latter will in all probability be the reading of the *Vorlage*. In that case the hypothetical Greek reading reflected only in Lucifer's Latin reading is also the OG reading. There is, to be sure, a theoretical possibility that Lucifer might attest a Greek reading, now lost in all the other witnesses, that was a correction according to a now-lost Hebrew reading. That this is not a viable option in practice is because there is very little evidence of correction according to any other type of Hebrew text than the proto-Masoretic text.²²

Witnesses for the Text of 1–2 Kings

The Hebrew and Greek Witnesses

There is little Hebrew evidence for the text of the books of Kings other than the MT. I cite the MT according to the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*

20. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 152–53.

21. Pace Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 153, who speaks about Lucifer's OL text as a Western one: "Bei dem lebhaften Verkehr innerhalb des römischen Reiches konnten leicht auch Lucian-Texte nach dem Westen kommen, und Benutzung griechischer Handschriften im Abendlande und Korrektur der lateinischen Texte nach ihnen ist gerade im 4. Jahrhundert nichts Ungewöhnliches."

22. It has been posited that such correction according to Hebrew readings now found in the Qumran scrolls has happened to a small extent in the books of Samuel. While this theory, known as the theory of the proto-Lucianic recension, has its proponents even today, I have argued against it in Tuukka Kauhanen, *The Proto-Lucianic Problem in 1 Samuel*, DSI 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 186–88.

(BHS) with references to its apparatus when needed. I have consulted the Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition project editors for 1–2 Kings (Jan Joosten and Andrés Piquer) concerning the most noteworthy cases in which the question of the original (or older) Hebrew is relevant for evaluating Lucifer's quotation.

I consistently cite the Greek text according to Rahlfs's edition.²³ In addition, I have used the Cambridge edition (Brooke-McLean) to locate the most noteworthy Hexaplaric readings. Occasionally a comment is made on the treatment of Lucifer in the Cambridge apparatus. Variants for Rahlfs's text are taken from the preliminary apparatus for the forthcoming Göttingen edition of Kings, prepared in Madrid by Treballe and Pablo Torijano, used by the kind permission of the editors. For the grouping of the Greek witnesses, see the list before the introduction. I often suggest adopting a critical reading other than chosen by Rahlfs, especially in the kaige section (1 Kgs 22–2 Kings). Concerning most such cases I have consulted Treballe and Torijano. Of course, nothing that the reader will find in this study indicates which reading will be chosen for the critical text of the Göttingen edition or what will be reported in its apparatus. If there is information in conflict with the forthcoming Göttingen edition, it is because of a mistake by me. The Göttingen apparatus format may be somewhat perplexing to those unfamiliar with it. The reader should not, however, be frightened by the data, which often takes the form of a long series of letters and numbers. They are relevant for LXX specialists only—other readers should bypass them and rely on the information provided in the analysis, where remarks about the manuscript attestation for the relevant reading will be commented on. I have excluded from the study most of the secondary witnesses for the Greek text, that is, quotations by Greek patristic authors and the Ethiopic, Coptic, Armenian, and Georgian daughter versions. Some of this data can be found in the apparatus of Brooke-McLean and even a superficial glance at that shows that these rarely have any significance for evaluating Lucifer's testimony. The only secondary witness to which I refer frequently is the Syrohexapla (Syh) which often helps confirm possible Hexaplaric readings.²⁴

23. Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935).

24. In 1 Kings, I often make a reference to Timothy Michael Law, *Origenes Orientalis: The Preservation of Origen's Hexapla in the Syrohexapla of 3 Kingdoms*, DSI

The Latin Witnesses in Addition to Lucifer

Of all the textual witnesses for the Bible, the Latin witnesses are the most difficult to evaluate. These are normally divided between the OL and the Vulgate. Regardless of its age, any Latin evidence that does not follow mainly or exclusively the Vulgate may attest the—or *an*—OL translation. No complete manuscript of an OL translation for Kings has survived. Remnants of the OL version(s) have possibly been preserved in three sources: fragmentary OL manuscripts, marginal readings in some witnesses for the Vulgate, and quotations by Latin patristic authors.

For Kings, only two OL manuscripts are known: the *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* (La¹¹⁵) and the *Quedlinburg Itala* (La¹¹⁶).²⁵ The latter contains only 1 Kgs 5:2–6:12, a passage for which there are no quotations by Lucifer. La¹¹⁵, however, attests altogether twenty-three verses that Lucifer quotes. According to the editors of La¹¹⁵, “the script is to be dated to the 5th century without a doubt and can be located in Africa with great probability.”²⁶ It is reasonable to suggest that the translation was done considerably earlier, but there is no definitive evidence for a date earlier than 300 CE, the supposed date of the Lucianic revision. My work with La¹¹⁵ in 1 Samuel led me to the conclusion that La¹¹⁵ follows some recensional Lucianic readings,²⁷ and, accordingly, the translation either should be later than 300 CE or it was sporadically revised according to a Lucianic-type Greek text. Treballe has observed that, for the most part, La¹¹⁵ does not follow kaige readings. An interesting case is 2 Kgs 10:25aβ–28, which is doubled in La¹¹⁵, following roughly the Antiochian text the first time and the B text the second time. Treballe calls these two forms of the OL “VL¹”

2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011) in connection with the readings in the Syrohexapla.

25. The numbers are according to the catalogue of the OL manuscripts: Roger Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften/Manuscrits Vieux Latins 1–275*, VLB 1.2A (Fribourg: Herder, 1999). For La¹¹⁵ Brooke-McLean uses the abbreviation La^b—“b” for J. Belsheim, the first editor of the manuscript. See J. Belsheim, *Palimpsestus vindobonensis: Antiquissimae Veteris testamenti translationis latinae fragmenta; E Commentariis theologicis (Theologisk Tidsskrift) separatim expressa* (Christianiae, 1885).

26. Bonifatius Fischer, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson, “Palimpsestus Vindobonensis: A Revised Edition of L 115 for Samuel-Kings,” *BIOSCS* 16 (1983): 30. La¹¹⁵ notations in this volume refer to the edition by Fischer, Ulrich, and Sanderson.

27. Kauhanen, *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 158–64; see esp. 1 Sam 4:2, 9:22.

(which follows the putative OG) and “VL²⁸” (which follows the kaige text).²⁸ La¹¹⁵ contains text from 131 verses in Kings, which is roughly 9 percent of the text. The manuscript is a palimpsest: the OL translation was scrubbed away and the leaves were used for a copy of several grammatical tractates ca. 700 CE.²⁹ What is left and can be read, however, is a fairly accurate Latin version that, for the most part, can be back-translated into Greek. It bears no signs of contamination from the Vulgate. To my knowledge, there is not a Latin-Greek index for La¹¹⁵; I have made some translation-technical observations in my *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, and I will refer to those occasionally.

The editors of the Antiochian text provide the following figures concerning the textual affinities of La¹¹⁵:³⁰

Table 1. The Textual Affinities of La ¹¹⁵			
La ¹¹⁵	Nonkaige section	Kaige section	Total ³¹
= Ant (<i>L</i>)	36 (41.8%) [42 ³²]	49 (56.3%) [43]	85 (49.1%)
= B text	33 (38.3%) [26]	19 (21.8%) [26]	52 (30.1%)
≠ LXX	17 (19.7%)	19 (21.8%)	36 (20.8%)
Total	86 (100%)	87 (100%)	173 (100%)

The difference in the agreement patterns between the nonkaige and kaige sections is large enough to determine that the Greek text of the translator cannot have been a pure kaige text. Since *L* is expected to retain a higher number of original readings against B in the kaige than in the nonkaige section, the stronger agreement between La¹¹⁵ and *L* in the kaige section (forty-nine against thirty-six in the nonkaige section and against the expected forty-three) is best explained as La¹¹⁵ supporting original readings found in *L*. Of course, the figures are based on the editors’ analyses of individual readings, of which they provide examples, but not a complete list.

28. Julio Treballe Barrera, “Textos «Kaige» en la *vetus latina* de Reyes (2 Re 10, 25–28),” *RB* 89 (1982): 199–200.

29. Fischer, Ulrich, and Sanderson, 30.

30. Ant, xlvii–xlviii.

31. I have calculated the percentage in the Total column.

32. In the square brackets I provide the mathematical “expected value,” the product of the totals for the row and column (e.g., 85 × 86) divided by the grand total (173).

In a group of Spanish Vulgate witnesses there are marginal readings in Samuel-Kings that possibly reflect some OL translation(s). I denote these with the siglum La^M (“M” for “margin” or for the editors: Morano for Samuel, Moreno for Kings³³). One of these witnesses (La⁹³; Brooke-McLean: La^v) was first edited by Carlo Vercellone in 1864. Vercellone was quite optimistic about the value of the marginal readings: they reflect a genuine OL translation.³⁴ F. Crawford Burkitt took a more sceptical view as early as 1896; they may have been taken and translated directly from some Greek sources at a late date as well.³⁵ According to Ulrich, the marginal readings as a whole can be accepted as “plausible evidence.”³⁶ Moreno recognizes the problems of using them: their fragmentary and uneven nature, the plurality of the versions of different origin and date, and the lack of knowledge of the underlying Greek sources.³⁷ In contrast to the cautious approach of Moreno, Treballe holds that the marginal readings represent genuine OL, at least in large part. In Treballe’s view La^M is one witness to a single OL translation; the differences between the OL witnesses go back to processes of revision.³⁸

Concerning the existence of a single, original, OL translation (“Old Latin” in the same sense as “Old Greek”), I remain sceptical. I admit from the outset that I do not have conclusive evidence to demonstrate that the different OL witnesses go back to totally independent translations, but this is because of a methodological problem. I do not see how it would be possible to construct a theoretical framework within which it might actually be tested whether La^M witnesses genuine OL translation or translations, or whether they are late glosses by an early medieval scribe; there is no

33. Ciriaca Morano Rodríguez, *Glosas marginales de Vetus Latina en las Biblias Vulgatas españolas: 1–2 Samuel*, TECC 48 (Madrid: CSIC, 1989); Moreno, *Glosas*.

34. Carlo Vercellone, *Variae lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum editionis*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1864).

35. F. Crawford Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, TS 4.3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), 9–10.

36. Eugene Ulrich, “The Old Latin Translation of the LXX and the Hebrew Scrolls from Qumran,” in *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 261.

37. Moreno, *Glosas*, 19–20. See also Ulrich, “Old Latin Translation,” 237.

38. Julio Treballe Barrera, “Textual Affiliation of the Old Latin Marginal Readings in the Books of Judges and Kings,” in *Biblische Theologie und gesellschaftlicher Wandel: Für Norbert Lohfink SJ*, ed. Georg Braulik, Walter Gross, and Sean E. McEvinue (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 326.

fixed point to start from. If we start with the latter hypothesis, like Burkitt, we can explain any reading as secondarily dependent on the late Greek texts, often of the Antiochian kind. Likewise, if we assume that the marginal readings witness a genuine OL translation, we are likely to accept them as a reliable witness to the OG text of the LXX. This way we will find ample evidence confirming the authenticity of the marginal readings. Either way, we end up in a circular argument. Furthermore, it seems to me that even the relation between La^M and the Greek kaige readings cannot be the decisive criterion: it is possible that the Greek copies used by the first Latin translator(s) happened to contain a kaige text. If this was the case—which is not what I would suggest, but the possibility should be taken into account—the kaige readings found in Latin would be more original OL readings and, conversely, the Latin readings representing the OG would be secondary in Latin!³⁹ A comprehensive text-critical analysis taking into account all the available textual witnesses should be done before making a final decision on the nature of La^M. Such an analysis is not, however, within the scope of the present study.

Moreno dedicates a few sections to the question of Lucifer's relationship with La^M. He proceeds from a suggestion by L. Dieu that the Latin texts as witnessed by Augustine, Lucifer, and the Quedlimburg fragment all went back to a common OL source that preserved many original readings.⁴⁰ Moreno suggests, however, that the common features in them are rather the result of corrections in the Latin texts according to the Lucianic text. Nevertheless, there is a common source for some of the readings: the coincidences between La^M and Lucifer "are difficult to explain without admitting the possibility of a contact between the witnesses." This contact is not simply because of the (nearly) same Greek source text or the translation technique but there must be a common source of readings of an earlier Latin version that has left traces in both.⁴¹ Building on Moreno's work,

39. Contrast the many articles by Julio Treballe Barrera, e.g., "Yahweh's Spirit of Deceit: Textual Variants that Make a Difference (1 Kgs 22)," *RQ* 25 (2012): 660–61; Treballe, "The Textual History and the Text Critical Value of the Old Latin Version in the Book of Judges," in *Die Septuaginta—Text, Wirkung, Rezeption*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Siegfried Kreuzer, WUNT 325 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 57.

40. L. Dieu, "Retouches lucianiques sur quelques textes de la vieille version latine (I et II Samuel)," *RB* 16 (1919): 372–403; see esp. 386.

41. Moreno, *Glosas*, 255; 153; 285.

the editors of the Antiochian text emphasize the close affinity between La^M and Lucifer.⁴² This will be called into question in my conclusions.

In an article on the interrelation of La¹¹⁵, La^M, and Lucifer, I give the following figures concerning the extent of these three witnesses in Kings.⁴³

Table 2. The Extent of La ¹¹⁵ , La ^M , and Lucifer in Kings		
Witness(es)	Verses	Percent of total (1,532)
La ¹¹⁵	131	9%
La ^M	392	26%
Luc	176 ⁴⁴	11%
La ¹¹⁵ or La ^M or Luc	610 ⁴⁵	40%
La ¹¹⁵ + La ^M	32 ⁴⁶	2%
La ¹¹⁵ + Luc	23	1.5%
La ^M + Luc	50 ⁴⁷	3%
La ¹¹⁵ + La ^M + Luc	9	0.6%

The high number of verses attested by La^M gives a somewhat false picture since here the verse is counted even if only a tiny portion of it is preserved in the witness. La^M often covers only a clause or a couple of words of a verse. Thus it has the most overlapping with the other two. The verses for which we find textual material covered by all three witnesses are only nine (1 Kgs 12:24k [14:6], 13:20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28; 16:25; 18:28), that is 0.6 percent of all the text of Kings. Within these nine verses the three witnesses agree word for word for 73 percent of the text. Taking into account that they mostly go back to basically the same Greek text and share the same

42. Ant, li.

43. Tuukka Kauhanen, “Septuagint in the West: The Significance of the Post-Lucianic Latin Witnesses for the Textual History of Kings,” in *Die Septuaginta—Orte und Intentionen*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund, WUNT 361 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 315.

44. Verses cited multiple times are counted here as only one verse.

45. 131 + 392 + 176 = 699, but there are 89 overlapping verses: 699 – 89 = 610.

46. The number is according to Moreno, *Glosas*, 236.

47. According to Moreno, *Glosas*, 253; my calculations produced the same number.

rather literalistic translation technique, I would expect significantly more agreement if they ultimately witnessed the same Latin translation. The burden of proof lies with the hypothesis that the differences were due to later revision of a single original translation; when that cannot be demonstrated, it should be accepted that the better explanation for the differences is that the three witnesses are mostly independent of each other.

These rather lengthy prolegomena on La^M are best ended with a reference to a fairly recent article by Schenker in which he makes new suggestions concerning the origin of these marginal readings. Schenker proceeds from the supposition that the marginal readings indeed reflect genuine OL but at least two different recensions of it.⁴⁸ Two of Schenker's examples feature a quotation by Lucifer⁴⁹—these will be referred to in the analyses below. To me it seems, however, that Schenker's conclusions suggest more than can be demonstrated with the evidence.

A Note on the Commentaries

Since the focus of the present study is on the text-critical and literary-critical worth of Lucifer's text, few comments on the exegesis of the passages are offered. Accordingly, I have aimed at keeping the references to the numerous commentaries on the books of Kings to a minimum. I make references only in those cases in which the commentator actually gives a text-critical suggestion that has relevance for the problem at hand. Whenever I have found that a textual decision offered by me may have been suggested by an earlier author, I mention this in a footnote with "similarly" or "thus also" or the like. Occasionally, I have adopted a suggestion made by a commentator; in those cases, I have made the reference with no note at all or with "thus," "following," or the like.

The small number of references to the commentaries may probably be best understood by those who, like I, have noticed that most of them have only occasional references to the LXX. Those that take the LXX seriously were mostly printed in the nineteenth or the early twen-

48. Adrian Schenker, "Der Platz der altlateinischen Randlesarten des Kodex von León und der Valvanera-Bibel in der biblischen Textgeschichte (1–4Kgt)," in *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer and Marcus Sigismund, DSI 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 202–5; 208–10.

49. Schenker, "Der Platz," 202–4.

tieth century, among them August Klostermann, Immanuel Benzinger, Rudolph Kittel, C. F. Burney, and Bernhard Stade and Friedrich Schwally.⁵⁰ From my own point of view I could not help noticing that Lucifer is mentioned in less than a handful of the thirty-or-so commentaries I browsed through; I came across his name at least in the commentary of Kittel and the commentary of James A. Montgomery.⁵¹ Some of the commentators appear to have a very negative attitude towards using the LXX in the study of the Hebrew Bible. An example can be found in a paragraph by Carl Friedrich Keil concerning the value of the LXX in 1 Kgs 11, where verses 14, 15–22, 23–24, and 25 in the MT are in the order 14, 23–25aα, 15–22, 25aβ in the LXX:

But with regard to the additions made to this passage by the LXX., to which even Ewald ... attributes historical worth, though without building upon them such confident historical combinations as Thenius, we may easily convince ourselves of their critical worthlessness, if we only pass our eye over the whole section ..., instead of merely singling out those readings of the LXX. which support our preconceived opinions, and overlooking all the rest, after the thoroughly unscientific mode of criticism adopted by a Thenius or Böttcher.... Consequently all the alterations of the LXX. in this section are simply the result of an arbitrary treatment of the Hebrew text, which they did not really understand, and consist of a collocation of all that is homogeneous, as every reader of this translation who is acquainted with the original text must see so clearly.⁵²

Commentaries with preconceptions such as above have not proved to be helpful for the task at hand. Because of this necessarily eclectic use of them, it is possible I have overlooked valuable pieces of information and

50. August Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige*, KK A3 (Nördlingen: Beck, 1887); Immanuel Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige*, KHC 9 (Leipzig: Mohr, 1899); Rudolph Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige: Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900); C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903); Bernhard Stade and Friedrich Schwally, *The Books of Kings: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text*, The Sacred Books of the Old Testament 9 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904).

51. Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige*; James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, ICC 10 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1951).

52. Carl Friedrich Keil, *The Books of the Kings*, BCOT (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1872), 175–76.

may have failed to give credit to an author who had earlier arrived at the same conclusion as I regarding a textual problem. In those cases, I cannot but ask for the patience of the reader.

Grouping of the Septuagint Manuscripts for 1–2 Kings

The edition of 1–2 Kings for the Göttingen Septuagint is being prepared by Julio Treballe and Pablo Torijano. I have had the opportunity to consult their preliminary critical apparatus, including the following preliminary grouping of the manuscripts. For bibliographical information on the manuscripts, see Alfred Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (MSU 2 [Berlin: Weidmann, 1914]) and Alfred Rahlfs, *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert* (vol. 1.1 of *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, ed. Detlef Fraenkel [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004]).

Uncials: A B V

O: A-247

L: 19-82-93-108-127-(700 in 2 Kgs)
19': 19-108

CI: 98-(243)-379-731
98': 98-379

CII: 46-52-236-242-313-328-530
46': 46-52
242': 242-328
C': CI + CII

b: 121-509

d: 44-106-107-125-610

f: 56-246

o: 64-381

s: 92-130-314-488-489-(762)
488': 488-489

t: 74-120-134-(370)

z: 68-122

x: 119-527-799

Manuscripts without grouping:

55 71 158 244 245 318 (342) 372 460 554 627 (700 in 1 Kgs) 707

Part 1: Lucifer's Readings in the Nonkaige Section

1 Kgs 11:14, 23–25 (*Reg.* 3)

At the beginning of the third chapter of *De regibus apostaticis* (*Reg.*), Lucifer recounts the—probably imaginary—argument of Emperor Constantius:

You say: “If I had conducted myself badly, if I was a heretic as Lucifer says, God would already have taken away my kingship.” You should accept that even Solomon lived on after having committed idolatry, and try to understand that you are similar to what he became after the idolatry. (*Reg.* 3)¹

After this Lucifer quotes 1 Kgs 11:14, 23–25, which belong together in the LXX. In the MT, 1 Kgs 11:14 contains only a quite short notice on Hadad, Solomon's adversary. In the LXX, however, this verse provides information about Rezon (LXX: Esrom) that is not found until verses 23–25 in the MT.

1 Kgs 11:14, 23–25 (NRSV)

14 Then the Lord raised up
an adversary against Solomon,
Hadad the Edomite;
he was of the royal house in Edom.
[vv. 15–22]
23 God raised up another adversary
against Solomon, Rezon son of Eliada,
who had fled from his master, King

3 Rgns 11:14 (NETS)

And the Lord raised up
a satan against Salomon,
Hader the Idumean

and Hesrom son of Eliadae
who was in Raemmath,

1. My trans.; cf Ugenti, 89: “«Se mi fossi comportato male, dici, se, come dice Lucifero, io fossi eretico, Dio mi avrebbe già tolto il regno». Sappi che anche Salomone continuò a vivere dopo essere caduto nell'idolatria e cerca di capire che anche tu sei tale quale fu lui dopo l'idolatria.”

Hadadezer of Zobah.	Hadrazar, king of Souba, his master,
24 He gathered followers around him	and men were gathered around him,
and became leader of a marauding band,	and he was leader of a band,
after the slaughter by David;	
they went to Damascus,	and he first captured the city of Damasek,
settled there, and made him king in	[+ and he resided in it and reigned in
Damascus.	Damasic Luc]
25aα He was an adversary of Israel	and they were a satan to Israel
all the days of Solomon,	all the days of Salomon.
	And Hader the Idumean was of the seed of
	the kingdom in Idumea. (cf. NRSV v. 14)
	[vv. 15–22]
making trouble as Hadad did; ...	25aβ This was the evil which Hader did, ...

There are many theories on whether the order of verses 14, 15–22, 23–24, and 25 in the MT or the LXX (14, 23–25aα, 15–22, 25aβ) is the older one.² Here it suffices to observe that Lucifer's quotation of verse 14 includes the notion about Rezon/Esrom and thus it is clear that he is following the order of the LXX.

- 1 Kgs 11:14[14a] Καὶ ἤγειρεν κύριος σαταν τῷ Σαλωμων τὸν Ἀδερ τὸν Ἰδουμαῖον (Rahlfs)
Et suscitavit dominus satan Salomoni Ader Idumaeum Luc Reg. 3
 (140,5–6)
Et suscitavit Dominus satanan ... La^M
- 1 Kgs 11:14a.1 ἤγειρεν A B 247 L CI 509 246 o x 55 244 318 372 460] ἐξήγειρε(ν) rel;
suscitavit Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:14a.2 (τῷ) Σαλωμων] Σολομῶντι L 246 z; Σολομῶν 379 d 71 158 342; *Salomoni*
 Luc = Vg.

In variation unit 1 Lucifer's *suscitavit* "raised" may reflect either Greek verb (with or without a prefix). In Lucifer's works the name Solomon (2) is found thirty times, spelled twenty-nine times with an *a* as the first vowel. The only occasion of spelling with an *o* is in Acts 5:12 // *Parc.* 17 (ἐν τῇ στοᾷ Σολομῶντος *in portico Solomonis*) where the New Testament usage—Σολομῶν always preferred—explains the spelling. In the case of a familiar name the copyists of Lucifer's works were prone to follow the spelling

2. E.g., 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, 2005), 227, argues that "there is good reason to believe that the arrangement of vv. 22–25 in the LXX is the result of secondary revision." Van Keulen provides ample references to other studies pertaining to the question.

familiar to them. Because of the usage in the Vulgate—*Salomon* in both Testaments—the familiar spelling most likely was the one with *a*. Thus, none of the cases of the proper noun Solomon should be accepted as a genuine agreement between Lucifer and B against *L*. We will later see a comparable phenomenon with the name Elijah (see 1 Kgs 18:25 below).

- 1 Kgs 11:23[14b] καὶ τὸν Εσρωμ υἱὸν Ελιαδαε τὸν ἐν Ραεμμαθ Αδραζαρ βασιλέα Σουβα
κύριον αὐτοῦ· (Rahlfs)
*et Esrom filium Anadeth in Remathad, Adragas regem Saba dominum
eius.* Luc Reg. 3 (140,6–7)
- 1 Kgs 11:14b.1 καὶ 1° B L CI-242' 509 d⁻¹⁰⁶ 246 x 158 244 318 372 460 Luc] – 14c
Ιδουμαῖος > A 247; + καὶ ἡγειρεν κύριος τῷ Σαλωμων σαταν rel: cf. MT
(v. 23)
- 1 Kgs 11:14b.2 הָרֹן Εσρωμ. B CI 509 158 244 460 Luc] Ἑσρών L 328 246; Ραζων 245;
(N/P)αζρων (vel sim) rel
- 1 Kgs 11:14b.3 אֶלְיָדָא Ελιαδαε] Ἑλιαδάθ 19' 246; Ελειαδαθ 127; Αλειαδαθ 93; *Anadeth*
Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:14b.4 (הַדְדֵּזֶר) מֶאֶת בֶּרֶךְ בְּרַח עֲנִי רַח עֲנִי Εν Ραεμμαθ (vel sim) B 509 460 Luc] ἐκ Ῥαεμάθ L
328 246; Βαραμεεθ (vel sim) rel
- 1 Kgs 11:14b.5 הַדְדֵּזֶר Αδραζαρ (vel sim) L 158 318 342 460] Αεραδραζαρ B; Εραδααζαρ
509; Αδραδα/εζερ o; Αδαδεζερ (vel sim) rel; *Adragas* Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:14b.6 צֹבָה Σουβα Luc^{Ugenti}] Σαβα CI-328 Luc^{Diercks}; *Soba* Vg.

In variation unit 1 Lucifer follows the original reading of B, L, and many other witnesses; the variation is probably Hexaplaric. Rahlfs convincingly suggests that Lucifer follows the reading of MS 93 in the form of the name for Rezon's/Esrom's father (3) but through a misreading: if the Greek name was written as ΑΛΙΑΔΑΘ (pronounced the same as Αλειαδαθ), the combination *lambda-iōta* was read as a *nu*: *ΑΝΑΔΑΘ.³ The Hebrew text continues with “(who) had fled from [מֶאֶת בֶּרֶךְ] Hadadezer”⁴ but the translator read the first *bet* as a preposition and thought that the following letters form

3. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 145.

4. Ugenti, 89, provides the notion in his translation (“*Anadet di Rematad, fuggito dal suo padrone*”) with the following comment: “Il testo citato da Lucifero è evidentemente lacunoso, ma la lacuna risale al testo greco dei LXX. E’ possibile comunque integrare il senso sulla base del testo ebraico e della Vulgata” (“There is evidently a lacuna in the text quoted by Lucifer, but the lacuna goes back to the Greek text of the LXX. It is possible to restore the meaning on the basis of the Hebrew text and the Vulgate,” my trans.).

a proper noun.⁵ After that there would follow an implicit comma so that Hadadezer (Ἀδραζαρ) would be the next adversary. Rahlfs supposed that the OG translator produced the transliteration ἐν Παεμμαθ (4) while no Greek manuscript reads that exactly.⁶ Lucifer, nevertheless, agrees with B, 509, and 460 in attesting the preposition ἐν and not attesting the forms Παεμάθ (L 328 246) or Βαραμεεθ (majority) precisely.⁷ Lucifer does not quote the proper noun צֹבָה סוּבָּא (6) in any other context,⁸ nor is the Vulgate form of the name (*Soba*) found in his texts. In Lucifer's works numerous proper nouns are spelled somewhat differently than in the known Greek witnesses, especially concerning the vowels. In the near context we have several such spellings: *ΑΝΑΔΑΘ *Anadēth* (see above), Δαμασεκ *Damasic* (v. 24[14c]), Ιεροβοαμ *Hieroboas* (v. 29 // Reg. 4), Χαμωσ *Camā* (v. 33). It seems that an underlying Latin version, Lucifer himself, or a later copyist was not too strict with respect to the spellings of proper nouns, and varying manners of pronunciation of different times and places may play a role as well. It is even possible that Lucifer's *Saba* is to be taken as Sheba: *Saba* is the form used in the Vulgate for Sheba in 1 Kgs 10. These considerations suggest that the agreement with *CI*⁻³²⁸ in the spelling *Saba* may be coincidental.

- 1 Kgs 11:24[14c] καὶ συνηθροίσθησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄνδρες, καὶ ἦν ἄρχων συστρέμματος καὶ προκατελάβετο τὴν Δαμασεκ· (Rahlfs)
Et congregati sunt super eum uiri, et erat princeps congregationis, et praeoccupauit Damasica ciuitatem et sedit in ea et regnavit in Damasica, Luc Reg. 3 (140,7–9)
Regnavit in Damascum. La^M
- 1 Kgs 11:14c.1 יוֹדָא סוּסְטְרֵמְמָטוֹס Luc (*congregationis*)] συστρεμμάτων L 246 ο x 372
- 1 Kgs 11:14c.2 יוֹדָא Δαμασεκ] Δαμασκόν L 328 246 158; *Damasica ciuitatem* Luc; *Damascum* Vg.
- 1 Kgs 11:14c.3 יוֹדָא יוֹמְלֵכוֹ בְּיָמָיו בְּהַיָּוָה fin] + καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Δαμασκῶ (Δαμασεκ 799 55 245 318 342 372 707 Luc) L 328 ο (799)⁹
 55^{ms} 71 158 244^{ms}(vid) 245 318 342 372 707 Luc

5. Thus also Marvin A. Sweeney, *I and II Kings: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 154.

6. ἐν Παεμμα B; ἐν Παδελμα 509; ἐν Παδελμαερ 460; in *Remathad* Luc.

7. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 145, maintains that Lucifer actually reads *Remahad* ("So hat die Handschrift ursprünglich ... *Remathad* ist jüngere Korrektur") and thus follows *L* here.

8. The form *Saba* as an error for Βαασα is found in 1 Kgs 20[21]:22 (see below).

9. MS 799 has the plus in v. 14d after the word Ἰσραηλ.

The plural form for the noun σύσπρεμμα “group of men” in *L* 246 ο x 372 (1) is either conformation with the ending of the previous word ἄρχων, which, of course, is not a plural but a singular of the masculine participle, or the plural is there to emphasize the threat Rezon posed to Solomon. Lucifer attests the form Δαμασεκ for the name of the Syrian city in both instances (2, 3)—these are the only occasions of the proper noun in Lucifer's texts. For one reason or another, Lucifer sees it fit to specify that Damascus is a city (*Damasic ciuitatem*, 2); probably it was the only geographical name in the passage familiar to Lucifer.

Lucifer, along with *L* and a long list of witnesses, attests the plus “and he resided in it and reigned in Damascus” (3). It is possible that the plus is a Hexaplaric addition. There are, however, four considerations that speak against that.

1. The plus is attested by several good minuscules that, on the whole, are free from both Lucianic and direct Hexaplaric influence, namely, 71, 245, and 372.
2. While *L* 158 have the city name in its usual form Δαμασκός, the manuscripts 799 55 245 318 342 372 707 as well as Lucifer have the name in the form Δαμασεκ, which is the same as in *B* and the majority of the manuscripts directly before (2) and probably the older form of the name too.
3. The plus is attested by Lucifer, and, as it seems, by *La*^M.
4. A homoioteleuton error from the first Δαμασεκ to the second could easily have taken place in the transmission of the *B* text.¹⁰

The conclusion that the longer text represents the OG here violates the Lagardian principle that the reading further away from the Hebrew is likely to be the original one. The considerations above do show, however, that the possibility should not be dismissed, as is done by Percy S. F. van Keulen. He writes: “The clauses וישבו בה and וימלכו בדמשק (v. 24bβγ) are not represented in the LXX” and explains this further in a footnote: “The Ant. manuscripts ... however, do contain a rendering of v. 24bβγ: ... it

10. It could be added that the rendering ישב καθίζω in the meaning “to dwell” rather than “to sit” is not a particularly Hebraizing feature since the original translator uses it too: καὶ ἐκάθισεν Σεμεὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ (1 Kgs 2:38), καὶ ἐκάθισαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν αὐτῶν (2 Kgs 13:5), καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν Βαιθηλ (17:28), καθίσατε ἐν τῇ γῇ (25:24). There are no significant lexical variants.

may represent a later addition based on MT that was tailored to fit in with *προκατελαβετο* of the OG.”¹¹ Further still, van Keulen suggests that the clause may have been present in the *Vorlage* of the LXX but left untranslated because of problems relating to the context.¹² Van Keulen tries to dismiss the possibility of a homoioteleuton error: “The possibility should not be overlooked that during the transmission of either the Hebrew or the Greek text the passage in question fell out due to *homoioteleuton*.... However, this explanation ignores the connection between the absence of this passage in the LXX and the reading *προκατελαβετο*.”¹³ Methodologically speaking, I hold that if the textual evidence suggests that the shorter reading is an error, any literary-critical consideration that would suggest that the longer reading is secondary does not change the situation.¹⁴

1 Kgs 11:25[14d] καὶ ἦσαν σαταν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας Σαλωμων. καὶ Ἀδερ ὁ Ἰδουμαῖος ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος τῆς βασιλείας ἐν Ἰδουμαίᾳ· (Rahlfs)
et erant satanae Salomoni et Israel omnibus diebus Salomonis. Probaui-
mus tibi etiam Salomonem aliquot annis regnasse post idololatriam, ...
Luc Reg. 3 (140,9–141,11)
Et erat satanas in Israel omnibus diebus Salomonis. La^M

1 Kgs 11:14d יְהוָה ἦσαν B 509 125 55* 71 318 372 460 Luc] ἦν rel

In the LXX, two (or three, see v. 14b above) adversaries are mentioned and therefore it is appropriate to give the final predicate in the plural as Lucifer and B 509 125 55* 71 318 372 460 do. The singular in the majority of the witnesses is probably not conformation to the Hebrew reading but simply to the singular “satan.” Lucifer’s quotation ends with the words “all the days of Salomon” but no Greek witness omits the latter part of the verse. “Hader the Idumean” has been mentioned already in verse 14a and to leave out a reference to him fits perfectly with Lucifer’s quoting practices.

Conclusion: The passage 1 Kgs 11:14, 23–25 is one of the five quotations by Lucifer that Rahlfs analyzed. Rahlfs begins with the observation that

11. Van Keulen, *Two Versions*, 232 n. 19.

12. Van Keulen, *Two Versions*, 232.

13. Van Keulen, *Two Versions*, 232 n. 21.

14. What is said here does not, however, have any effect on van Keulen’s hypothesis concerning the passage since he does not suggest that the clause “(they) settled there, and made him king in Damascus” in Hebrew was a late addition. There are a few commentators who have considered following the longer *L* reading here, e.g., Gwilym H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, 2 vols., NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 1:240.

Lucifer's text bears no signs of Hexaplaric influence and concludes that Lucifer does not follow strictly any one tradition but agrees mostly with the B and L texts and can be defined as being in the midway of those. Rahlfs maintains, however, that the agreement with the Lucianic MS 93 in the proper noun *Anadeth*/Αλειαδάθ (14b.3) and with the whole Lucianic group in the plus of *et sedit in ea et regnavit in Damasic* (14c.3) are more noteworthy than the agreements with the B text.¹⁵ The former of the aforementioned readings is the only case in this passage in which Lucifer appears to agree with a Greek witness in a clearly secondary reading. The other secondary readings by Lucifer are special readings found only in his text. Since there are only eight more or less clear readings in this passage, the number of agreements alone does not tell us much, and while Lucifer agrees with B against L in five readings that are original with some probability, none of the agreements are particularly striking. Thus Rahlfs's conclusion is valid.

1 Kgs 11:29–38 (11:27–36 Ant) (*Reg.* 4)

After having dealt with Solomon's idolatry, Lucifer proceeds to the narrative featuring Jeroboam already in chapter 3 of *De regibus* (141,30–62) and ends the chapter with a long quotation from 1 Kgs 12 (see below). In chapter 4 Lucifer returns to the theme of Solomon's idolatry being punished by the division of his kingdom and the greater part of it ending up in the hands of a much more notorious idolater and a son of a prostitute, Jeroboam. Lucifer recounts the encounter between Jeroboam and the prophet Ahijah (1 Kgs 11:29–38 [27–36 in Ant]) at some length.

For practical reasons the analysis is divided into three parts: verses 29–33, verse 34 where the most substantial textual differences are found, and verses 35–38.

15. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 146: "Lucifers Septuaginta-Text geht hier also mit keiner der uns bekannten Textformen vorzugsweise zusammen, berührt sich aber am meisten mit BAeth und Q und läßt sich am besten als ein Mittelding zwischen BAeth und Q definieren."

Jeroboam and Ahijah (1 Kgs 11:29–33)

- 1 Kgs 11:29 καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ Ιεροβοαμ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ εὗρεν αὐτὸν Αχιας ὁ Σηλωνίτης ὁ προφήτης ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ ἀπέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ· καὶ ὁ Αχιας περιβεβλημένος ἱματίῳ καινῷ, καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. (Rahlfs)
Et factum est, inquit, in tempore illo, et Hieroboas exiit de Hierusalem, et inuenit eum Achias Silonites propheta in uia, et Achias opertus erat uestimento nouo, et ambo erant in campo. Luc Reg. 4 (143,27–29) Et utrique singulares erant in campo. La^M
- 1 Kgs 11:29.1 Ιεροβοαμ] Hieroboas Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:29.2 נָצַח עָלָיו εὗρεν Luc] εἶδεν L 246
- 1 Kgs 11:29.3 Αχ(ε)ιας 1° A B 247 509 158 245 460 Luc] Αχ(ε)ια rel; Ahias Vg.
 Cf. 12:24h.2 Αχια] Αχεια B 82; Achiab Luc
 Cf. 12:24k.5 Αχια 1° et 2°] Αχεια B 82-93; Achiab Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:29.4 Σηλων(ε)ίτης] Σιλωνίτης (vel sim) (247) 530 246 488 71 158 (245) 318 460 Luc; Σειλωνείτης 93
 Cf. 12:24h.1 Σηλω B L 243-731 328 x⁻¹¹⁹ 244 342 554 707] Σηλωμ 379 509 ο 55 71 372; Σιλω 98 107-610 246 119 158 245 318 627 Luc; Σιλωμ V 460
 Cf. 12:24k.6 Σηλωνίτην Luc] Σιλωνίτην V 246 158 245 318 460 707
- 1 Kgs 11:29.5 καὶ 4° – fin] > 509 460
- 1 Kgs 11:29.6 καὶ ἀπέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ] > Luc = MT
- 1 Kgs 11:29.7 Αχ(ε)ιας 2° A B 247 245 Luc] Αχ(ε)ια rel
- 1 Kgs 11:29.8 ἱματίῳ καινῷ] ἱμάτιον καινόν L 246 527; uestimento nouo Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:29.9 ἀμφότεροι A B V 247 x 245 Luc] + μόνοι rel La^M = MT
- 1 Kgs 11:29.10 הָיוּ שָׁם (ἐν) τῷ πεδίῳ] pr erant La^M Luc; תָּהָּם ὁδῷ L (509? 460?)¹⁶

Lucifer spells the name Jeroboam (1) with a final -s in the nominative but with an -m in the accusative. The Hebrew נָצַח “to find” is consistently rendered with the corresponding Greek verb εὕρισκω throughout Samuel-Kings. In the Antiochian text there does not seem to be a tendency to change εὕρισκω to ὁράω—the instance in 11:29.2 is the only one in 1 Kings.

16. The manuscripts 509 460 omit the latter part of the verse after the words “found him on the way,” which may be a weak hint indicating that their exemplar(s) attested the L reading; the omission would be a homoioteleuton error from the first ὁδῷ to the second.

There is enough graphical similarity between εὔρεν and εἶδεν to suppose that the latter reading is an error in the archetype of *L*.

In Lucifer's texts the name Ahijah is mentioned six times, spelled as *Achias* in *Reg.* 4 but *Achiab* in *Reg.* 5. The former spelling likely attests the Greek form Αχ(ε)ιας (A B etc.; 3, 7) but the latter may be a mix-up with the name of King Ahab (Αχααβ] *Achab* Luc; *Ahab* Vg.) by the copyists of Lucifer's works. As for the name of the hometown of the prophet, Lucifer quotes the name only twice. The itacism makes it uncertain which Greek spelling Lucifer's *Silonites* (4) attests.

In the entire passage, the only substantial quantitative difference between Lucifer and the B text outside verse 34 is Lucifer's lack of a correspondence for the words "and took him aside out of the way" (6). The minus in Lucifer's text is easily explained as a homoioteleuton error,¹⁷ or Lucifer might have dropped the clause because it is not crucial in the narrative. Lucifer probably agrees with the dative (B etc.) against the accusative (*L* 246 527) case for the expression "with a new garment" (8), but the ablative *uestimento nouo* may simply be due to the Latin usage. In the variation unit 9 Lucifer does not attest the, likely Hexaplaric, addition μόνον "alone" (attested by La^M). The Latin witnesses agree coincidentally in adding the predicate "to be" (10), which is the standard usage in Christian Latin. Since it is stated that Ahijah met Jeroboam "on the way," the Lucianic reviser changes the ending from "and both were in the plain" to "on the way" (10), although in between it is said that Ahijah took Jeroboam "aside out of the way."

17. The same may happen even in the Greek text despite the different case for the word ὁδός: καὶ εὔρεν αὐτὸν Αχιας ὁ Σηλωνίτης ὁ προφήτης ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ ἀπέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ. In Latin, the word *via* would be in the ablative case in both clauses: *et inuenit eum Achias Silonites propheta in uia* *[et avertit eum de *via*]. A homoioteleuton error is the probable cause for the minus in the MT; thus Martin Noth, *Könige*, BKAT 9.1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968), 242; John Gray, *I and II Kings: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1970), 290 ("having perhaps been omitted by MT by homoioteleuton of *derek*"); similarly, with some reservation, Albert Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige*, vol. 1, EHAT 9.1 (Münster: Aschendorffsche, 1911), 318 ("durch Homoeoteleuton ausfallen konnte"). Differently, e.g., Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 126: an "explanatory gloss." Mordechai Cogan, *I Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 10 (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 339: "The LXX addition ... seems to explain how, at the end of the verse, they are said to have been 'in the open country.'"

- 1 Kgs 11:30 καὶ ἐπελάβετο Ἀχία τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ τοῦ καινοῦ τοῦ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ διέρρηξεν αὐτὸ δώδεκα ῥήγματα (Rahlfs)
et adprehendit Achias uestimentum suum nouum quod super se habebat et dirupit illud duodecim scissuris Luc Reg. 4 (143,30–31)
- 1 Kgs 11:30.1 Ἀχία (sic Rahlfs)] Ἀχία B L^{-19'}; Ἀχίας 247 245 Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:30.2 αὐτῷ] + *habebat* Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:30.3 αὐτό Luc] αὐτῷ V* 19-82 243-731 CII^{-236.530c} 509 125 o 488 74 71 158 244 245 372 707; αὐτά A; > 342

Lucifer follows B but adds the predicate *habebat* “(that) he had” after the expression “that was upon him.” The difference between the accusative and dative forms of the latter pronoun αὐτός is only transcriptional.

- 1 Kgs 11:31 καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Ἱεροβοαμ Λαβὲ σεαυτῷ δέκα ῥήγματα, ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ Ἴδοὺ ἐγὼ ῥήσω τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκ χειρὸς Σαλωμων καὶ δώσω σοι δέκα σκῆπτρα, (Rahlfs)
et dixit ad Hieroboam: accipe tibi decem scissuras, quoniam haec dicit dominus deus Israel: ecce ego dirumpo regnum de manu Salomonis, et dabo tibi decem sceptrā; Luc Reg. 4 (143,31–34)
- 1 Kgs 11:31.1 σκῆπτρα Luc] ῥήγματα A

No significant variants.

- 1 Kgs 11:32 καὶ δύο σκῆπτρα ἔσονται αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν δοῦλόν μου Δαυὶδ καὶ διὰ Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἐξελεξάμην ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκ πασῶν φυλῶν Ἰσραὴλ, (Rahlfs)
et duo sceptrā erunt illi propter seruum meum David et propter Hierusalem ciuitatem, quam elegi ex omnibus tribubus Israel, Luc Reg. 4 (143,34–36)
- 1 Kgs 11:32.1 ἔσονται Luc] ἔσται L 246
- 1 Kgs 11:32.2 τὸν δοῦλόν μου / Δαυὶδ Luc = MT] tr B 242 71 554
- 1 Kgs 11:32.3 ἐν αὐτῇ] αὐτήν 247 509 460; > (125) Luc

In the MT, the word order “David, my servant” is far more usual than the reversed order, found here in 11:32.2 in the MT, the majority of the LXX witnesses, and Lucifer’s text. This is the only instance I located in which a Greek witness goes against the Hebrew when the latter provides the unusual word order. The opposite—“my servant David” in the Greek against “David, my servant” in the Hebrew—happens twice and in both instances the witnesses are divided (2 Sam 3:18, 1 Kgs 11:36). Otherwise the LXX follows the order found in the MT (“my servant David” 3x, “David, my servant” 11x; see the table below).

Table 3. The Word Order of “My Servant / David” in the LXX		
	ὁ δοῦλός μου Δαυιδ ¹⁸	Δαυιδ ὁ δοῦλός μου
¹⁹ עֲבָדִי דָוִד	1 Kgs 11:32 (rel); Ezek 34:23, 37:24	1 Kgs 11:32 (B+)
דָּוִד עֲבָדִי	2 Sam 3:18 (rel), 1 Kgs 11:36 (rel)	2 Sam 3:18 (A O); ²⁰ 1 Kgs 11:13, 34, 36 (247 246), ²¹ 38; 2 Kgs 19:34, 20:6; 1 Chr 17:4; ²² Ps 89:4, 21; Isa 37:35; ²³ Ezek 37:25 ²⁴

In light of the above data it seems that in 11:32.2 either the word order has been corrected in the majority towards “my servant David” in the Hebrew, or the correction has been towards the more usual order “David, my servant” in the B text without reference to any Hebrew reading. Since elsewhere in the context of 1 Kgs 11 the order is “David, my servant” (vv. 13, 34, 36[MT], 38), the latter option seems more likely. Thus Lucifer, *L*, and the majority agree against B in the original reading.

The superfluous ἐν αὐτῇ “in it” (3) after the expression “the city that I chose” is a Hebraism that Lucifer is prone to leave out.

18. All the grammatical cases are included.

19. Includes the Hebrew expressions with possible prefixes.

20. The manuscript data for 2 Samuel is taken from the preliminary critical apparatus for the Göttingen edition of 2 Samuel (2 Regnorum), under preparation by myself and forthcoming in 2022.

21. In 1 Kgs 11:36 where the majority gives the unusual, but clearly original, word order “my servant David,” the correction in 247 and 246 does not have to be Hexaplaric even if it agrees with the MT; it may well be produced by a copyist who preferred the usual word-order.

22. Δαυιδ τὸν *παῖδά* μου.

23. Joseph Ziegler, *Isaias*, SVTG 14, 3rd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983): Δαυιδ τὸν *παῖδά* (δουλον V C' 46 Cyr.^{lem}) μου (no word-order variants in Ziegler).

24. Joseph Ziegler, *Ezechiel*, SVTG 16.1, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977): “tr. 410.”

- 1 Kgs 11:33 ἀνθ' ὧν κατέλιπέν με καὶ ἐποίησεν τῇ Ἀστάρτῃ βδελύγματι Σιδωνίων καὶ τῷ Χαμῶς καὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις Μωαβ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν προσοχθίσματι υἱὼν Ἀμμων καὶ οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς μου τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ ὡς Δαυὶδ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ. (Rahlf's)
pro quibus dereliquit me Salomon, et fecit Astarte idolo immundo Sidoriorum et Cama idolo Moab et regi eorum religioni filiorum Ammon, et non abiit in vias meas, ut faceret quod rectum est coram me, sicut fecit David pater eius. Luc Reg. 4 (143,36–40)
- 1 Kgs 11:33.1 κατέλιπεν] ἐγκατέλιπεν (-πον 245) 247 L 125 246 o 68 x 158 245 318 342 372 707; *dereliquit* Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:33.2 με] + Salomon Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:33.3 וַיַּהֲרִיץ יְיָ ἐποίησεν Luc] ἐδούλευσεν L 158: cf. MT; ἐπέθυσεν 372
- 1 Kgs 11:33.4 Χαμῶς] Cama Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:33.5 יְהָלַךְ καὶ (+ ἐν B) τοῖς εἰδώλοις] pr εἰδώλῳ 799 318 342 707; εἰδώλῳ L 246 372 Luc: cf. MT
 Cf. 11:7[5] בָּחַר מֹדַע רָעָה וַיַּהֲרִץ יְיָ Χαμῶς εἰδώλῳ Μωαβ (no variants)
- 1 Kgs 11:33.6 מַלְכֹּם βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν Luc] Μελχόμ (V^c) L 246
 Cf. 11:7[5] יְהָלַךְ (καὶ τῷ) βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν B CI^{txt} 509 o x 460] pr Μελχόμ (vel sim) 55 318; pr μολοχ 372; Μελχόμ (vel sim) A 247 L CI^{ms} CII 121 d 246 s 71 158 244 554 707; μολοχ 245; + μολοχμ 342
- 1 Kgs 11:33.7 προσοχθίσματι Luc] προσοχθίσματα 19'
- 1 Kgs 11:33.8 υἱὼν Luc] υἱῶ A 707
- 1 Kgs 11:33.9 ἐπορεύθη Luc = MT] + ἐνώπιον κυρίου A
- 1 Kgs 11:33.10 וַיִּנְּךְ ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ Luc] ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου 247 = MT
- 1 Kgs 11:33.11 ἐμοῦ Luc] + καὶ διακριβείας μου καὶ κρίσεις μου A = MT
- 1 Kgs 11:33.12 ὡς = MT] καθὼς ἐποίησε(ν) L; *sicut fecit* Luc
 Cf. 11:38 וַיַּעַבְדְּ יְהוֹשָׁפָט כַּמֶּלֶךְ καθὼς ἐποίησεν (no variants)

Lucifer's *derelinquo* "to forsake" (1) may reflect either Greek verb. It seems that the LXX translator has made an error reading a form of the verb "to do" instead of "to worship" resulting in the curious clause "and acted for Astarte" (NETS) where the verb ἐποίησεν does not have an object. The reading ἐδούλευσεν in L 158 (3) is best explained as a recensional intervention to make the text easier. Although it might be seen as corresponding somewhat more closely to the MT, the reading is hardly Hexaplaric: in the Three the lexeme δουλ- is reserved for rendering the root דָּבַע whereas וַיַּהֲרִיץ is rendered with προσκυνέω as is done in the LXX.

For some reason the Greek translator has read a conjunction before the expression "the god(s) of Moab" (5) and thus the connection between

Chemosh and Moab (e.g., Num 21:29, Jdg 11:24, 1 Kgs 11:7) has been broken. The Lucianic reviser has clarified the expression with 11:7 as the likely point of reference. The addition of the word εἰδῶλῳ *before* καὶ τοῖς εἰδῶλοις in 799 318 342 707 may display the same clarifying need or it is a combination of the two readings. The question is whether Lucifer is actually following the *L* reading or making the same kind of clarification himself. While idolatry is one of the main topics in Lucifer's works, his main interest does not lie in religious-historical details. Therefore, I am inclined to think that if Lucifer had followed the B text here he would have reproduced it faithfully: **et idolis Moab*. After all, he follows the B reading καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν “and to their king” (6) even though it makes poor sense. In Hebrew, the difference between “their king” and “Milcom” is in the vowels only: מֶלֶךְ/מִלְכָּם. Thus either βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν (B etc.) or Μελχόμ (*L* 246) could be a Hebraizing reading! Whichever is the original Greek reading, it seems that by the time of the translation the correct vocalization had been forgotten; even the MT vocalization may be of late origin.²⁵ It is to be noted, however, that Milcom is connected with Ammon (e.g., 2 Sam 12:30), and thus his name might have been supplied here for contextual reasons. The phenomenon is likely connected with the previous variation unit: the Lucianic reviser has used 11:7[5]—where Milcom is found in the majority of the manuscripts—as the point of reference and changed the wording in verse 33 accordingly.

There are some Hexaplaric readings in A and 247 in the latter part of the verse (9–11), Lucifer follows none of these. In variation unit 12 Lucifer's *sicut* may reflect either ὥς (B etc.) or καθὼς (*L*) and the agreement with *L* in supplying a predicate is likely coincidental: for the sake of fluency, Lucifer needs the verb and *facio* is the only option.

“Resisting I Will Resist Him” (1 Kgs 11:34)

In verse 34 there is great confusion in the LXX manuscripts about the number and order of textual segments. I will first give all the textual evidence in an apparatus format and then provide a simplified table to bring out the most notable differences.

25. It has been suggested that calling the god of Ammon “their king” was an ancient usage that coined the scornful vocalization *milkom* using the vowels of מִקְוֶה “abomination”; thus Gray, *I and II Kings*, 291.

- 1 Kgs 11:34 καὶ οὐ μὴ λάβω ὅλην τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, διότι ἀντιτασσόμενος ἀντιτάξομαι αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, διὰ Δαυιδ τὸν δοῦλόν μου, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην αὐτόν. (Rahlfs)
Et non accipiam regnum totum de manu eius in diebus uitae eius propter Dauid seruum meum quem elegi, quoniam contra faciam illi²⁶ per omnes dies uitae eius. Luc Reg. 4 (143,40–42)
- 1 Kgs 11:34.1 καὶ – αὐτοῦ 1^o Luc] > L 328 ο x
- 1 Kgs 11:34.2 ὅλην / τὴν βασιλείαν A B 247 CI 55 158 244 318 372] om ὅλην 242 509 71 460; tr rel Luc = Treballe-Torijano²⁷
- 1 Kgs 11:34.3 αὐτοῦ 1^o] + ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις (+ τῆς ζωῆς 707 Luc) αὐτοῦ 342 707 Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:34.4 διότι – αὐτοῦ 2^o] tr post ἐξελεξάμην Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:34.5 διότι – αὐτῷ] > V 245
- 1 Kgs 11:34.6 διότι Luc] καὶ L 328 = Treballe-Torijano
- 1 Kgs 11:34.7 πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας Luc] ἐν (ταῖς) ἡμέραις V 245
- 1 Kgs 11:34.8 αὐτοῦ 2^o Luc] + καὶ οὐ μὴ λάβω τὴν βασιλείαν (+ ὅλην 328) ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ L^{-19'} 328 246; + καὶ οὐ μὴ λάβω τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην (> 799) ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ο x
- 1 Kgs 11:34.9 αὐτόν] > (125-)610 381 Luc; + ὃς ἐφύλαξε τὰς (> A 247) ἐντολάς μου καὶ τὰ (> A 247) δικαιώματά (ἀκριβείας A 247) μου A 247 L 328 246 = MT

First a rough comparison of the MT and the two major LXX traditions is in order. I have divided the verse into clauses using capital letters (A–E) for each sentence with the traditional letter signs in the left-hand column. If the capital letter is marked with a prime that means it lacks the word “whole” or “all,” a noteworthy detail.

26. Ugenti, 15: “contra facere *cum Dat. rarum*” = the expression is rare with the dative.

27. “Treballe-Torijano” stands for readings that the editors of Kings (Kingdoms) for the Göttingen Septuagint, Julio Treballe Barrera and Pablo A. Torijano, have chosen for their provisional critical text.

	MT (NRSV)	A B O o x and the majority (NETS)	Antiochian text (<i>L</i> 328 246) (NETS with my modifications)
a	Nevertheless I will not take the whole kingdom away from him but	A And I will certainly not take the whole kingdom out of his hand [omit here o x; cf. below]	
baa	will make him ruler	B because, resisting I will resist him	B And resisting I will resist him
baβ	all the days of his life	C all the days of his life,	C all the days of his life,
		[+ A but I will certainly not take the whole kingdom out of his hand o x]	A' but I will certainly not take the (+ whole 328) kingdom out of his hand
			C' during the days of his life, ²⁸
bβ	for the sake of my ser- vant David whom I chose	D for the sake of my slave Daud, him whom I chose,	D for the sake of my slave Daud, him whom I chose,
by	and who did keep my commandments and my statutes.	[+ E and who did keep my commandments and my statutes. O]	E and who did keep my commandments and my statutes.

According to the MT, Yahweh will let Solomon remain the king as long as he lives: “I will make him ruler all the days of his life.” In addition, Solomon—that is, his descendants—will not lose the “whole” kingdom. By contrast, in the Greek sources Yahweh states that “I will certainly not take the whole kingdom out of his hand because, resisting I will resist him all the days of his life” (NETS). The peculiar reading in the LXX ultimately results from confusion between the Hebrew readings נָשִׂיא אֶשְׁתָּנוּגוּ “I will make him ruler” and נֶשֶׁן אֶשְׁנָאנוּגוּ “I will surely hate him.” Whichever of these

28. Subgroup 19' of *L* omits elements A' and C' due to a homoioteleuton error; see variation unit 8 above.

29. Cf. Judg 15:2: אֶמְרָתִי כִּי־שָׂנֵא שְׂנֵא תָהּ “I was sure that you had rejected her” and Hos 1:6: שָׂנֵא אֶשְׁנָא, ἀντιτασσόμενος ἀντιτάξομαι. BHS apparatus: “prp שָׂנֵא אֶשְׁנָא; frt I שָׂנֵא אֶשְׁנָא.” The Tov-Polak alignment (used via BibleWorks) suggests that the LXX read-

forms is the original one in Hebrew, the Greek clause καὶ ἀντιπασσόμενος ἀντιτάξομαι αὐτῷ is the corresponding textual segment. The notion of divine “resisting” is not wholly alien to the Hebrew Bible. A similar notion can be found in Jeremiah: “For I am with you, says the LORD, to save you; I will make an end of all the nations among which I scattered you, but of you I will not make an end. I will chastise you in just measure, and I will by no means leave you unpunished” (Jer 30:11 = 46:28). Thus, when we read in the majority of the witnesses of the LXX that “resisting I will resist him all the days of his life for the sake of my slave Daud, him whom I chose,” the idea is not as absurd as it may sound at first; “resisting” or “chastising in just measure” is better than negligence or outright rejection. However, the notion is far detached from a natural train of thought, especially when the clause “for the sake of my slave Daud” (D in my sigla) is read directly after the notion of “resisting.” It would seem more natural to mention the “resisting” first and bring forth the positive side of the issue—“I will not take the *whole* kingdom away from him”—only afterwards. This is, indeed, what we find in the Lucianic text (see the table above).

There is one detail that deserves special attention: the word “whole” or “all” which is כָּל in Hebrew but in Greek ὅλην (τὴν βασιλείαν) or πάσας (τὰς ἡμέρας) in the clauses “I will not take the *whole* kingdom out of his hand” (A) and “*all* the days of his life” (C). Several witnesses do not attest one or both of the words.

In the table on the following page, the variation in the Greek manuscripts is visualized in seven different columns with Lucifer’s form of the text as the eighth.

In most witnesses that begin the verse with clause A, there is the word “whole.” The only exception can be found in four generally good minuscules (242 509 71 460; variation unit 2). According to these manuscripts, Yahweh will not take the kingdom away from Solomon at all.³⁰ This must

ing derives from the verb נָשַׁן. Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea*, AB 24 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1980), 194, however, state, “LXX seems to imply a *niphāl* of *nš*.” Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 202 suggests נִשְׁנָה נָשַׁן. The most popular reconstruction of the *Vorlage* is לֹא נָשַׁן נָשַׁן (cf. Hos 1:6), thus Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige*, 343; Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 126; Šanda, *Könige*, 319; Noth, *Könige*, 243; Gray, *I and II Kings*, 291. Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 158, suggests “*nāso*’ *aššitennū*.”

30. It is hard to see this as meaning that Solomon’s son will get *a* kingdom (Judah) since in the entire passage “kingdom” clearly means the one kingdom of all the twelve tribes.

[illegible]

Subgroup 19' of L omits elements A' and C' due to a homoioteleuton error, see above.

mean that it is specifically Solomon himself who will not lose the kingdom as long as he lives. In almost all the witnesses it is stated that the “resisting” will continue “all the days of his life” (C). Only in manuscripts V and 245 is the word “all” missing (C’; variation unit 7).

It seems that the copyists were confused over whether it is the “whole” kingdom that will or will not be taken away and whether the “resisting” will continue “all” the days of Solomon’s life. Moreover, they were unsure which clause should be connected with the end of verse 33 (“[Solomon] has not walked in my ways, ... as his father David did”) and which part of the oracle goes together with the clause “for the sake of my servant David whom I chose” (v. 34 D).

This might have literary-critical implications: A literary critic who wishes to use the LXX as documented evidence for literary-critical solutions in this passage is likely to be overwhelmed by the multiple text forms. Without a knowledge of the textual history of the LXX, one is in danger of ending up by choosing the shortest or most fitting combination of readings and claiming that it is the oldest one. Or one might simply observe that since the B text is closest to the MT (with the exception of the minus of element E, which is clearly a late addition) it is probably closest to the OG and there just is some confusion among the other witnesses. The trouble of going through the possible causes of the multiple Greek text forms and the dependencies in them is considerable, but the task is not unachievable. After the oldest Greek form of the text is found there is much to be said about the oldest—or, at least *an older*—Hebrew form of the text.

In order to keep the analysis within a manageable scope, I will start with a hypothetical original Hebrew wording and show how supposing such an original combination can explain what we now find in the witnesses. While there are many attempts to solve the problem on the literary-critical level, none has delved deeper into this problem than Treballe in his famous *Centena in libros Samuelis et Regum*.³¹ Treballe concludes that the original LXX retains two separate phrases that both contain the reference to “the days of his life,” the first one with and the second one without the word “all.” This is, perhaps, the most logical combination, regardless of whether we read “make him ruler” with the MT or “I will resist him” with the LXX:

31. Treballe, *Centena*, 129–35. Treballe does not mention Lucifer in his analysis but speaks of the OL (“VL”) meaning Lucifer’s quotation.

- B Resisting I will resist him /
 I will make him ruler
 C all the days of his life,
 A' but I will certainly not take the kingdom out of his hand
 C' during the days of his life

With this sequence, the last phrase (D) “because of my servant David whom I chose,” is in the right place—it is connected with “not taking the kingdom out of his hand” rather than “resisting” as in the B text. This, indeed, is the sequence in the Antiochian text.³²

However, there are grounds for arguing that the logical train of thought in the Antiochian text was created by the Lucianic reviser. Since the sequence in the B text is quite difficult, the reviser is expected to move the element A(′) after the “resisting” theme (variant units 1, 8).³³ Trebolle argues against such a conclusion. Having element A only after element B also serves to connect the “resisting” theme with the reproach against Solomon in the preceding verse (33).³⁴ Moreover, to have the reference to “(all) the days of his life” (C / C′) in two different sentences (A C / B C) appears to be a double reading. If, then, the form now found in the Antiochian text is the most original Greek wording, what was in the original Hebrew? Trebolle suggests that the following development has taken place.

1. The phrase “I will make him ruler”/“resisting I will resist him” (B)—whichever the more ancient one—is a gloss: it interrupts the continuity between the phrases “I will not take the whole kingdom away from him” (A) and “for the sake of my servant David” (D).
2. Moreover, the gloss has separated the phrase “(all) the days of his life” (C) from the very first clause, leaving the first clause without any temporal modifier. This, in turn, has made it necessary to add the word “whole” in front of the word “kingdom”: “I will not take

32. Trebolle, *Centena*, 132–33.

33. Trebolle notes that this suggestion is made in several old commentaries, e.g., Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 343 and Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige*, 84. Thus also Montgomery, *Kings*, 247. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, attributes the entire formulation in the Antiochian text to the reviser who tried to make some sense of the overtly difficult form in the B text.

34. Trebolle, *Centena*, 132–33.

the kingdom away from him” would not be true once it is separated from the expression “during his lifetime.”

3. After the separation it was necessary to alter the formulation of the reference to the lifetime from “during” to “all the days” (בימי → כל ימי).

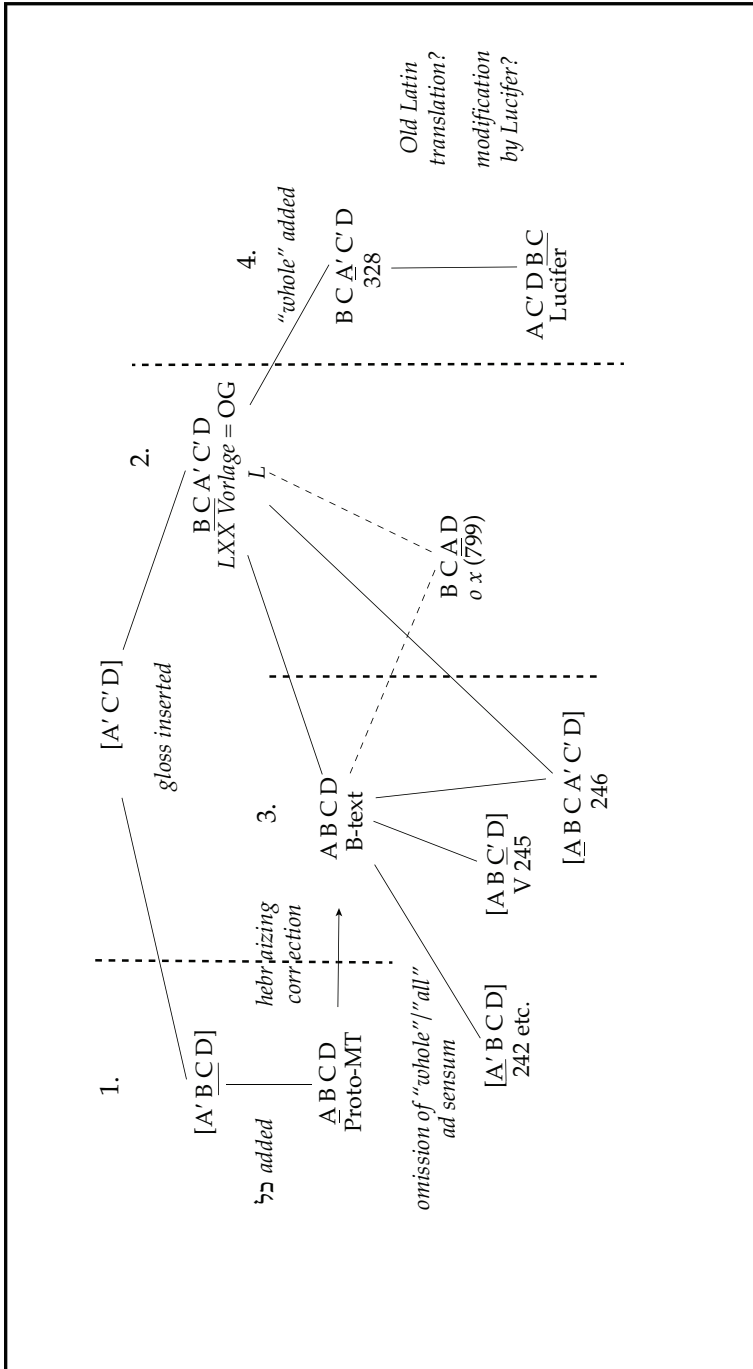
Thus in Treballe’s reconstruction the most ancient form of the text was דוד חיייו למען דוד ולא אקח את הממלכה מידו בימי חיייו למען דוד ... etc.”³⁵ Treballe’s reconstruction corresponds exactly to the form found in the Antiochian text (A’ C’ D)—with the exclusion of the clause “resisting I will resist him” (since it is a gloss).

Starting with Treballe’s reconstruction, I will attempt to demonstrate how the other text forms came about. The stemma below with the considerations following it is not based on what Treballe suggests but is my own attempt to solve the problem. Please note that the stemma, as such, implies nothing of the *relationship between individual manuscripts or even textual traditions*; it is the stemma of the readings in which a late manuscript can be higher than an old one. I find it, nevertheless, wise to keep the witnesses in the stemma even though that may cause misunderstanding. The stemma is divided into four sections, the following comments flow section by section roughly from top to bottom and left to right.

1. The gloss B is inserted. In one tradition it ends up between A’ and C’ causing the addition of the word “all” (C’ → C). Later still, the word “whole” is added³⁶ in clause A (A’ → A), resulting in the form now attested by the MT.
2. In another tradition the gloss B goes in front of the old form and the element C is added after it. This form is in all probability what the LXX translator found in the *Vorlage*.

35. In *Centena* the word מידו “from him” is missing, but Treballe informed me that it should be there (Treballe, *Centena*, 134).

36. Cf. several commentators who suggested that the word כל is secondary: Šanda, *Könige*, 319; Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige*, 100: “Entweder also müssen 34b–35 Zusatz sein oder ist כל zu streichen”; Gray, *I and II Kings*, 291: “We conjecture the omission of *kol* under the influence of what precedes regarding one tribe to be left under the house of David.” Differently Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, 1:245.



What about the two different forms of the gloss? The fact that the Hebraizing correction that changed the order of the clauses in the B text did not correct the exact wording of the gloss, might point to the conclusion that “resisting” is actually the original Hebrew wording and that what we now find in the MT is a corrupted form. Then again, the different location of the gloss in the Hebrew and in the oldest Greek tradition might be connected with its wording. I very tentatively suggest that its oldest form was that now found in the MT, but when it ended up between verses 33 and 34 in the *Vorlage* of the LXX, its very location made the change from a positive to a negative sense ever more probable. Since verse 33 ends with the words “he has not walked in my ways, doing what is right in my sight and keeping my statutes and my ordinances, as his father David did,” it is natural to expect that the following notion will be something negative: “Therefore, resisting I will resist him” rather than “Because I will make him ruler.” The decision on the exact wording of the gloss does not, as I see it, affect my stemma.

The proto-Lucianic text, by contrast, retains the OG form. The form now found in manuscript groups *ox* may derive from the OG form if they have lost element C’ accidentally (variant units 1, 8; see above). It may be, however, that their combination derives from the B text: element A has been moved to a later position in order to make the train of thought smoother.

3. After the OG translation, the tradition divided roughly into three. In the B text this passage undergoes correction according to the Hebrew text. There is extensive evidence that that can happen even outside the *kaige* sections.³⁷ The correction results in a combination that conforms to the form of the MT. This form proved to be difficult for some copyists who tried to make better sense by omitting the word “all”/“whole” in either A or C. The omissions result in the forms now found in MS 242 et cetera (variant unit 2) and V 245 (5). In a very late stage of the textual transmission, one branch (or even a single manuscript, 246; variant units 1, 8, 9) combines the OG form with the Hebraizing form of the B text, resulting in the fullest possible form of the text.

4. The third LXX tradition, reflected in MS 328, adds the word “whole” in element A (as happened in the proto-MT, see paragraph 1 above, but I suggest these are separate phenomena; variant unit 8). This is the form that

37. See A. Aejmelaeus, “*Kaige* Readings in a Non-*Kaige* Section in 1 Samuel,” in *The Legacy of Barthélemy: Fifty Years after Les Devanciers d’Aquila*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Tuukka Kauhanen, DSI 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 169–84.

ended up in the hands of either an OL translator or Lucifer himself. Whoever formulated the Latin translation probably moved the gloss B C later in the text (variant unit 4).³⁸ While Lucifer might have done this simply by accident—he is known to be a little careless occasionally, especially with long quotations—there might be a reason for this transposition. Even though the gloss “resisting I will resist him” was safely established in Lucifer’s Bible, it was nevertheless disturbing, even when it preceded the theme of taking away the kingdom. Moving the gloss after clause D (“for the sake of David”) does not clear all the difficulties, of course. Such a phenomenon demonstrates, nevertheless, the principle that intrusions cause fluctuation in the textual traditions.

Conclusion for verse 34: The unusual amount of disturbance in the form of the text in 1 Kgs 11:34 was probably initially caused by an ancient gloss “I will make him ruler” or “resisting I will resist him.” Ancient editors and copyists have tried to clear away these problems by reorganizing the clauses or by adding or omitting the word “whole” or “all.” Often they managed to create more problems. The Greek witnesses have preserved altogether eleven combinations of readings and Lucifer yet another one in Latin. Since the confusion started with a gloss that entered the text at a very early stage, purely textual criticism—in the narrow sense of the word—does not help solve all the problems. Literary-critical considerations, especially those put forward by Treballe, help us understand what has happened during the transmission of the Greek text: If we suppose that the original Hebrew wording was simply “I will not take away the kingdom [from him] during the days of his life because of David” et cetera, we can see that the gloss “I will make him ruler” or “resisting I will resist him” ended up in two different places in two branches of the early textual transmission. One of the branches came to be the proto-MT, the other one the *Vorlage* of the LXX. A Hebraizing correction changed the majority of the Greek tradition towards the proto-MT, but the proto-Lucianic text, together with a handful of other witnesses, retained the older form of the text. Lucifer ultimately follows the original form but with some changes that are partly to be attributed to the copying process, partly to modification by an OL translator or Lucifer himself. The instance should be counted as very heavy

38. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 202: “Lucifer [stellt ἀντιτασσομενος ἀντιταξομαι αὐτῷ] an den Schluß des Verses.”

evidence in favour of an overall conclusion that Lucifer's text goes back to an early, good text type.

The End of Ahijah's Prophecy (1 Kgs 11:35–38)

1 Kgs 11:35 καὶ λήμψομαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ δώσω σοι τὰ δέκα σκήπτρα, (Rahlfs)
Et accipiam regnum de manu filii eius, et dabo tibi sceptrā decem, Luc Reg. 4 (143,43–44)

1 Kgs 11:35.1 δέκα / σκήπτρα] tr Luc

No significant Greek variants.

1 Kgs 11:36 τῷ δὲ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ δώσω τὰ δύο σκήπτρα, ὅπως ᾗ θέσις τῷ δούλῳ μου Δαυὶδ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τῇ πόλει, ἣν ἐξελεξάμην ἐμαυτῷ τοῦ θέσθαι ὄνομά μου ἐκεῖ. (Rahlfs)
filio autem eius dabo duo sceptrā, ut sit positio seruo meo Dauid omnibus diebus coram me in Hierusalem ciuitate, quam elegi mihi, ut ponerem nomen meum ibi. Luc Reg. 4 (143,44–46)

1 Kgs 11:36.1 נִרְ תְּשִׁיִּס Luc] תְּלִיִּס L 731^{c1} 328 246 527 158 342^c 554 Prov 8:35
 Cf. 15:4 נִרְ לֹו אֶלְיִי וְהָיָה נִרְ יְדֹוֹקֵן אֶתְּוֹ כִּרְיִס קַאֲטָלֵימְמָא (no significant variants)

1 Kgs 11:36.2 ἦν Luc] ᾗ B 244 245

The Hebrew word נִרְ means “lamp” (or homonymically “tillable, untilled, or fallow ground”; Hos 10:12, Jer 4:3, Prov 13:23) whereas the corresponding B reading תְּשִׁיִּס means “setting, position” (“institution” NETS) and the L reading תְּלִיִּס “willing, will, goodwill, favour.” The word תְּשִׁיִּס is found only here in the LXX while תְּלִיִּס is found altogether nine times elsewhere and its cognate תְּלִיִּמָא “will” forty-nine times, including a few instances in Samuel-Kings (2 Sam 23:5; 1 Kgs 5:22, 23, 24; 9:11). Neither Greek reading can be easily back-translated to a Hebrew word that would be graphically similar to נִרְ(י), and thus the situation cannot be explained by an error or a different *Vorlage*. In addition to the expected renderings λύχνος (2 Kgs 8:19, 2 Chr 21:7), φῶς (Hos 10:12), and λαμπτήρ (Prov 21:4), נִרְ(י) is rendered as κατὰλειμμα “remnant” in 1 Kgs 15:4. This suggests that the translator of Kings understood the figurative use of the Hebrew word: it means something lasting, like a lamp that is never put out. Since it seems best to accept that the Greek translator actually read the word נִרְ here, תְּשִׁיִּס appears to be the safer bet for the word he chose: “so that there would be a *position* for my servant David” by retaining the

rule over Jerusalem in the hands of Solomon's descendants. The variant *θέλησις* might be purely transcriptional³⁹ or a deliberate decision by the Lucianic reviser to change a *hapax* in the LXX to a more common word.

The verb "to choose" usually takes the accusative and thus the dative *ᾧ* in B 244 245 (2) is probably a transcriptional error.

1 Kgs 11:37 καὶ σὲ λήμψομαι καὶ βασιλεύσεις ἐν ᾧς ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ σου, καὶ σὺ ἔσῃ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ. (Rahlfs)
Et accipiam te et regnabis in quibus concupiscit anima tua, et tu eris rex in Israel. Luc Reg. 4 (143,46–48)

1 Kgs 11:37.1 σὲ λήμψομαι] tr 460 Luc

No significant variants; the agreement between Lucifer and 460 in a tiny word-order issue is best ignored.

1 Kgs 11:38 καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν φυλάξης πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ἐντείλωμαί σοι, καὶ πορευθῇς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς μου καὶ ποιήσης τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ τοῦ φυλάξασθαι τὰς ἐντολάς μου καὶ τὰ προστάγματά μου, καθὼς ἐποίησεν Δαυὶδ ὁ δοῦλός μου, καὶ ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ καὶ οἰκοδομήσω σοι οἶκον πιστόν, καθὼς ᾠκοδόμησα τῷ Δαυίδ. (Rahlfs)
Et erit si custodieris omnia quaecumque praecepero tibi et ieris in vias meas et feceris quod rectum est in conspectu meo et custodieris praecepta mea et mandata mea, sicut fecit David servus meus, et ero te cum et aedificabo tibi domum fidelem, sicut aedificaui David. Luc Reg. 4 (143,48–52)

1 Kgs 11:38.1 יְהִי־וַיִּקַּח τὰς ἐντολάς μου / καὶ / τὰ προστάγματά μου A B 247 509 381 158 342] tr rel: cf. MT; *praecepta mea et mandata mea* Luc
 Cf. above יְהִי־וַיִּקַּח ἐντείλωμαί (σοι) *praecepero* Luc

1 Kgs 11:38.2 τὰ προστάγματα Luc = MT] pr πάντα L

1 Kgs 11:38.3 הָיָה לְךָ 2° Luc] > A 242-530 44(-610) 245 707

The renderings for the nomistic terms קָח or קָחָה, הָצַח, and וַפְּשֵׁם vary somewhat. For קָח/קָחָה, nevertheless, the OG rendering in Samuel-Kings clearly was *πρόσταγμα* (1 Sam 30:25; 1 Kgs 3:3; 8:58, 61; 9:4, 6; 11:11); the kaige revision tends to change it to *δικαίωμα*.⁴⁰ Thus, when the word *ἐντολή* is found corresponding to קָח/קָחָה in the MT (1 Kgs 2:3, 3:14, and here), one should probably suspect that there was actually the word הָצַח in the *Vorlage*; הָצַח-ἐντολή is the standard rendering in both the kaige and nonkaige sections. In addition, the verb צוה *piel* near the beginning

39. Thus Montgomery, *Kings*, 247.

40. See Tuukka Kauhanen, "Lucifer of Cagliari and the *Kaige* Revision," in Aejme-laes and Kauhanen, *Legacy of Barthélemy*, 162.

of 1 Kgs 11:38 is rendered with ἐντέλλομαι, which is the almost exclusive rendering in Samuel-Kings (exceptions are only two: καθίστημι 2 Sam 6:21, τάσσω 7:11). Elsewhere in Lucifer's biblical quotations *praeceptum* corresponds to ἐντολή three times (1 Kgs 13:21 // *Conv.* 3; Tobit 4:5 // *Athan.* 1.38; John 14:21 // *Athan.* 2.26) and to πρόσταγμα nine times (e.g., Lev 18:4, 5 // *Athan.* 1.3), while *mandatum* is found as a rendering for ἐντολή thirty-one times and never for πρόσταγμα. While Lucifer's usage elsewhere would point to the conclusion that here he follows the order πρόσταγμα–ἐντολή (*L rel*), it must be acknowledged that Lucifer may well vary his translations for nearly synonymous nomistic terms. Since in this verse he uses the verb *praecipio* “to take beforehand; to give rules” for the Greek verb ἐντέλλομαι, it seems to be the safest bet to accept that his *praecepta mea et mandata mea* follows the order in the B reading: ἐντολή–πρόσταγμα.

If Lucifer's support is counted in favour of the B reading, one must suppose that the word order in the *Vorlage* was *יְהִי וְיִקְרָא מִצְוָה. In that case the best explanation for the variant word order would be Hexaplaric correction. However, that the putative Hexaplaric reading is not supported by A 247 makes the supposition doubtful. Even if *L* is known to retain Hexaplaric readings without the support of A 247(–376) in 1 Samuel,⁴¹ *L* is much less Hexaplaric in Kings.⁴² If, however, one wishes to defend the *L* reading, one may observe that there is not a significant difference in the frequency of the different word orders: elsewhere when the words ἐντολή and πρόσταγμα are found in the same context (with or without other nomistic terms) the former is mentioned first eleven out of nineteen times. Thus it is hard to decide which of the word orders a scribe would have thought to be the more usual one; the change from πρόσταγμα–ἐντολή to ἐντολή–πρόσταγμα is as likely as the change in the other direction. These considerations suggest that if the order יְהִי וְיִקְרָא (MT) was in the *Vorlage*, then the order τὰ προστάγματατά μου καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς μου (*L rel*) is the original LXX reading. If, however, the B reading is the original one, the

41. Brock, *Recensions*, 150–51: “It is apparent ... that the group *L* is one of the best witnesses to the fifth column [of the Hexapla], fuller in fact, if more erratic, than either of the two specifically hexaplaric groups.” Brock gives some examples of these on 131, 135, 141.

42. See Pablo Torijano, “How Much Hexaplaric Material Entered into the Antiochene Textual Tradition?,” in Aejmelaeus and Kauhanen, *Legacy of Barthélemy*, 69–70.

word order of the *Vorlage* was likely **מצותי וחקותי**. There is probably no way to tell which is the case.

The Lucianic reviser has added the word “all” before “my ordinances” (2) since this is often found in other occurrences of the plural of the word (e.g., Lev 18:26, 19:37, 20:22). The omission of the latter **σοι** in A 242-530 44 245 707 (3) is in all likelihood a transcriptional error that can easily happen in the uncial script (*-cwcot*)⁴³. That the witnesses of the omission are mostly unrelated suggests that the error took place in several different branches of the transmission.

Conclusion for verses 29–38: Lucifer agrees with B, at least coincidentally, against *L* eight times (29.8 [coinc.?], 29.10 [*πεδίω campo*, *δδω L*], 33.3, 6; 34.9, 36.1, 38.1 [coinc.?], 2) In five of these Lucifer and B retain the OG reading and *L* attests a recensional improvement (or corruption in 36.1), once a Hebraizing addition (34.9); in the two remaining cases (33.6 *βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν* B Luc] *Μελχόμ L*, 38.1 *τὰς ἐντολάς μου / καὶ / τὰ προστάγματα μου* B Luc?] tr *L*) it is impossible to decide which is the original reading. By contrast, Lucifer and *L* agree against B in an original reading three times (32.2, 34.2, 36.2). The B reading in those cases results from an error (36.2), early free copying (32.2), or, in the case of verse 34, from complex issues. It is especially noteworthy that Lucifer substantially agrees with *L* in retaining an old form of verse 34, a verse with particularly complex textual problems. (See above for a separate conclusion on v. 34.)

Lucifer may agree with *L* in two recensional readings (33.5, 12), but the agreements may be coincidental. Expectedly, Lucifer does not attest the Hexaplaric readings found mostly in A 247, the main Hexaplaric witnesses (33.9–11). Significantly, one of these is not attested by A 247 but is attested by La^M (29.9). There is only one agreement between Lucifer and La^M against the Greek witnesses; even that is probably coincidental (29.10).

Finally, Lucifer attests a number of singular readings concerning small details that often make the text slightly more readable in Latin (30.2, 32.3, 33.2). Lucifer's lack of a correspondence for the LXX plus “and took him aside out of the way” (1 Kgs 11:29.6), a clause regarded as secondary by many commentators, is best explained as a homoioteleuton error.

43. The error is not very common but it can be found elsewhere, e.g.: 1 Kgs 20:2 *δδω σοι 2°*] > *σοι 68°*, 6 *δδω σοι 1°*] > *σοι 530*; 21:34 *ἀποδῶσω σοι*] > *σοι 460*.

1 Kgs 12:24a–b, 20 (12:25–28, 20 Ant) (*Reg.* 3)

Lucifer quotes a substantial passage concerning the kingship of Jeroboam within one page in the third chapter of *De regibus*. In the LXX, the mention of the death of Solomon and Rehoboam becoming his successor (1 Kgs 11:43, 14:21–22) are repeated after the story of the division of the kingdom (1 Kgs 12:1–24). The mention is followed by an account of how Jeroboam becomes king following largely what is said in both the MT and the LXX in 11:26–28, 40, 21–22; 12:3–24; and in 14:1–18 in the MT. In Rahlfs's verse numbering the passage is 12:24a–z while in the edition of the Antiochian text (Ant), the story is numbered as 12:25–13:32. Verses 13:33–14:45 in Ant correspond to 12:25–14:31 in Rahlfs, and both numbering systems coincide again at the beginning of chapter 15. There would be, of course, much to say about the literary and redaction-critical issue of the differences in the structure of the texts.⁴⁴ From our point of view it suffices to observe that the wording of Lucifer's quotation makes it clear that he is quoting 12:24a–b specifically, not 11:43, 14:21–22, or 11:26–28. The text of the last-mentioned verses is given below for comparison; the segments of text corresponding closely to that in 12:24a–b are underlined.

Verses 24a–b are not attested in the present context by A 247 CII³²⁸ 121 s t z; these witnesses are not included in the lemma or in “rel.” They do, however, attest 12:20 found at the end of Lucifer's quotation.

- 1 Kgs 12:24a Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμων κοιμᾶται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ θάπτεται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει Δαυιδ. καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ροβοαμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ ... (Rahlfs)
 Cf. 11:43 (a) καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Σαλωμων μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν πόλει Δαυιδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ... (b) καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμων ἐκοιμήθη μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ροβοαμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. (Rahlfs)
 et rex Salomon dormiuit cum patribus suis in ciuitate Dauid; et regnauit filius eius Roboam pro eo in Hierusalem, Luc Reg. 3 (141,26–28)
- 1 Kgs 12:24a.1 καὶ θάπτεται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ≈ 11:43(a)] > 19' 509 799 342 Luc = 11:43(b)

44. For a concise bibliography, see Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 164–65. It is to the credit of Sweeney that he provides a translation as well as a short commentary on the long LXX plus, even if with no text-critical comments (165–72).

1 Kgs 12:24a.2 Ροβοαμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ] *filius eius Roboam* Luc

1 Kgs 12:24a.3 ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ (1°) Luc] > V x = 11:43

The omission of the words “and was buried with his fathers” (1) is a clear error caused by the recurring phrase μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ. The change of word-order from “Rehoboam his son” to “his son Rehoboam” (2) is probably an adaptation by Lucifer. For some reason V x leave out the mention of Jerusalem from the succession formula. It is unclear if that is harmonization with 11:43.

1 Kgs 12:24a υἱὸς ὧν ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ, ... καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν ὁδῷ Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. (Rahlfs)
Cf. 14:21–22 Καὶ Ροβοαμ υἱὸς Σαλωμων ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ἰουδα· υἱὸς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτῶν Ροβοαμ ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ δέκα ἐπτὰ ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ ... (22) καὶ ἐποίησεν Ροβοαμ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου (Rahlfs)
et erat sedecim annorum cum regnaret, et uiginti annis regnauit in Hierusalem. Et infra: Et fecit malignum ante conspectum domini et non abiit in uia Dauid patris sui. Luc Reg. 3 (141,28–30)

1 Kgs 12:24a.4 υἱὸς ὧν] ἦν δὲ Ῥοβοάμ 554; om ὧν 509 71 245; *et erat* Luc

1 Kgs 12:24a.5 ἐκκαίδεκα Luc] 17 554^c; 41 V^c L 246 = 14:21

1 Kgs 12:24a.6 ἐτῶν Luc] + Ῥοβοάμ L 106 246

1 Kgs 12:24a.7 δώδεκα B 509 (460⁴⁵)] 17 rel = 14:21; *uiginti* Luc

1 Kgs 12:24a.8 ἐπορεύθη Luc] + Ῥοβοάμ L d 246

The Semitic expression for the age of a person is “he/she was a son/daughter of X years” and the LXX retains that by the reading “he being a son of” (note the Greek participle of the verb “to be”). Lucifer simplifies the expression to “and he/she was X years” (4). It is likely that the Lucianic reviser has changed the original figures of Rehoboam’s age and the length of reign to 41 and 17 (5, 7) in accordance with 14:21 where it is stated that “Rehoboam was forty-one years old when he began to reign, and he reigned seventeen years.” The latter correction has spread to the majority of the witnesses. Thus, it is best to conclude that the figures were 16 and 12 in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. As there are no obvious transcriptional reasons for the mix-up of the figures 41 and 16 or 17 and 12 in Hebrew, it is reasonable

45. δέκα δύο 460.

to accept that the LXX *Vorlage* retains another chronology.⁴⁶ Whatever the reason for the different figures, Lucifer probably reflects the reading of B in both instances, although through an error in the latter: since δώδεκα contains the elements “two” and “ten,” Lucifer’s busy mind misinterpreted it as “two times ten” while he must have very well known that in reality “20” in Greek is εἴκοσι. In addition, there is a slight chance of a transcriptional error between IB’ (12) and K’ (20) if the *bēta* is written in an angular manner and very close to the *iōta*.

The explication of the subject Rehoboam in *L* (6, 8) reflects the typical tendency of the Lucianic reviser.

- 1 Kgs 12:24b καὶ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὄρους Εφραιμ δοῦλος τῷ Σαλωμων, καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ιεροβοαμ, καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Σαριρα γυνὴ πόρνη· (Rahlfs)
Cf. 11:26 Καὶ Ιεροβοαμ υἱὸς Ναβατ ὁ Εφραθι ἐκ τῆς Σαριρα υἱὸς γυναικὸς χήρας δοῦλος Σαλωμων, (Rahlfs)
Et erat homo ex monte Ephraem seruus Salomonis, et nomen ei erat Hieroboam, et nomen matris eius erat Sariram, mulier fornicaria, et alio loco: ... Luc Reg. 3 (141,40–42)
Et erat homo de monte Ephrem, servus Salomonis, et nomen illi erat Hieroboam, et nomen matris illius erat Charira, mulier fornicaria. La^M
- 1 Kgs 12:24b.1 τῆς μητρὸς La^M Luc] τῇ μητρί *L d* 246
Cf. above αὐτῷ *ei* Luc] αὐτοῦ 245
- 1 Kgs 12:24b.2 Σαριρα (vel sim) Luc] σαρεισα B; Charira La^M
Cf. 11:26 Σαρ(ε)ιρα (vel sim) B rel] αρ(ε)ιρα 19' z 55^v 71 158 342; ασιρα (vel sim) 509 460; σισαρα 318 707; σαριδα καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ σαρου(ι)α A 247 = MT; Sareda cuius mater erat nomine Sarva Vg.
- 1 Kgs 12:24b.3 γυνή *mulier* Luc] > B

The change from the genitive to the dative in the expression of a person’s name (1; cf. καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ιεροβοαμ) is best attributed to the Lucianic reviser. In 1 Kgs 11:26 Jeroboam is said to be “an Ephraimite of Zeredah” (יְרֵדָה Σαριρα) and, according to the MT, his “mother’s name was Zeruah” (צְרוּעָה). First Kings 12:24b in the LXX, by contrast, does not mention Jeroboam’s home town but gives the name of his mother in the same form as B and the majority in 11:26: Σαριρα (2). Moreover, it is only in the LXX in 12:24b where Jeroboam’s mother is said to be a prostitute (πόρνη); 11:26 tells us that she was a widow. Lucifer is clearly following the majority text

46. On this topic, see James Donald Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings*, HSM 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968). As far as I can see, Shenkel regards the figures in 14:21 as correct (see pp. 31–33).

of 12:24b, and it is unlikely that the form *Charira* in La^M went back to a Greek reading. Both the singular readings in B above (2, 3) must be errors in B or its archetype.

- 1 Kgs 12:20 καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι ἀνέκαμψεν Ἱεροβοὰμ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἀπέστειλαν καὶ ἐκάλεσαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ· καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὀπίσω οἴκου Δαυὶδ πᾶρεξ σκήπτρου Ἰουδα καὶ Βενιαμὴν μόνοι. (Rahlfs)
Cf. 11:43 (a) καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς ἤκουσεν Ἱεροβοὰμ υἱὸς Ναβατ—καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτι ὄντος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὡς ἔφυγεν ἐκ προσώπου Σαλωμων καὶ ἐκάθητο ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ—, κατευθύνει καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ (Rahlfs)
Et factum est ut audiuit omnis Israel, quoniam reuersus est Hieroboas ex Aegypto, et miserunt et uocauerunt eum in synagoga et regnificauerunt eum in Israel, et infra: ... Luc Reg. 3 (141,43–142,45)
- 1 Kgs 12:20.1 πᾶς Luc = MT] > A 247
Cf. below **לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל** ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ (no variants)
- 1 Kgs 12:20.2 ἐξ Αἰγύπτου Luc] > A B V 247 509 460 = MT
- 1 Kgs 12:20.3 ἀπέστειλαν Luc = MT] ἀπέστειλεν B 509 488 158 372 460
- 1 Kgs 12:20.4 **וַיָּקָרְאוּ** ἐκάλεσαν Luc] ἐκάλεσεν B 509 158 372 460; εἰσήγαγεν A
- 1 Kgs 12:20.5 ἐβασίλευσαν Luc = MT] ἐβασίλευσεν 509 460 627
- 1 Kgs 12:20.6 ἐπὶ in Luc

The minus of “from Egypt” (2) in B and 509 likely represents the early kaige type correction, while in A as well as the rest of the witnesses the minus is probably a Hexaplaric omission. Thus, the textual evidence supports the conclusion that the longer reading is the original reading of the LXX and it faithfully reflects the reading of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. However, from the point of view of the original Hebrew text, the longer reading is probably secondary; Jeroboam's return from Egypt is mentioned already in 12:2–3, and the addition is meant to clarify that it is the same return that is referred to at the beginning of 12:20: “when all Israel heard that Jeroboam had returned.”

In variation units 3–5, only 509 and 460 attest the singular in all the instances. With the subject or correlate “Israel” (or “the people”), the predicate, pronoun, or suffix may be either in the singular or plural both in Hebrew and Greek. A brief survey in 1 Kgs 12 suffices to demonstrate this (singular in bold):

1 ὅτι εἰς Σικιμα ἤρχοντο (**כָּל**) πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ βασιλεῦσαι αὐτόν ... 12 καὶ παρεγένοντο πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ (differently MT) πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ... καθότι ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς (– MT) ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγων ἀναστράφητε (– MT) πρὸς με ...

16 καὶ εἶδον (אִי־י) πᾶς Ἰσραηλ ὅτι οὐκ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν (מֶלֶךְ) καὶ ἀπεκρίθη (יַבְשָׁרָא) ὁ λαὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγων (לֵאמֹר) ... ἀπότρεχε (– MT) Ἰσραηλ εἰς τὰ σκηνώματά σου (מִשְׁכָּנֶיךָ) ... καὶ ἀπῆλθεν (וַיֵּלֶךְ) Ἰσραηλ εἰς τὰ σκηνώματα αὐτοῦ (וּמִשְׁכָּנָיו) ... 18 καὶ ἐλιθοβόλησαν (וַיִּלְוּ) αὐτὸν πᾶς Ἰσραηλ ... 19 καὶ ἠθέτησεν (וַיַּשְׁחֵק) Ἰσραηλ ... 20 καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν (וַיִּשְׁמָע) (inf. cstr. MT) πᾶς Ἰσραηλ ...

In this small sample, we find a Greek singular predicate or pronoun for both the Hebrew singular (v. 16 ἀπῆλθεν, σου, αὐτοῦ) and plural (16 ἀπεκρίθη, 19 ἠθέτησεν). The same holds true for the Greek plural; it corresponds to both the Hebrew singular (1 ἤρχοντο, 16 εἶδον) and plural (16 αὐτῶν, 18 ἐλιθοβόλησαν). In addition, the same variation can be observed when the Hebrew counterpart is unclear, lacking, or a nominal expression (singular: 16 λέγων, ἀπότρεχε, 20 ἤκουσεν; plural: 12 παρεγένοντο, αὐτοῖς, ἀναστράφητε).

Since it is unlikely that the Hebraizing correctors were interested in this kind of detail, it seems safest to assume that the plural, attested by the majority and Lucifer, is the original reading. The change to singular may result from transcriptional reasons or the preference of an individual scribe.

Conclusion: Lucifer's text contains small adaptations (12:24a.2, 4) and a homoioteleuton error (24a.1), but in most cases Lucifer retains the original reading with the majority of the witnesses, five times against B, which has a corruption four times (24b.2, 3; 20.3, 4) and once a kaige-type reading (20.2). There are five clearly recensional readings in *L* that Lucifer does not attest (24a.5–8, 24b.1). While Lucifer's quotation agrees substantially with the wording of *La*^M, in verse 24b there are enough differences in details (*ex/de monte, nomen ei/illi, matris eius/illius*) to warrant the conclusion that they do not have to be interdependent.

1 Kgs 12:24g–m (13:1–11 Ant) (Reg. 5)

What is said in the LXX in 12:24g–m about the sickness of Jeroboam's son corresponds for the most part to 14:1–11 in the MT. For 14:2–6 in the MT and the Vulgate, there are five marginal readings in *La*^M. As Schenker points out, their sequence corresponds to the LXX in 12:24g–h. However, from this it does not follow that the readings witnessed an actual OL translation, as Schenker maintains: a glossator who wants to inform the reader

of the Vulgate about noteworthy Greek readings will naturally follow the sequence of the LXX.⁴⁷

The passage is not attested in its present place by A 247 127 CII-³²⁸ 121 44-106-125 s t z.⁴⁸ In the entire section L includes 19'-82-93 but not 127.

- 1 Kgs 12:24g Ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύου, ἐπερώτησον τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδαρίου, εἰ ζήσεται ἐκ τῆς ἀρρωστίας αὐτοῦ. (Rahlfs)
Vade ad dei hominem et disce an moriturus sit filius noster, Luc Reg. 5 (145,37)

Lucifer quotes verse 24g only *after* a long quotation from 24h-m. Although introduced as an explicit citation ("Hieroboas ... cum dixisset: *Vade* ..."), this short and free quotation is very likely made from memory and is best not used as a textual witness.

- 1 Kgs 12:24h καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ἐν Σηλω καὶ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἀχια, καὶ οὗτος ἦν υἱὸς ἐξήκοντα ἑτῶν, καὶ ῥῆμα κυρίου μετ' αὐτοῦ. (Rahlfs)
*Et homo, inquit, erat ex Silo*⁴⁹ *et nomen ei Achiab, et*⁵⁰ *hic erat sexaginta annorum et uerbum domini erat cum illo*. Luc Reg. 5 (144,9-11)
Et hic erat annorum sexaginta, et uerbum Domini cum eo. La^M (14:2)⁵¹
- 1 Kgs 12:24h.1 Σηλω B L 243-731 328 x⁻¹¹⁹ 244 342 554 707] Σηλωμ 379 509 o 55 71 372; Σιλω 98 107-610 246 119 158 245 318 627 Luc; Σιλωμ V 460
- 1 Kgs 12:24h.2 Ἀχια] Ἀχαια B 82; *Achiab* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24h.3 υἱός] > 246 527 460 La^M Luc
Cf. 24a.4 υἱὸς ὧν (ἐκκαίδεκα ἑτῶν)] ἦν δὲ Ῥοβοάμ 554; om ὧν 509 71 245; *et erat* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24h.4 κυρίου La^M] + ἦν 509 460; + *erat* Luc

Of the spellings of the proper nouns Shiloh and Ahijah, see 11:29 above. For Lucifer's treatment of the Semitic expression "son/daughter of X years,"

47. Schenker, "Der Platz," 203: "Sie muss sich daher auf einen andern, nämlich altlateinischen Haupttext bezogen haben" (emphasis in original).

48. I.e., it is attested by B V L⁻¹²⁷ CI 328 509 107-610 246 o x 55 71 158 244 245 318 342 372 460 554 627 707.

49. The reading *ex Silo* is reconstructed by the editor; both manuscripts read *exilon*. The origin of a person being introduced may be expressed either by ἐν + dat. (*in* + abl. in Latin) or ἐκ + gen. (*ex* + abl.).

50. Both manuscripts read *achiabeth*, probably a corruption from "*Achiab, et (hic)*" as reconstructed by the editor.

51. Moreno, *Glosas*, 68, introduces briefly the problematics of the different placements of the marginal readings: they are sometimes found under the corresponding LXX passage, sometimes under the corresponding verse in the Vulgate.

see 12:24a above. Here the agreement with three manuscripts and La^M is probably coincidental, as is the agreement with MSS 509 460 in supplying the predicate “was” after “the word of the Lord.”

- 1 Kgs 12:24h καὶ εἶπεν Ἱεροβοάμ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Ἀνάστηθι καὶ λαβὲ εἰς τὴν
 χεῖρά σου τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄρτους καὶ κολλύρια τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ
 καὶ σταφυλὴν καὶ στάμνον μέλιτος. (Rahlfs)
*Et dixit Hieroboam ad uxorem suam: surge et accipe in manu tua
 homini dei panes et collyrides filiis eius et uuas et uas mellis.* Luc Reg. 5
 (144,11–13)
Surge, (3) et accipe in manum tuam homini Dei panes La^M

- 1 Kgs 12:24h.5 εἰς τὴν χεῖρα La^{M1} ἐν τῇ χειρὶ L 246 ο x⁻⁷⁹⁹ 372 627; *in manu* Luc

The edition of Brooke-McLean rightly does not report Lucifer for the support of either the Greek reading with εἰς + acc. or ἐν + dat. In Latin, the expression for accepting something “in the hand” is *in* + abl. regardless of the underlying Greek expression.

- 1 Kgs 12:24i καὶ ἀνέστη ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἔλαβεν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς ἄρτους καὶ δύο κολλύρια
 καὶ σταφυλὴν καὶ στάμνον μέλιτος τῷ Ἀχιά· καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρεσβύτερος,
 καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἡμβλυώπουν τοῦ βλέπειν. (Rahlfs)
 καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτω γυνὴ Ἱεροβοάμ καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν Σηλῷ
 καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἶκον Ἀχιά· καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρεσβύτερος τοῦ ἰδεῖν καὶ
 ἡμβλυώπουν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ γηρῶς αὐτοῦ. 554 = MT 14:4
*Et surrexit mulier et fecit sicut dixit ei uir eius. Et Achiab homo senex
 erat ualde et oculi eius caliginabantur uidere.* Luc Reg. 5 (144,13–15)
- 1 Kgs 12:24i.1 ἔλαβεν – μέλιτος] *fecit sicut dixit ei uir eius* Luc; cf. ἐποίησεν οὕτω 554
- 1 Kgs 12:24i.2 τῷ Ἀχιά καὶ] *Et Achiab* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24i.3 πρεσβύτερος] + *erat ualde* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24i.4 βλέπειν] pr μὴ 19'; ἰδεῖν B 509 318 460; *uidere* Luc

Lucifer shortens the text somewhat reporting only that “and she did as his husband had said to her” (1).⁵² There is a coincidental agreement with MS 554 which gives the Hexaplaric text form for the most part of the passage 12:24f–m.⁵³ MS 554 begins the verse with “and Jeroboam’s wife did in this manner and she arose” The shortening of the text by Lucifer motivates the change from “to Ahijah; and the man was old” to “And Ahijah was ...” (2). It is natural for Lucifer to explicate the predicate “was” after “old”

52. Similarly Ant, lii. The case is included in the examples of Lucifer’s “singular readings without support in the Septuagintal tradition.”

53. The text corresponds to 1 Kgs 12:18–20, 14:2–10 in the MT.

(3). The addition of *valde* “very” may be an echo of other passages where a man is introduced as being very old: *πρεσβύτης σφόδρα* (Eli in 1 Sam 2:22,⁵⁴ 3:21; David in 1 Kgs 1:15) or *πρεσβύτερος σφόδρα* (Barzillai in 2 Sam 19:33). The adverb “very” may even be added to bring up the pleonastic sense of the Greek comparative *πρεσβύτερος*.⁵⁵ It is impossible to tell whether Lucifer's *videre* reflects the Greek *ἰδεῖν* (4; B 509 318 460) or *βλέπειν* (*L* and majority).

In verses 24k and 24l we can compare Lucifer's quotations with both *La*¹¹⁵ and *La*^M.

- 1 Kgs 12:24k καὶ ἀνέστη ἐκ Σαριρα καὶ πορεύεται, καὶ ἐγένετο εἰσελθούσης αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρὸς Ἀχια τὸν Σηλωνίτην καὶ εἶπεν Ἀχια τῷ παιδαρίῳ αὐτοῦ (Rahlfs)
et surrexit mulier ex Baria et abiit. Et factum est, cum intrasset ipsa in ciuitate ad Achiab Selonitem, et dixit Achiab puero suo: Luc Reg. 5 (144,15–17)
 --] *dixit achia puero suo* | *La*¹¹⁵
Et dixit Achia puero suo: *La*^M (14:5)
- 1 Kgs 12:24k.1 ἀνέστη] + ἡ γυνή 19'-93 246 158; + *mulier* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24k.2 ἐκ Σαριρα Luc^{Ugenti}] ἐξ Ἀριρα V 328 246 460 707; ἐξ Ἀσιρα 509; ἐκ Σαρειρά B 82-93; *ex Baria* Luc^{Diercks}
 Cf. 11:26 Σαρ(ε)ιρα (vel sim) B rel] αρ(ε)ιρα 19' z 55^v 71 158 342; ασιρα (vel sim) 509 460; σισαρα 318 707; σαριδα A 247; *Sareda* Vg.
 Cf. 12:24b.2 Σαριρα (vel sim) Luc] σαρεισα B; *Charira* *La*^M
- 1 Kgs 12:24k.3 πορεύεται] ἐπορεύθη *L*; *abiit* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24k.4 εἰς τὴν πόλιν Luc] tr post Σηλωνίτην *L*
- 1 Kgs 12:24k.5 Ἀχια 1° et 2°] Ἀχεια B 82-93; *Achiab* Luc
 Cf. 1 Kgs 12:24h.2 Ἀχια] Ἀχεια B 82; *Achiab* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24k.6 Σηλωνίτην Luc] Σιλωνίτην V 246 158 245 318 460 707
 Cf. 1 Kgs 12:24h.1 Σηλω] Σιλω(μ) V 98 107-610 246 119 158 245 318 460 627 Luc

Lucifer agrees with three Lucianic manuscripts in adding the subject “wife/the woman” (1). The last subject has been Ahijah (v. 24i), and it is natural for a Greek reviser or a Latin quoter to make it clear to the reader that it is Jeroboam's wife who is leaving Zeredah. The Greek variants for the name of the city of Zeredah (2; see also v. 24b above) are

54. Lucifer quotes this verse in *Athan.* 1.11: “*Heli, inquit scriptura, senex erat ualde.*”

55. Lucifer does not quote any other biblical passage containing this word.

due to hearing errors. Lucifer's spelling *Baria* is a transcriptional error either in a Greek manuscript used by Lucifer or in the transmission of Lucifer's works. Both Lucifer and *L*⁻¹²⁷ change the Greek historical present (πορεύεται) to a past tense (ἐπορεύθη *abiit*; 3). This is one of the most visible tendencies of the Lucianic reviser.⁵⁶ Lucifer quotes some thirty passages from the Bible containing a historical present. Lucifer's treatment of this linguistic feature is ambiguous: he may preserve the historical present as well as change it to a past tense (see part 3). Thus, in both of Lucifer's agreements with *L* in secondary readings (1, 3), the agreement may be coincidental but this is not evident. The transposition of the expression "into the city" after "the Selonite" in *L* (4) is a recensional change to a more natural word order.

For the spelling of the proper nouns in variation units 5 and 6 see 11:29 above.

- 1 Kgs 12:24k Ἐξελεθε δὴ εἰς ἀπαντὴν Ἀνω τῇ γυναικὶ Ἱεροβοαμ καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτῇ Εἰσελθε καὶ μὴ στῆς, ὅτι τὰδε λέγει κύριος Σκληρὰ ἐγὼ ἐπαποστελῶ ἐπὶ σέ.
(Rahlfs)
exi nunc in obuiam Annae, uxori Hieroboam, et dices ei: intra et noli stare, quoniam haec dicit dominus: dura ego mitto in te. Luc Reg. 5 (144,17–19)
*exi nunc*⁵⁷ *in obuiam | ano uxori hierobam | et dices ei intra et | noli stare quia haec | dicit dms dura*⁵⁸ *ego | inmitto super te*⁵⁹ *La*¹¹⁵
Exi nunc in obuiam Ano uxori Hieroboam, et dices ad eam: Intra, et noli stare; Quoniam haec dicit Dominus: Dura ego inmittam in te. *La*^M (sub 14:5–6)
- 1 Kgs 12:24k.7 δῆ] > *L*; *nunc La*¹¹⁵ *La*^M *Luc*
- 1 Kgs 12:24k.8 Ἀνω *La*¹¹⁵] Ἀνω 799; Ἀνω(ν) 246 119-527; *Annae Luc*
Cf. 12:24l.1 Ἀνω *La*¹¹⁵ *La*^M] Ἀνω 799; Ἀνω(ν) 246 119-527; *Anna Luc*
- 1 Kgs 12:24k.9 αὐτῇ *ei La*¹¹⁵ *Luc*] *ad eam La*^M
- 1 Kgs 12:24k.10 ὅτι] *quia La*¹¹⁵; *quoniam La*^M *Luc*

56. Brock, *Recensions*, 251.

57. Brooke-McLean: *nunti La*^b = Belsheim's edition of *La*¹¹⁵. The edition of *La*¹¹⁵ by Fischer, Ulrich, and Sanderson does not report this reading of Belsheim.

58. Brooke-McLean: *durus La*^b. Fischer, Ulrich, and Sanderson do not report this reading.

59. Brooke-McLean: *regem La*^b. Fischer, Ulrich, and Sanderson do not report this reading.

While Latin lacks an exact counterpart for the Greek particle δῆ, the rendering *nunc* “now” (7) is what can be expected from all the Latin witnesses. La¹¹⁵ follows the Greek faithfully in the reproduction of the name of Jeroboam's wife (Ανω Ano; 8). Lucifer, by contrast, changes the name to a more familiar one: *Anna* (cf. 1 Sam 1; Tob 2, etc.; Luke 2:26).

1 Kgs 12:24k.11 ἐπαποστελῶ] ἐπαποστέλλω B CI 55 244; ἐξαποστελῶ 246 x 372 627; ἀποστελῶ 158; ἀποστέλλω 245; *immitto* La¹¹⁵; *inmittam* La^M; *mitto* Luc Cf. 24l ἀπελεύσῃ *ibis* La¹¹⁵ Luc | ἔσται *fiet* La¹¹⁵ *erit* Luc | ἐξελεύσονται *exeant* La¹¹⁵ *exient* Luc | ἐροῦσίν *dicent* La¹¹⁵ Luc Cf. 24m ἐξολοθρεύσω] ἐξολοθρεύω 93; *disperdo* La¹¹⁵ Luc | ἔσονται *erint* La¹¹⁵ *erunt* Luc | κόψονται *plangent* La¹¹⁵

1 Kgs 12:24k.12 ἐπ[*super* La¹¹⁵; *in* La^M Luc

Since both La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer follow the futures in the later oracles against the house of Jeroboam (v. 24l, m) quite faithfully, it is reasonable to accept that in 24k.11 they attest a Greek reading with the present tense of the verb “to send” ([*in*]mitto) while La^M attests the future tense (*inmittam*). It is more difficult, however, to determine whether the Latin readings attest the verb ἀποστέλλω “to send,” ἐξαποστέλλω “to send out,” or ἐπαποστέλλω “to cause to come.” In the manuscripts of the LXX the verbs ἀποστέλλω and ἐξαποστέλλω tend to vary, for example, 1 Sam 5:10, 11. In light of the usage of the future in the passage (see 24l, m) it is best to accept Rahlfs's solution that the future ἐπαποστελῶ is the original reading. The B reading with the present tense is probably a corruption from it. The latter reading is probably the one that both La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer follow, although Lucifer leaves out the prefix since it is the same as the following preposition which, in turn, Lucifer renders as *in* (12) in accordance with the normal Latin usage. The resulting *mitto in* corresponds in form to the reading ἀποστέλλω ἐπ[in 245, but that reading is better explained as deriving from the future ἀποστελῶ without a prefix attested by 158.⁶⁰ Accordingly, we may here see one of the rare cases in which Lucifer agrees with B in a secondary reading. The case is, however, very complicated and serious doubts can be raised about which reading is the original one and whether the agreement between Lucifer and B is genuine.

For verse 24l there is a marginal reading in La^M in 14:6 for the first part of the verse. In the following that part is given first and the remainder of

60. Please note that this is not to say that MS 245 was dependent on 158; the question is of the derivation of the *readings*, not of the witnesses.

the verse is divided into two sections since there is an exceptionally large number of variation units.

- 1 Kgs 12:24l καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ἀνω πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ Ἀχία "Ἴνα τί μοι ἐνήνοχας ἄρτους καὶ σταφυλὴν καὶ κολλύρια καὶ στάμνον μέλιτος; (Rahlfs)
Et intrauit Anna ad hominem dei, et dixit ei Achiab: ut quid mihi adtulistis panes et uuam et collyrides et uas mellis? Luc Reg. 5 (144,19–21)
et | intrauit ano at ho|minem dī et dixit ei | achias ut quid attu|listi mihi panes et u|uas et collyras et uas | mellis La¹¹⁵
Et introiuit Anus ad Achiam hominem Dei; et dixit ad eam Achia: Ut quid mihi attulisti panem, et uvas, et collirida, et vasa mellis? La^M (14:6)
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.1 Ἀνω La¹¹⁵] Anus La^M; Anna Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.2 πρὸς] + Achiam La^M
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.3 Ἀχία (La^M)] Ἀχία B 82-93; Achiab Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.4 μοι ἐνήνοχας B CI 509 244 318 460 La^M Luc] tr V L 328 107-610 246 o x 55 71 158 245 342 372 554 627 707 La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.5 ἄρτους 127 (sub 14:6) La¹¹⁵ Luc] panem La^M
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.6 σταφυλὴν Luc (uvam)] σταφίδας 127 (sub 14:6); uvas La¹¹⁵ La^M
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.7 κολλύρια] collyras La¹¹⁵; collirida La^M; collyrides Luc

Variation concerning the proper nouns has been commented on above. In most cases, it is best to disregard word-order issues in the Latin witnesses, but in the instance of the transposition of the words “you have brought” and “me” in La¹¹⁵ (4) is supported by many Greek witnesses. Accordingly, the difference in the Latin translations may go back to different Greek originals and Lucifer can be accepted as following the, likely original, B reading. The differences between the Latin witnesses in 5–7 do not seem to go back to different Greek readings.

- 1 Kgs 12:24l τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἰδοὺ σὺ ἀπελεύσῃ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἔσται εἰσελθούσης σου τὴν πόλιν εἰς Σαρίρα (Rahlfs)
Haec dicit dominus: ecce tu ibis a me, et erit cum intraueris portam ciuitatis Arira, Luc Reg. 5 (144,21–22)
haec dicit dms | ecce tu ibis a me et fi|et ut cum intraueris | portam in sarira La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.8 τάδε Luc] pr ὅτι L 246
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.9 τὴν πόλιν B CI 328 x 55 158 244 318 342 372 La¹¹⁵] pr εἰς 71; τῇ πόλῃ 245; εἰς (> 64 707) τὴν πόλιν L 509 107-610 246 o 460 554 627 707;
portam ciuitatis Luc; > V
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.10 εἰς] om 328 246 Luc; in La¹¹⁵

1 Kgs 12:24l.11 Σαριρα Luc^{Ugenti]} Αρ(ε)ιρα 799 71 158 707 Luc^{Diercks}, Σαρειρά B 82-93
372 627

The Lucianic reviser has complemented the oracle formula with the addition “for”: “for thus says the Lord” (8; see, e.g., 1 Kgs 11:31, 17:14). Lucifer reads “when you enter *the gate of the city of Arira*” (9) as if he combined the readings πύλη “gate” (B etc.) and πόλις “city” (L etc.). The edition of Brooke-McLean, however, cites Lucifer only as attesting the reading τὴν πύλην and subsequently reading *ciuitatis Arira* (see below) as against εἰς Σαριρα. Outside the present narrative the geographical name Zeredah is mentioned only a few times in the Bible (1 Kgs 11:26 מִן־הַיַּרְדֵּן ἐκ τῆς Σαριρα; 1 Kgs 11:43 LXX εἰς τὴν γῆν Σαριρα; 2 Chr 4:17 וּבִין צִרְדָּה וְיָם καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον Σιρδαθα). Lucifer mentions *Arira* only here (and never *Sarira*, *Sareira* or the like). Thus Lucifer has a good reason to add the word *civitas* to inform the readers that the following unfamiliar word is the name of a city. Lucifer appears to do the same in his quotation from 1 Kgs 11:14[24] (Reg. 3; see above).⁶¹ Accordingly, since there is no Greek evidence for a combined reading containing both the words πύλη and πόλις, it is best to accept Lucifer as a witness to the B reading τὴν πύλην, which is likely the original reading: the reading τὴν πόλιν results from a transcriptional error. The error has caused the need to supply the preposition εἰς again.

Regarding the preposition εἰς (10), Lucifer obviously does not need it since he gives a genitive construction “the city of Arira.” The difference between the readings of the city name with or without the initial *s* is likely due to a transcriptional or hearing error in Greek: εἰςσαριρα → εἰς αριρα (11). Lucifer might follow a Greek manuscript containing this error, but agreement with 799 71 158 707 cannot be considered striking: an error of this kind could happen several times in different branches of the textual

61. In Lucifer's texts there are eight or nine passages in which the word *civitas* “city” is in apposition to a proper noun, seven or eight of the instances are in biblical quotations. The seven clear cases in biblical quotations are: Judg 8:27 // Reg. 1 (135,26); 1 Kgs 11:24[14 LXX] // Reg. 3 (140,8); 1 Kgs 11:32, 36 // Reg. 4 (143,35.45); 1 Kgs 12:24l // Reg. 5 (144,22); Jonah 4:11 // Athan. 2.33 (130,37); 1 Macc 2:15 // Parc. 12 (218,51). In 1 Sam 15:5 // Reg. 2 (138,13) Lucifer either means “to the city of the Amalekites” or—erroneously—“to the city of *Amalec*.” Consequently, the case might not be an apposition. In *Conv.* 2 (167,63) he uses the apposition directly after a long quotation from Josh 6:20–25: “Quando igitur uideas omnes in ciuitate Hiericho inhabitantes ore punitos gladii.”

transmission. Moreover, the error may have happened in the manuscripts of Lucifer's works as well: CIVITATISSARIRA.

- 1 Kgs 12:24l καὶ τὰ κοράσια σου ἐξελεύσονται σοι εἰς συνάντησιν καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι Τὸ παιδάριον τέθνηκεν. (Rahlfs)
et puellae tuae exient in obuiam et dicent tibi: puer mortuus est. Luc Reg. 5 (144,22–23)
pu|ellae tuae exeant tibi | obuiam et dicent tibi | puer mortuus est La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.12 ἐξελεύσονται *exient* Luc⁶²] ἐξελεύσεται 82; εἰσελεύσονται 799 158; *exeant* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.13 σοι / εἰς συνάντησιν B CI 244 372 627 La¹¹⁵] εἰς συνάντησιν σου 19' 246 381 71 318 342 460; om σοι V 328 x 55 158 707 Luc; tr 82-93 509 107-610 64 245 554
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.14 τὸ παιδάριον / τέθνηκεν La¹¹⁵ Luc] tr L

The word σοι “to you” is repeated after the word ἐροῦσιν “they will say.” A part of the Lucianic group along with a handful of other witnesses (82-93 509 107-610 64 245 554) provide the word after the expression εἰς συνάντησιν “to meet” (13) where it is more natural. Another group of witnesses (V 328 x 55 158 707) omits it altogether as Lucifer, too, appears to do. This is a small detail which Lucifer may treat as he sees fit. Nevertheless, since there is ample manuscript evidence for the omission of the first σοι, it is best to accept that Lucifer follows a Greek manuscript in this omission. The Lucianic reviser changes the word order; compare 24k.4.

- 1 Kgs 12:24m ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξολοθρεύσω τοῦ Ἱεροβοαμ οὐροῦντα πρὸς τοῖχον, (Rahlfs)
Quoniam haec dicit dominus: ecce ego disperdo huius Hieroboam mingentem ad parietem; Luc Reg. 5 (144,23–25)
Haec enim dicit dñs | ecce ego disperdo hi|erobam regis meien|tem ad parietem La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 12:24m.1 ἐξολοθρεύσω] ἐξολοθρεύω 93; *disperdo* La¹¹⁵ Luc

Manuscript 93, La¹¹⁵, and Lucifer attest the present tense as against the future in B and the majority. The latter is likely the original reading; see 12:24k.11 above.

62. The classical form for future indicative active third-person plural of *exeo* is *exibunt*. The form *exient* is found in Christian Latin; see, e.g., Hermann Rösensch, *Itala und Vulgata: Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata* (Marburg: Elwerth'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1869), 292–93.

- 1 Kgs 12:24m και ἔσονται οἱ τεθνηκότες τοῦ Ιεροβοαμ ἐν τῇ πόλει καταφάγονται οἱ κύνες, καὶ τὸν τεθνηκότα ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ καταφάγεται τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. (Rahlfs)
et erunt mortui eius Hieroboam in ciuitatem et comedent eos canes, et mortui erunt ei in agro et comedent eos uolucres caeli. [quotation ends]
 Luc Reg. 5 (144,25–27)
et erint⁶³ mortui hierobā | in ciuitatem⁶⁴ et come|dent eos canes et qui | mortui erunt in agro | comedent eos uolucres | caeli La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 12:24m.2 ἔσονται La¹¹⁵ Luc] ἔσται ο x 55^c 158 245 372
- 1 Kgs 12:24m.3 οἱ τεθνηκότες La¹¹⁵ Luc] τὸν τεθνηκότα V 328 ο x 55 71 158 245 342 372 554 627 707
- 1 Kgs 12:24m.4 τοῦ 1^o] *eius* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24m.5 ἐν τῇ πόλει] *in ciuitatem* La¹¹⁵ Luc; > 342 554
- 1 Kgs 12:24m.6 καταφάγονται οἱ κύνες] κατάβρωμα τοῖς κυσὶ L 246; *et comedent eos canes* La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24m.7 τὸν τεθνηκότα] *qui mortui erunt* La¹¹⁵; *mortui erunt ei* Luc; + αὐτοῦ L 246
- 1 Kgs 12:24m.8 καταφάγεται] καταφάγονται V 328 509 ο x 55 158 245 318 342 372 627 707; φάγονται 460; καταφάγονται (-γεται 379^{LXI}) αὐτόν CI 244; *et (> La¹¹⁵) comedent eos* La¹¹⁵ Luc

In the Greek witnesses there is fluctuation between the singular and plural in the expression “and the dead of Ieroboam will be” (2, 3). The Latin witnesses follow the plural in both cases. In Lucifer’s Latin *Hieroboam* is an indeclinable noun. The pronoun *eius* “his” (4) before the proper noun denotes the genitive case thus serving the same purpose as the Greek article τοῦ. In Christian Latin the differentiation between the constructions *in* + acc. and *in* + abl. is not as strict as in Classical Latin. In this context the sense of *in ciuitatem* (5) must be “in the city,” not “into the city.” For the translator of La¹¹⁵ this probably was an acceptable expression. In Lucifer’s text the accusative form is probably attributable to a copyist or a possible Latin translation, not to Lucifer himself.

In variation unit 6 the B text is, strictly speaking, grammatically incorrect: the verb καταφάγονται “will devour” must be understood as a deponent verb with οἱ κύνες “the dogs” as the subject. The logical object is οἱ τεθνηκότες “the dead,” but since that expression is in the nominative,

63. Edition: “*erint* for *erunt*.”

64. Edition: “*in ciuitatem* for *in ciuitate*.”

the pronoun “them” should be added.⁶⁵ While no known Greek witness supplies the pronoun, it is natural that both La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer do that: *et comedent eos canes*. Moreover, the Latin witnesses divide the one Greek clause into two separate clauses with the conjunction *et*. In the next similar expression, the object τὸν τεθνηκότα “the one who has died” (7) is correctly in the accusative. The Latin witnesses use the same scheme as in the previous clause: “those who are dead, they will be devoured.” The change from the Greek singular to the Latin plural is best explained as conformation with the previous expression “the dead.” The Lucianic reviser has provided the word αὐτοῦ “his” after τὸν τεθνηκότα. Lucifer appears to follow this reading, although by a different construction: *mortui erunt ei* “those who will be dead for him,” that is, “those of his who will be dead.” In the Greek witnesses the fluctuation between singular (καταφάγεται B etc.; 8) and plural (καταφάγονται V etc.) is due to the subject (τὰ πετεινά “the birds”) being in the neuter plural.⁶⁶ In Latin, all plural subjects (here *volucres*, fem. pl.) require a plural predicate. That the Latin witnesses supply the object *eos* probably has nothing to do with the plus of αὐτόν in CI 244; it is best explained as conformation with the previous clause.

While there are several agreements between La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer against the Greek witnesses in these clauses, they can be explained as coincidental. In light of the many differences (4: *eius* Luc; 7: *qui* La¹¹⁵; *ei* Luc; 8: *et* Luc) it is improbable that the two Latin witnesses were interdependent here.

Conclusion: In the passage 1 Kgs 12:24g–m Lucifer supports the B text against three likely recensional readings (k.4, l.8, l.14) and four probable corruptions (k.7, 11; l.4, 9) of *L*. Then again, his text agrees with the Antiochian text in three secondary readings that are probably recensional (k.1, 3; m.7) but none of the agreements are striking. Lucifer does several independent modifications along the way and even appears to occasionally agree with witnesses other than B or *L* (l.13, m.1 [only 93 of *L*]).

65. As is rightly done in the NETS translation: “and the dead of Ieroboam will be in the city; the dogs will devour *them*.” A footnote states that “them” is lacking in the Greek text.

66. Brock, *Recensions*, 248, makes observations concerning this phenomenon in 1 Samuel: “In Attic Greek neuter plurals regularly take a singular verb. *Koine* is less consistent, ... LXX of 1 Kms [= 1 Sam] appears to be inconsistent. When not referring to persons, neuter plurals take a singular verb ..., but with *παιδάρια* etc, usage varies and the MSS are mostly divided.”

Within the comparatively short passage of text, there are a number of disagreements between the Latin witnesses: Luc \neq La¹¹⁵: six times (l.9, 10, 12; m.4, 7, 8), Luc \neq La¹¹⁵ La^M: twice (k.11 [*mitto*], l.6), Luc \neq La^M: twice (h.4, 5), Luc La¹¹⁵ \neq La^M: four times (k.9, 11 [*present*]; l.2, 5), Luc La^M \neq La¹¹⁵: three times (k.10, 12, l.4), and Luc \neq La^M \neq La¹¹⁵: once (l.7). (Proper nouns excluded.) There is little evidence to maintain that the Latin witnesses were somehow interrelated. To be sure, Lucifer and La^M appear to agree once with a handful of Greek witnesses against the majority (h.3), but the agreement is probably coincidental.

1 Kgs 12:26–33 (13:34–41 Ant) (Reg. 3)

After having introduced Jeroboam in the middle of chapter 3 of *De regibus* (141,37–45; see 12:20, 24b above), Lucifer proceeds directly to the setting up of the golden calves in 12:26–33.

1 Kgs 12:26 καὶ εἶπεν Ἱεροβοὰμ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ Ἰδοὺ νῦν ἐπιστρέψει ἡ βασιλεία εἰς οἶκον Δαυὶδ· (Rahlfs)
et infra: *Et dixit Hieroboas in corde suo: nunc reuertetur regnum David,*
Luc Reg. 3 (142,45–46)

1 Kgs 12:26.1 Ἰδοὺ] sub obel Syh; > L^{-19'} 509 460 Luc = MT

1 Kgs 12:26.2 εἰς οἶκον] ἐν οἴκῳ B; > Luc

The word ἰδοὺ “behold!” (1) in the LXX is a plus against the MT; for that reason it has been marked with an obelos in the Syrohexapla. It has been omitted in L^{-19'} 509 460 either due to a transcriptional error (paralepsis from αὐτου to ιδου) or due to Hebraizing correction.⁶⁷ In his other biblical quotations Lucifer does not show a tendency to omit the word ἰδοὺ but renders it with *ecce* (e.g., in the near context: 1 Sam 16:1 // Reg. 2; 1 Kgs 12:28 // Reg. 3; 1 Kgs 11:30 // Reg. 4). Omitting the word would serve no clear purpose, and it is best to accept the agreement between Lucifer and L^{-19'} 509 460 as genuine—keeping in mind, however, Lucifer’s tendency to shorten the text. The shortening tendency is demonstrated in the omission of the words εἰς οἶκον “to the house” (2): for Lucifer “now the kingship of David will return”⁶⁸ is enough.

67. See Law, *Origenes Orientalis*, 131; cf. also 118: “The few cases where B and/or 509 omit [a reading obelized in the Syh] may represent corruptions here, and genuine hexaplaric impact there.”

68. It is unlikely that Lucifer’s formulation meant “the kingship will *be returned*

First Kings 12:27 (13:35 Ant) contains multiple small details that are illuminating for positioning Lucifer in the textual history. The treatment of the verse is divided into two parts (27.1–5 and 6–9).

- 1 Kgs 12:27 ἐὰν ἀναβῇ⁶⁹ ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἀναφέρειν θυσίας ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ, (Rahlfs)
si ascenderit populus hic sacrificium offerre in domo domini in Hierusalem, Luc Reg. 3 (142,46–47)
- 1 Kgs 12:27.1 ἀναφέρειν θυσίας] *sacrificium offerre* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:27.2 θυσίας = MT] θυσίαν B 328 x Luc; θυσίαν αὐτῶν o 158 372; (τὰς) θυσίας αὐτῶν L CI 246 55 71 244 245 318 342 (627) 707
- 1 Kgs 12:27.3 בְּבֵית ἐν οἴκῳ Luc] εἰς οἶκον L 328 489
- 1 Kgs 12:27.4 בִּירוּשָׁלַם εἰς (Ἱερουσαλημ) = Ant (13:35)] ἐν 247 489 460; > 19'–93 328 Luc^G; *in (Hierusalem)* Luc^V = Luc^{Diercks.Ugenti}

Lucifer is alone in changing the word order in the expression “to offer sacrifices” (1). There are no obvious reasons for the transposition, and it must be an inaccuracy on Lucifer’s part.⁷⁰ The variation between θυσίας “sacrifices” and θυσίαν “a sacrifice” (2) likely originates in a transcriptional error. Such can happen easily either way since in the uncial script both *nu* and *sigma* as last letters of a word were typically written with a macron above (*nu*) or a dot after (*sigma*) the preceding vowel. It seems safest, nevertheless, to accept the singular (B) as the original reading since it is attested by Lucifer and the plural may result from Hebraizing correction. Despite the rather wide attestation for the addition of the pronoun αὐτῶν “their,” it is best attributed to the Lucianic reviser: It is an appropriate complement since the question is of sacrifices of an individual (cf. Lev 17:5: “the people of Israel may bring *their* sacrifices that they offer”; 7: “so that they may no longer offer *their* sacrifices for goat-demons”).

The Greek verb ἀναφέρω is the standard equivalence for the Hebrew עָלָה *hiphil* when the latter means “to offer (a sacrifice).” The copyists famil-

to David”; Lucifer uses the verb *revertor* as a deponent verb, e.g., *non possum reuerti tecum* (1 Kgs 13:16 // *Conv.* 3); *reuertimini ad me ex toto corde uestro* (Joel 2:12 // *Reg.* 12).

69. ἀναβαίνει Ant] ἀναβαίνει L^{-19'}; the spelling in the manuscripts is hardly meant to be an actual indicative: while the construction ἐάν + indicative is sometimes found in Biblical Greek (twice with the present indicative: ἐάν γὰρ χάθῃ Prov 3:24, ἐάν ὑμεῖς στήκετε 1 Thess 3:8), ἐάν + subjunctive prevails.

70. The edition of Brooke-McLean does well in not reporting the variant.

iar with this usage will be happy with the expression ἀναφέρειν θυσίας ἐν οἴκῳ “to offer sacrifices *in* the house.” Since, however, the normal Greek meaning of the verb ἀναφέρω is “to bring,” it is understandable that the Lucianic reviser changes the expression to εἰς οἶκον “to *bring* sacrifices *to* the house” (4). This is made even more likely by the next expression εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ “to Jerusalem” (see the next paragraph). Lucifer very likely understood the sacrificial use of the verb ἀναφέρω and the natural Latin counterpart *offero* produces the same meaning.⁷¹ For that reason the notion of performing the act *in* the temple (*in domo*) is wholly acceptable. (For Lucifer's understanding of the structure of the cultic arrangements, see the excursus under 12:32 below.)

There is a curious omission of the preposition before “Jerusalem” in a part of the Lucianic manuscripts (19'-93) and the G-manuscript of Lucifer's works (5). Without the preposition, “Jerusalem” should be read as a genitive, producing an expression “the house of the Lord *of* Jerusalem,” that is, the *temple of* Jerusalem. While in any stage of the textual history it is more likely that the necessary preposition was added rather than omitted, in this particular case an accidental omission seems to be the better explanation.⁷² It is unlikely that the fluctuation between εἰς and ἐν were Hebraizing (ἐν towards -ב) since a Hebraizing corrector was hardly interested in this kind of detail. The question is likely one of what expressions the copyists and the Lucianic reviser regarded as the most natural. That the difference between ἐν + dat. (in Classical Greek “in”) and εἰς + acc. (“to”) was becoming obsolete in *Koine* Greek may be a contributing factor. It is instructive to see the combinations of readings 4 and 5:

1 Kgs 12:27.3-4 ἐν ... εἰς B rel] εἰς ... εἰς 82-127; εἰς ... 19'-93 328; εἰς ... ἐν 489; ἐν ... ἐν 247 460; *in* ... *in* Luc^V; *in* ... *in* Luc^G

It seems that of the five combinations of readings found in the Greek witnesses, the sequence ἐν ... εἰς (B and majority) best explains how the others came about. Above it was already noted that the Lucianic reviser changed the first preposition to εἰς due to the previous verb. This results in the sequence εἰς ... εἰς in 82-127. The latter preposition was accidentally dropped out in 19'-93 328 and changed to ἐν in 489 to bring about the natural notion “to the house of the Lord *in* Jerusalem.” In another line of

71. Apart from the present case, Lucifer quotes only one passage from the Greek Bible containing the verb ἀναφέρω: ἀνέφερεν *offerebat* 1 Sam 15:12 // *Reg.* 2.

72. The omission is considered secondary by Ant, Diercks, and Ugenti.

transmission, the original ἐν ... εἰς was changed to ἐν ... ἐν (247 460) in order to harmonize the usage of the prepositions. Regardless of whether Lucifer's *in Hierusalem* must be taken as an *in* + abl. ("in Jerusalem") or an *in* + acc. ("to Jerusalem") construction,⁷³ his reading *in ... in* (following MS V) may reflect either the sequence ἐν ... εἰς or ἐν ... ἐν. The omission of the latter preposition in MS G probably has nothing to do with the same omission in 19'-93 328.

- 1 Kgs 12:27 καὶ ἐπιστραφήσεται καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς κύριον καὶ κύριον αὐτῶν, πρὸς Ροβοὰμ βασιλέα Ἰουδα, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν με. (Rahlfs)
et conuertetur cor populi ad dominum suum Roboam regem Iuda. Luc
Reg. 3 (142,48–49)
- 1 Kgs 12:27.5 λαοῦ Luc] + τούτου 247 ο Syh (sub ast α' σ' θ') = MT
 Cf. above ὁ λαὸς οὗτος (no variants)
- 1 Kgs 12:27.6 κύριον (sub obel Syh) καί] > L 509 246 Luc = MT
- 1 Kgs 12:27.7 πρὸς (Ροβοὰμ)] καλέσουσιν 460; > 509 Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:27.8 καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν με]⁷⁴ > L^{-19'} 328 246 Luc; + καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς
 Ῥοβοὰμ βασιλέα Ἰούδα A 247 = MT⁷⁵

The addition of τούτου "this (people)" (5) is clearly Hexaplaric and, as can be expected, Lucifer does not attest it. According to the B text of the LXX, Jeroboam fears that "the heart of the people will also turn again *to the Lord and their lord*, to King Roboam" (NETS; 6). Jeroboam's fear that the people would "turn again to the Lord," that is, Yahweh, implies that he himself had already renounced Yahweh. Thus, his plan of setting up a new cultic shrine in the Northern Kingdom will look even worse than in the MT, which mentions only one "lord" (אֲדֹנֵיהֶם, NRSV: "their master," i.e., Rehoboam). Since the editors of the proto-MT would hardly have had any reason to omit the reference to Yahweh if it had stood in their text, it is best to accept that the MT retains the older form of the text. The reference to Yahweh may have been added in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX.⁷⁶ But I find it more likely that the plus is an *original doublet*, a double reading

73. So Ugenti, 91: "a Gerusalemme."

74. BHS: The corresponding Hebrew expression יְהוָה יְהוָה is lacking in some Masoretic manuscripts.

75. BHS: The last clause מְלִיכֵיהֶם אֶל־רְחֹבָם is lacking in some Hebrew manuscripts—it is perhaps added ("add?").

76. This is implied by, e.g., Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 130–1; Gray, *I and II Kings*, 313.

produced by the translators.⁷⁷ That is, the double reading is the original reading of the LXX, *but it was not in the Hebrew Vorlage* and it should not be back-translated to Hebrew. In the present case, the doublet was most likely produced by the oral phase of the translation. According to the theory of Theo van der Louw, the translators worked so that one person read aloud the Hebrew text, which the translator proper then formulated orally in Greek. A third person then wrote down the Greek translation.⁷⁸ When reading aloud the word אֲדֹנִיָּה the reader may have first overlooked the suffix and said simply *ādōnāy*. The translator rendered this as κύριον. Noticing the suffix, the reader corrected himself: *ādōnêhem*, which was rendered as κύριον αὐτῶν. The scribe wrote down both the renderings, supplying the καί in between. Following this line of thought, the omission of κύριον καί in the witnesses of the LXX may be Hebraizing or, more likely, due to a homoioteleuton error between the two occurrences of “lord.” The preposition before the name of Rehoboam (7) is not actually needed in either Greek or Latin; the agreement between Lucifer and MS 509 in omitting it must be considered coincidental.

There probably is an actual agreement between Lucifer and *L*^{-19'} 328 246 in not attesting the clause “and they will kill me” (8). To be sure, Lucifer does not specifically need that clause for his argument: in the paragraph following the quotation (*Reg.* 4) he does not write anything about Jeroboam’s fear of getting killed. Since Lucifer has a tendency to shorten the text, one should not consider Lucifer as a strong witness for any omission, especially at the end of a sentence. However, it is hard to see a reason for a secondary omission of the clause in *L*^{-19'} 328 246. It is noteworthy that, according to the apparatus of the BHS, the minus of both וְהִרְגֵנִי and the last clause מִלֶּךְ־יְהוּדָה אֶל־רַחֲבֹעַם וְשָׁבוּ is attested by some Masoretic manuscripts. As such, I would not give much weight to the variants within the Masoretic tradition, but here I would venture to suggest that an older form of the text had neither of the clauses: the verse ended with the words “the heart of this people will turn again to their master, King Rehoboam of Judah.” That was the form of the LXX *Vorlage* as well as the OG translation, witnessed here by *L*^{-19'} 328 246

77. This is also what the Tov-Polak alignment (used via BibleWorks 8) suggests. Similarly Šanda, *Könige*, 342.

78. Theo A. W. van der Louw, “The Dictation of the Septuagint Version,” *JSJ* 39 (2008): 211–29.

and, possibly, Lucifer.⁷⁹ In the proto-Masoretic tradition the verse was first expanded with “they will kill me” which, again, motivated the repetition of the returning theme with the addition of “and return to King Rehoboam of Judah.”⁸⁰ The first addition was appended to the Greek translation very early, whereas the latter addition intruded into the Greek manuscripts only through the Hexapla (witnessed by A and 247).

- 1 Kgs 12:28 καὶ ἐβουλεύσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἐποίησεν δύο δαμάλεις χρυσᾶς καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν λαόν Ἰκανούσθω ὑμῖν ἀναβαίνειν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ· ἰδοὺ θεοὶ σου, Ἰσραηλ, οἱ ἀναγαγόντες σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. (Rahlfs)
Tunc igitur Hieroboas cogitavit et abiit. Et fecit duas uitulas aureas et dixit ad populum: sufficiat uobis ascendisse in Hierusalem. Ecce sunt dii tui Israel qui reduxerunt te de terra Aegypti. Luc Reg. 3 (142,49–52)
Et fecit duas vaccas aureas. La^M
- 1 Kgs 12:28.1 καὶ 1^o] *tunc igitur* Luc; > A
- 1 Kgs 12:28.2 ἐβουλεύσατο / ὁ βασιλεὺς] om ἐβουλεύσατο A; tr Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:28.3 ὁ βασιλεὺς] Ἱεροβοάμ L Luc; > V 328; tr post ἐπορεύθη A 245 707; sub ast α' σ' θ' Syh
- 1 Kgs 12:28.4 εἶπεν Luc] + Ἱεροβοάμ L
- 1 Kgs 12:28.5 הָיִינוּ (הָיִינוּ) (οἱ) ἀναγαγόντες (σε)] ἀνήγαγον A 247 CI 244; *reduxerunt* Luc

Lucifer formulates the beginning of the clause in his own way (1, 2).⁸¹ In the Antiochian text the explication of Jeroboam fits well the tendencies of the Lucianic reviser; in *L* the explication is even repeated in the next

79. I find it far less likely that the short reading in the *Vorlage* resulted from a homoioteleuton error from the first occurrence of the words “to King Rehoboam of Judah” to the second. If this had been the case, it would be puzzling why a Hebraizing corrector would have supplied only the reading “they will kill me” and not the continuation: “and return to King Rehoboam of Judah.”

80. Essentially similarly Julio Trebolle Barrera, “The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in the Books of Kings,” in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Leuven 1989*, ed. Claude E. Cox (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 292–93. Most commentators bypass the issue or simply remark that the LXX “omits” a part of the text; thus, e.g., Gray, *I and II Kings*, 313; Noth, *Könige*, 267: “eine absichtliche Auslassung bei 6.” Differently Benzinger, *Könige*, 89: the Hebrew clause is an erroneous repetition; Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 131: “The insertion may be due to vertical dittography.”

81. Similarly Ant, lii. The case is included in the examples of Lucifer’s “singular readings without support in the Septuagintal tradition.”

sentence (4) and a few verses later (12:31). To replace “the king” with the proper noun Jeroboam might be part of Lucifer's special formulation and thus the agreement between Lucifer and *L* here is not striking. The reading ἀνήγαγον in A 247 CI 244 (5) formally corresponds to the Hebrew perfect and its attestation points to Hexaplaric origin. Lucifer, too, reads a finite form here, but since he generally favours finite forms over participles (e.g., 1 Kgs 12:24k καὶ ἐγένετο εἰσελθούσης αὐτῆς *et factum est, cum intrasset ipsa*; 24l καὶ ἔσται εἰσελθούσης σου *et erit cum intraueris*) the agreement is best seen as coincidental.

Verses 29–30 are best analysed together. For these verses the Hebrew text is exceptionally given in its entirety. In addition, I reproduce the readings of the apparatus of BHS for verse 30.

- 1 Kgs 12:29 בָּדַן בְּבֵית־אֵל וַיִּשָּׂם בְּבֵית־אֵל בְּדָן BHS
καὶ ἔθετο τὴν μίαν ἐν Βαιθὲλ καὶ τὴν μίαν ἔδωκεν ἐν Δαν. (Rahlfs)
Et posuit unam in Bethel et unam dedit in Dan. Luc Reg. 3 (142,52)
- 1 Kgs 12:30 וַיְהִי הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה לְחֹשֶׁךְ אֶת־הַיּוֹלָכוֹת הָעַם לְפָנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים בְּדָן BHS
^a G^L + τῶ Ἰσραήλ, frt recte || ^b ins frt הָאֱלֹהִים לְפָנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים cf G^L (homtel)
BHS^{app}
καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰς ἀμαρτίαν· καὶ ἐπορεύετο ὁ λαὸς πρὸ
προσώπου τῆς μιᾶς ἕως Δαν. (Rahlfs)
*Et factum est hoc uerbum in peccatum, et antecedebat populus ante
faciem unius uitulae usque Dan. Luc Reg. 3 (142,53–54)*
*Et antecedebat plebs ante unam vaccam usque Dan, et ante faciem
secundae usque ad Bethel: et reliquerunt domum Domini. La^M*
- 1 Kgs 12:29.1 ἐν 1° Luc] εἰς B CI 244
- 1 Kgs 12:29.2 בְּבֵית־אֵל Bαιθὲλ] Bεθὲλ V* 247 46' 527 245 342 460 Luc
Cf. 13:1.3 בְּבֵית־אֵל Bαιθὲλ] Bεθὲλ V 247 46' 527 245 342 460 Luc
Cf. 13:4.4 בְּבֵית־אֵל Bαιθὲλ] Bεθὲλ V* 247 46' 246 527 55 245 342 460 Luc
Cf. 13:10.5 בְּבֵית־אֵל Bαιθὲλ] Bεθὲλ V* 247 46' 527 245 342 460 Luc
Cf. 13:11 בְּבֵית־אֵל Bαιθὲλ 1°] Bεθὲλ V 247 52 527 245 342 460 La^M Luc
Cf. 13:11 בְּבֵית־אֵל Bαιθὲλ 2°] Bεθὲλ V 247 52 527 158 245 342 460 Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:29.3 ἔδωκεν Luc] ἔθηκεν 121 C^{242'} s t z 244 554; ἔθετο 247; > d 71
Cf. above ἔθετο] ἔθηκε 489; ἔδωκε 71; *posuit* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:29.4 ἐν 2° Luc] εἰς 460
- 1 Kgs 12:30.1 ἀμαρτίαν Luc] + τῶ (τοῦ 19') Ἰσραήλ L 328 246
- 1 Kgs 12:30.2 Δαν A B V 247 71 245 318 460 Luc] + καὶ πρὸ προσώπου τῆς ἄλλης εἰς
(ἐν 246; ἕως 328 762) Βαιθὲλ (+ καὶ εἶσαν τὸν οἶκον κυρίου 328 246 762
158 La^M) L 328 246 762^{mg} 158 La^M; + καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰς
ἀμαρτίαν 509; + καὶ εἶσαν τὸν οἶκον κυρίου *rel*

The translator was probably quite happy to render the Hebrew preposition -בִּ with ἐν in both instances in verse 29 (29.1, 4), but, admittedly, it is hard to see how the variant εἰς (1: B CI 244, 4: 460) came about. Lucifer spells the place name as *Bethel* constantly, possibly following V*, 247, 52, and others (2). Lucifer attests the OG rendering נָתַן ἔδωκεν (*dedit*, 29.3); the variant ἔθηκεν is harmonization with the previous verb ἔθετο. The expression “to become (a) sin” is found only six times in the Hebrew Bible. In three instances a person to whom something has become a sin is mentioned: יִרְבֵּעַם בֵּית לְחֵטָאֵת הַזֶּה בְּדָבָר הַזֶּה “this matter became sin to the house of Jeroboam” (1 Kgs 13:34), אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ לָכֶם יְדֵיכֶם חֵטָא “which your hands have sinfully made for you” (Isa 31:7), הָיוּ לוֹ מִזְבְּחוֹת לְחֵטָא “they became to him [= Ephraim] altars for sinning” (Hos 8:11). These may have served as a model for the Lucianic reviser who has added the words “became a sin to *Israel*” (30.1). Lucifer clearly does not attest the plus. Curiously, the apparatus of BHS suggests that the addition might, after all, reflect the original Hebrew reading (“frt recte” = probably correctly).⁸²

Verse 29 relates that “he set one [calf of gold] in Bethel, and the other he put in Dan” (NRSV). The parallelism would require that both Bethel and Dan were mentioned again in verse 30 as is done by the NRSV: “the people went to worship before the one *at Bethel and before the other* as far as Dan.” The apparatus of BHS suggests that the notion of Bethel should probably (“frt” = *fortasse*) be inserted.⁸³ it is easy to see how the notion may have dropped out of the Hebrew text through a homoioteleuton error. It seems likely, nevertheless, that the accidental omission was already in the LXX *Vorlage*. That the notion of Bethel is supplied by the Antiochian text (L 328 246 762^{mg} 158) is probably not because it attested an older text. Rather, the Lucianic reviser has provided the missing notion⁸⁴ and, as often happens, placed it *after* the original text; in verse 29 the order of the place names is Bethel–Dan, the same should be expected in verse 30 (see the reconstruction in the BHS apparatus). Thus, the Antiochian text *secondarily* restores the *original* reading. That La^M follows it is one of the many hints of the

82. Thus many commentators, e.g., Gray, *I and II Kings*, 313.

83. Thus many commentators, e.g., Gray, *I and II Kings*, 313. With some reserve Benzinger, *Könige*, 90: “30b ist mindestens unvollständig... Vielleicht stand hier etwas darüber, dass die Israeliten eifrig zu den Bildern wallfahrteten.” Differently, e.g., Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 131; Noth, *Könige*, 268.

84. Similarly, e.g., Simon J. DeVries, *I Kings*, WBC 12 (Waco, TX: Word, 1985), 161.

late provenance of the Latin marginal glosses. Most witnesses, including La^M, provide another plus: καὶ εἴασαν τὸν οἶκον κυρίου “and they forsook the house of the Lord.” The nearest parallel to this plus can be found in the L text of 2 Chr 24:18: יְהוָה יִתְּבֹרַךְ וַיֵּצְבוּ אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה וַיִּזְכְּרוּ אֶת־הַבַּיִת וַיִּזְכְּרוּ אֶת־הַבַּיִת וַיִּזְכְּרוּ אֶת־הַבַּיִת (οἶκον κυρίου L a⁻⁷¹-119 Arm^{II} Compl] κύριον rel = Hanhart). It is best to accept that Lucifer does not attest either of the plusses since there would be no obvious reason for him to omit these notions.

- 1 Kgs 12:31 καὶ ἐποίησεν οἴκους ἐφ’ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἐποίησεν ἱερεῖς μέρος τι ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ, οἳ οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Λευι. (Rahlfs)
Et fecerunt domos in excelsum, et fecit sacerdotes partem aliquam populi, qui non erant ex filiis Leui. Luc Reg. 3 (142,54–56)
Et fecit domus⁸⁵ in excelsis, La^M
- 1 Kgs 12:31.1 ἐποίησεν 1° La^M] ἐποίησαν CI 244 Luc (*fecerunt*); + Ἰεροβοάμ L⁻⁸² 246
 Cf. below ἐποίησεν 2° *fecit* Luc (no variants)
- 1 Kgs 12:31.2 תִּבְנוּ (בֵּית־תִּבְנוּ) ἐφ’ ὑψηλῶν] *in excelsum* Luc
 Cf. 13:2 ἱερεῖς τῶν ὑψηλῶν *sacerdotes excelsorum* Luc
 Cf. 13:32 תִּבְנוּ (בֵּית־תִּבְנוּ) τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ὑψηλοὺς] τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ὑψηλῶν L 246 (no La^M)
 Cf. 13:33 ὑψηλῶν ... ὑψηλά (ὑψηλῶν L) *excelsorum ... excelsis* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:31.3 ἱερεῖς] ἱερέας L⁻⁸²; *sacerdotes* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:31.4 οὐκ Luc] > A

In the latter verb ἐποίησεν, “he made,” all the witnesses of the LXX attest the singular form and thus the subject is Jeroboam. However, in the first occurrence of the verb ποιέω “to make” the verb is in the plural in CI 244 and Lucifer (1). The previous subject was “the people” (v. 30: καὶ ἐπορεύετο ὁ λαὸς πρὸ προσώπου τῆς μιᾶς ἕως Δαν) and thus the plural “they made” must refer to them. The word οἶκος can mean “house, home” as well as “temple.” Thus, the notion with the plural form is probably “the people made houses on the hill(s)” (on which the sacrifices were offered before the two calves of gold; see v. 28). Since the graphical difference between the singular and plural forms is small and there generally is fluctuation between singular and plural in the predicate if the subject is “the people,” the agreement between Lucifer and CI 244 cannot be considered striking.

Lucifer reads the word “high place” in the singular (2). In the LXX, the word ὑψηλός in the plural often means “high places,” the cultic shrines

85. Since the accusative is required, *domus* must be taken as a feminine plural accusative of the fourth declension.

placed on hills that are strongly condemned in the history writing. Lucifer must have been familiar with this usage since he quotes several passages containing the word ὑψηλός and typically renders it with the word *excelsum* in the plural (e.g., 1 Kgs 12:32 // *Reg.* 3, 5 directly below; 13:2 // *Reg.* 5). Here, however, Lucifer's impression may be that the high place that is meant is specifically the one in Dan—the one about which, according to his text and probably the original LXX too (see above 12:30.2), it is explicitly said that people would go before the calf of gold (v. 30). To be sure, before verse 31 the text does not mention any “high place,” but it is easy to see Lucifer imagining that the calves are set on a hill used for cultic practices. Thus, if my reading of Lucifer is correct, he means that “the people would go as far as Dan before the one calf and they would build houses on that hill (of the cultic shrine).” The subject for the next verb *fecit* “he made,” however, is in all likelihood Jeroboam again.

For verses 12:32–33ba there are two separate quotations in *Reg.* 3 and 5. Lucifer's text in both contexts is given in each instance.⁸⁶

- 1 Kgs 12:32 καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἱεροβοαμ. ἑορτὴν ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ὀγδόῳ ἐν τῇ πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ
 ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνός (Rahlfs)
 Et fecit Hieroboas diem festum in mense octauo in quinta decima mensis
 Luc Reg. 3 (142,56–57)
 Et fecit Hieroboam diem festum in mense octauo in die festo quinto
 decimo mensis Luc Reg. 5 (145,50–51)
- 1 Kgs 12:32.1 ἐν 1^ο Luc] > L 509 246 372
- 1 Kgs 12:32.2 τῇ πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ] *die festo quinto decimo* Luc Reg. 5; om ἡμέρᾳ
 Luc Reg. 3

Neither of Lucifer's quotations quite follows the Greek text: in *Reg.* 3 Lucifer is satisfied with the shorter expression “on the fifteenth of the month” instead of “on the fifteenth *day* of the month.” In *Reg.* 5, however, he transposes the expressions “fifteenth” and “day” and adds the word *festo* “feast.”

- 1 Kgs 12:32 κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐν γῇ Ἰουδα καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὃ ἐποίη-
 σεν ἐν Βαιθλ, τοῦ θύειν ταῖς δαμάλεσιν, αἷς ἐποίησεν καὶ παρέστησεν ἐν
 Βαιθλ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν ὑψηλῶν, ὧν ἐποίησεν. (Rahlfs)
 secundum diem festum Iuda, et ascendit in sacrario quod fecit in Bethel,
 ut sacrificaret ante uitulas quas fecit, et constituit in Bethel sacerdotes
 excelsorum quos fecit. Luc Reg. 3 (142,57–59)
 secundum diem festum Iuda, et ascendit in sacrificium quod fecit in

86. In Ant (13:40–41) Lucifer's readings are reported correctly, but under the wrong verse number: “40” (12:32 in Rahlfs) should be changed to 41.

Bethel, ut sacrificarent uutilis quas fecit, et constituit in Bethel sacerdotes excelsorum quos fecit. Luc Reg. 5 (145,51–54)

- 1 Kgs 12:32.3 τὴν ἐν] > Luc; sub obel Syh
 1 Kgs 12:32.4 γῆ] τῷ L 246: cf. MT; > Luc; sub obel Syh
 1 Kgs 12:32.5 ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον] *in sacrario*⁸⁷ Luc Reg. 3; *in sacrificium* Luc Reg. 5
 1 Kgs 12:32.6 τοῦ θύειν] *ut sacrificaret* Luc Reg. 3; *ut sacrificarent* Luc Reg. 5
 1 Kgs 12:32.7 ταῖς δαμάλεσιν *uutilis* Luc Reg. 5] *ante uutilas* Luc Reg. 3
 1 Kgs 12:32.8 ἱερεῖς] ἱερέας L; *sacerdotes* Luc
 Cf. 1 Kgs 12:31.3 ἱερεῖς] ἱερέας L⁸²; *sacerdotes* Luc

In both quotations Lucifer simplifies the expression “the feast that was in the land of Ioudas” (NETS) to “the festival day of Iuda” by not reproducing a counterpart for the Greek words τὴν ἐν (3) and not attesting the word “land” (4). While Lucifer is actually not omitting any information, it must be noted that the MT also does not attest the word “land”: כְּחֵג בִּיהוּדָה: “like the festival that was in Judah.” The minus of “land” in Lucifer and L 246 can hardly be the OG reading—note the obelos in the Syrohexapla. It seems, rather, that the Antiochian text follows the MT in the minus due to Hebraizing correction, but Lucifer has omitted the word as unnecessary.

Lucifer mainly uses the word *sacrarium* as a rendering for θυσιαστήριον “altar” (5), but *sacrificium* “sacrifice” is found three times:

- 1 Sam 2:28 καὶ ἐξελεξάμην τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς σου ἐκ πάντων τῶν σκήπτρων Ἰσραὴλ ἐμοὶ ἱερατεύειν καὶ ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ θυσιαστήριόν μου καὶ θυμῶν θυμίαμα καὶ αἶρειν εφουδ *Manifeste ostendi me ad domum patris tui ex omnibus tribus Israel mihi in sacerdotium, ut ascenderent ad sacrificium meum et incenderent incensum et tollerent ephod.* Luc Athan. 1.10
 1 Kgs 12:32.5 ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον] *in sacrario* Luc Reg. 3⁸⁸; *in sacrificium* Luc Reg. 5
 1 Kgs 13:5.1 θυσιαστήριον] *sacrarium* Luc Conv. 3; *sacrificium* Luc Reg. 5 (see below)

There are three possible explanations for this:

1. Lucifer misread or misinterpreted θυσιαστήριον as θυσία in *Athan.* 1.10 and twice in *Reg.* 5, and probably imagined that in two of

87. Ugenti, 13: “An sacrarium? cf. lin. 282; 405; 407; 409–410” = in sacrarium 4x. 91: “sali all’ altare.”

88. In *Reg.* 3 the *in* + abl. construction may come from the Latin copyists who no longer saw a significant distinction between it and the expected *in* + acc.

those contexts *θυσία* meant the act of sacrificing: “to go up to sacrifice for me” (1 Sam 2:28), “went up to perform the sacrifice he had arranged” (1 Kgs 12:32). (In 1 Kgs 13:5 “sacrifice” makes some sense: “and the sacrifice was torn down.”) This is possible but the evidence is slim.

2. The copyists of Lucifer’s works have mixed up the words *sacrarium* and *sacrificium*. Again, a possible solution but, as a rule, one should avoid explaining readings as mistakes of the copyists when no textual evidence is available.
3. The best way to make sense of the phenomenon is to suppose that in Lucifer’s Latin, *sacrificium* can mean the place as well as the object of sacrifice, although the Latin lexicons do not attest this usage. A weak hint in this direction could be the fact that later in the same quotation (see 1 Kgs 13:1, 2 below) there is fluctuation between the terms Lucifer uses for the altar (*ara*) and the whole sanctuary (*sacrarium*).

Lucifer changes the Greek infinitive expression τοῦ θύειν to a finite clause “so that he/they would sacrifice” (6). In *Reg.* 5 the subject changes to the people (plural *sacrificarent*)—this may simply be a transcriptional error in the manuscripts of Lucifer’s works; Lucifer’s focus is on the idolatrous king who serves as a *typos* for Emperor Constantius, and thus it would make little sense if Lucifer emphasized the guilt of the people. In *Reg.* 3 the expression “to the calves” is changed to “before the calves.”⁸⁹

1 Kgs 12:33 καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὃ ἐποίησεν, τῇ πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ μνηί τῷ ὀγδόῳ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἣ ἐπλάσατο ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑορτὴν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ ἐπιθῦσαι.
(Rahlfs)

Et ascendit in sacrarium quod fecit in quinto decimo die mense octauo in die festo quem finxit a corde suo, et fecit diem festum filiis Israel. [quotation and paragraph ends] Luc *Reg.* 3 (142,60–62)

Et ascendit in sacrarium quod fecit in quinto decimo die mense octauo in die festo quem finxit a corde suo, et fecit diem festum filiis Israel et ascendit in sacrarium ut sacrificaret. Luc *Reg.* 5 (145,54–57)

1 Kgs 12:33.1 ἀνέβη Luc] + Ἱεροβοάμ. L 328 246

1 Kgs 12:33.2 τῇ] pr ἐν Βαιθλ A = MT; pr ἐν L CI 71 244 318: cf. MT; in Luc

1 Kgs 12:33.3 ἐπιθῦσαι] θῦσαι 247 L 328 125 246; (ut) sacrificaret Luc

89. Brooke-McLean does well in not reporting these variants.

Lucifer does not attest the secondary explication of “Jeroboam” (247 *L* 328 125 246). In the expressions of time the preposition is not obligatory; the dative in Greek and ablative in Latin is sufficient. Thus there is no obvious reason for the Lucianic reviser, Lucifer, or a copyist of Lucifer's works to add the preposition ἐν *on* before “the fifteenth day.” If the plus of ἐν is secondary, it may be a Hebraizing correction (MT: יוֹם שֶׁשֶׁר בְּחֹמֶשׁ) or conformation with the subsequent expressions ἐν τῷ μηνί τῷ ὀγδόῳ “in the eighth month” and ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ “on the feast.” However, the preposition will be easily dropped in the Greek text due to a haplography since the previous word ends with the letters EN: ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝΕΝ. The rather slight probability of an addition, the high probability of an accidental omission, and Lucifer's support give weight to the claim that the preposition is original.

Conclusion: Lucifer agrees with B against *L* in an original reading nine times. The secondary readings are mostly alterations by the Lucianic reviser (27.2 + αὐτῶν, 3; 28.4; 30.1, 2 + καὶ πρὸ προσώπου – Βαιθήλ; 32.1, 33.1), or they result from Hebraizing correction (27.2 plural [crpp?]) or corruption (27.4 [19'-93]). By contrast, Lucifer agrees with *L* against B seven times (26.1 [*L*⁻¹⁹], 27.6, 8 [*L*⁻¹⁹]; 28.3; 29.1, 32.4, 33.2). Four of them are in a minus (26.1, 27.6, 8; 32.4) and, because of Lucifer's tendency to shorten the text, these should not be counted as weighty agreements—with the exception of 27.8 (καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσίν με] > *L*⁻¹⁹ 328 246 Luc), in which the agreement is probably in the original reading. Other cases in which Lucifer and *L* agree in a putative OG reading are 29.1 and 33.2 (τῇ] pr ἐν *L*; in Luc), but none of those are especially striking. There are a small number of Hexaplaric readings in the passage (27.5, 8 + καὶ ἐπιστρ. etc. A; 28.5; 30.2 + καὶ εἶασαν etc.). Expectedly, Lucifer follows none of those; the seeming agreement in a finite verb with A in 28.5 is only coincidental. Finally, Lucifer makes a number of small modifications (omissions: 26.2, 27.7 [= 509], 32.3; other than omissions: 27.1; 28.1, 2; 31.2; 32.5).

Excursus: Lucifer's Understanding of the Israelite Sacrificial Practices

Some of Lucifer's readings cited above may reveal something of his understanding of how the cultic practices in ancient Israel were carried out. For the context and textual analysis of the following variation units, see above.

What was the sanctuary on a hill like in Lucifer's imagination and how did it function? It is possible that Lucifer had never witnessed an animal sacrifice. In the fourth century, such sacrifices were already out of vogue

even in the areas where the old Greco-Roman religion still persisted, and Christians apparently detested the practice. As it happens, it was Constantius II specifically who commanded, “let superstition cease, and the insanity of sacrifices must be abolished” (*cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania*; Cod. Theod. 16.10.2).⁹⁰ However, it is said that in 357 he consecrated a temple to Apollo.⁹¹ There was a petition by Symmachus to retain the old sacrifices and, subsequently, a worried reaction concerning the issue by Ambrose in the 380s (*Symmachi Relationes* 3).⁹² Accordingly, it may be that actual animal sacrifices (as against libations and offerings of grain and wine) were still carried out in Rome or Milan⁹³ during the time when Lucifer visited these cities (355). However, our strongly orthodox bishop would probably not have gone near such an occasion.

Thus, in Lucifer’s mind any “altar” might have been associated with the altar in a Christian church. At the time of Lucifer, the concept of a Christian basilica was about a century old. Gradually, the commonplace table and the vessels used in the Eucharist became a sacred altar with its necessary equipment. They could no longer be used for profane purposes. The altar possessed a highly visible location forming the centre of the sanctuary.⁹⁴ When the basilica style for the churches became the standard in the fourth century, the altar was located on a raised *bema*.⁹⁵

90. Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1904). The edict is dated to 341 CE.

91. Béatrice Caseau, “Sacred Landscapes,” in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Post-classical World*, ed. G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 54 n. 25.

92. Reginald Haynes Barrow, ed., *Prefect and Emperor: The Relationes of Symmachus A.D. 384* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973). For short analysis of the proceedings, pp. 32–33; Caseau, “Sacred Landscapes,” 30; Michele Renee Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 233.

93. Mary Beard, John North, and S. R. F. Price, eds., *A History*, vol. 1 of *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 374: “In Rome and other major cities of the empire official sacrifices were for a time left untouched.” The year 391 is generally referred to as the time of the final prohibition of sacrifices in Rome by Emperor Theodosius I (Cod. Theod. 16.10.10).

94. Caseau, “Sacred Landscapes,” 41; Caseau, “Altars,” in Bowersock, Brown, and Grabar, *Late Antiquity*, 290–91.

95. Kenneth G. Holum, “Church Architecture,” in Bowersock, Brown, and Grabar, *Late Antiquity*, 375–76.

Against this background it becomes less surprising if Lucifer speaks of the altar as more like a confined space rather than a pile of stones. Let us look at the variant readings once more:⁹⁶

Rahlfs	Lucifer, Reg. 3, 5	Variants for Lucifer
12:32 καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὃ ἐποίησεν ἐν Βαιθηλ, τοῦ θύειν ταῖς δαμάλεσιν, ...	<i>et ascendit in sacrari[um]⁸⁸ quod fecit in Bethel, ut sacrificaret ante uitulas ...</i>	<i>sacrificium</i> (Reg. 5) <i>uitulis</i> (Reg. 5)
12:33 καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὃ ἐποίησεν, ...	<i>Et ascendit in sacrarium quod fecit ...</i>	
καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ...	<i>et ascendit in sacrarium ...</i>	
13:1 καὶ Ἱεροβοὰμ εἰστήκει ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον (+ αὐτοῦ A mlt) τοῦ ἐπιθύσαι.	<i>et Hieroboam stabat super aram suam sacrificare;</i>	
13:2 καὶ ἐπεκάλεσεν πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ...	<i>et propheta inuocauit ad aram ...</i>	
Θυσιαστήριον θυσιαστήριον, ...	<i>o sacrarium, sacrarium ...</i>	
καὶ θύσει ἐπὶ σὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν ὑψηλῶν τοὺς ἐπιθύοντας ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ ὅσα ἄνθρωπων καύσει ἐπὶ σέ....	<i>et sacrificabit in te sacerdotes excelsorum qui sacrificant in te, et ossa hominum conburent in te... .</i>	<i>inter</i> (Luc ^{VG})
13:4 ὡς ἤκουσεν ... τῶν λόγων ... τοῦ ἐπικαλεσαμένου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ... καὶ ἐξέτεινεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ...	<i>ut audiuit uerba ... inuocantis in aram ... et extendit manum suam ad aram ...</i>	

In Lucifer's text, many actions concerning the sanctuary happen "within" (*in*), not "upon" it: Jeroboam ascends "into" it (*in* + acc.; 12:32, 33) and the prophet describes the sacrificial actions as happening "in" it (*in* + abl.⁹⁷; 13:2). This usage cannot be derived from any of the existing Greek witnesses. I find it inconceivable that the copyists of Lucifer's works changed the prepositions: there should be more fluctuation if some of the *in* prepositions originated in an error. There seems to be no other plausible explanation for the phenomenon but to suppose that Lucifer understood the

96. The ablative *sacrario* in the manuscripts is probably a mistake; see the textual analysis above.

97. To be sure, *in te* could be accusative as well, but that would make little sense here.

sanctuary as a building. As far as the question is of going into it, the rendering *sacrarium* (or in 12:32 *sacrificium*, Reg. 5) is appropriate. When Jeroboam starts the actual sacrifice, then it is natural that he stands “upon” an altar. Thus, there is no problem in translating Jeroboam’s standing *ἐπὶ* τὸ θυσιαστήριον (13:1) literally as *super aram* since, after all, the altar table itself is basically an object rather than a space. This conception of a sacred building containing an altar naturally resembles a Christian church, the sacred space known to Lucifer. However, since in Greek both the sanctuary and the altar are called θυσιαστήριον, the concepts overlap or even get mixed up: even though the prophet is said to address the altar (*inuocauit ad aram* 13:2, *inuocantis in aram* v. 4) his words are directed to the whole sanctuary (*o sacrarium*).

1 Kgs 12:32–13:6 (13:40–14:6 Ant) (Reg. 5)

For Lucifer’s readings from verses 32–33, see the previous section (Reg. 3).

- 1 Kgs 13:1 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξ Ἰουδα παρεγένετο ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου εἰς Βαιθλῆλ, καὶ Ἱεροβοὰμ εἰστήκει ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ ἐπιβῦσαι. (Rahlfs)
Et ecce homo dei ex Iuda aduenit in uerbo domini in Bethel, et Hieroboam stabat super aram suam sacrificare; Luc Reg. 5 (145,57–59)
- 1 Kgs 13:1.1 ἐξ Ἰουδα παρεγένετο B CI 509 246 55 244 318 372 460 Luc] ἀνέβη ἐξ Ἰούδα CII⁻³²⁸; tr rel = MT
- 1 Kgs 13:1.2 ἕξ εἰς] ἐν L⁻⁹³ 530 Eus *Praep* 6,11,21; in Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:1.3 הָאֱלֹהִים בַּיִתְּלָל Bαιθλῆλ V 247 46' 527 245 342 460 Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:1.4 (ἐπὶ) τὸ θυσιαστήριον] τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου L 55 627; (*super*) *aram* Luc⁹⁸
- 1 Kgs 13:1.5 הָאֱלֹהִים θυσιαστήριον] + αὐτοῦ A V 247 C⁻³²⁸ 121 d^{-125.610} 246 o t s⁻³¹⁴ z 55 71 158 244 245 318 342 554 627 707 Eus *Praep.* ev. 6.11.21 Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:1.6 τοῦ 2° L 509] > B rel

The word order ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξ Ἰουδα παρεγένετο “a man of God from Judah came” (my trans.; NETS: “a man of God came out of Ioudas”) in the B text and Lucifer (1) is against the MT. It would be hard to find any arguments against its originality. The old age of Lucifer’s Greek text is demonstrated by its attestation to this original reading. With proper nouns that cannot be declined in Latin, Lucifer’s *in* (2) may reflect either εἰς or ἐν. Here εἰς (in Latin *in* + acc.) is what is expected; the reading ἐν results from

98. Ugenti, 95: “sull’ altare.”

conformation with the expression ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου. For the spelling *Bethel* (3), see 12:29 above.

Lucifer's Latin construction *super* + acc. is closer to the Greek ἐπί + gen. (4); in Latin the normal counterpart for the Greek ἐπί + acc. ("standing *on the top of* the altar," which cannot be the proper meaning here) would be *super* + abl. However, it cannot be stated straightaway that Lucifer agreed here with L 55 627, which read the genitive (ἐπὶ) τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου; Lucifer very well understood that Jeroboam is standing *on* the high place *upon*, that is, *next to*, the altar and makes his own choice of prepositions and cases regardless of the details of his Greek text. His choice of the word *ara* for "altar" may be a hint in this direction: the word *sacrarium* (12:33) probably means "sanctuary," the larger area associated with cultic practices and *ara* is the altar table on which the slaughtering of the sacrificial animal takes place.⁹⁹ Thus Jeroboam "went up to the *sacrarium* ... and stood upon his *ara*" (*ascendit in sacrarium ... stabat super aram suam*). It should be noted, too, that in the next verse Lucifer changes the Greek expression to one more natural in Latin: *invocavit ad aram* (see 13:2.2 below).¹⁰⁰

Lucifer clearly attests the plus of αὐτοῦ "his" after the word "altar" (5). It is attested by the overwhelming majority (against B L 328 509 125-610 56 314 x 460) and not explained as a Hebraizing correction. Confusion with the following τοῦ might account for both an addition and an omission, but the article itself is not present in most of the manuscripts (6). Rahlfs's solution is probably based on the observation that θυσιαστήριον τοῦ can explain both the addition of αὐτοῦ (explanatory, probably facilitated by a corruption from τοῦ) and the omission of τοῦ (haplography either from -ριον~~του~~ or αὐτου~~του~~). The plus of αὐτοῦ is best considered an early variant.

99. In 1 Macc 1:62[59 LXX] // *Parc.* 12 Lucifer makes a distinction between *ara* (βωμός) and *altar* (θυσιαστήριον): *et quarta et uicesima mensis sacrificabant super aram quae erat super altare*. The Vulgate makes the same distinction: *super aram quae erat contra altare*.

100. Brooke-McLean is correct in citing Lucifer only for the plus of αὐτοῦ in 13:1.

- 1 Kgs 13:2 καὶ ἐπεκάλεσεν πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου καὶ εἶπεν
 Θυσιαστήριον θυσιαστήριον, τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἰδοὺ υἱὸς τίκεται τῷ οἴκῳ
 Δαυιδ, Ἰωσίας ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, (Rahlfs)
*et propheta inuocauit ad aram in uerbo domini dicens: o sacrarium,
 sacrarium, haec dicit dominus: ecce filius nascetur in domo David, et
 Iosias erit nomen illi, Luc Reg. 5 (145,59–61)*
- 1 Kgs 13:2.1 ἐπεκάλεσεν] *pr propheta* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:2.2 πρὸς (τὸ θυσιαστήριον) A B 247 CI x 55 71 244 342 372 707] ἐπὶ *rel; ad
 (aram)* Luc¹⁰¹
- 1 Kgs 13:2.3 θυσιαστήριον 1° Luc] + ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ 19' 158
- 1 Kgs 13:2.4 καὶ εἶπεν] > B 509 460; *dicens* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:2.5 Ἰωσίας] *et Iosias erit* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:2.6 αὐτῷ Luc] αὐτοῦ 93-127 246

Both Lucifer and a part of the Antiochian tradition see fit to provide the subject “prophet” or “the man of God,” either before the word ἐπεκάλεσεν “proclaimed” (1) or after the word θυσιαστήριον “altar” (3). There is no reason to suspect any interdependence between these additions. As already seen in the previous verse, Lucifer prefers a natural Latin usage in the prepositions in connection with the altar of the sanctuary. Here (2) Lucifer may follow the B reading πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, but his *ad aram* may simply be because of better Latin usage. B, for whatever reason, omits the words καὶ εἶπεν, which Lucifer reflects by the reading *dicens* (4). Lucifer makes small modifications: “a son will be born *in* the house of David *and* Josias *shall be* his name” (5, 6).

- 1 Kgs 13:2 καὶ θύσει ἐπὶ σέ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν ὑψηλῶν τοὺς ἐπιθύνοντας ἐπὶ σέ καὶ ὅσα
 ἀνθρώπων καύσει ἐπὶ σέ. (Rahlfs)
*et sacrificabit in te*¹⁰² *sacerdotes excelsorum qui sacrificant in te, et ossa
 hominum conburet in te. Luc Reg. 5 (145,61–63)*
- 1 Kgs 13:2.7 τοὺς ἐπιθύνοντας 71 Syh] *pr καὶ L; τῶν ἐπιθύνωντων rel; qui sacrificant* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:2.8 ἐπὶ σέ 2°] *in te* Luc; > 93 509 460; ∩ 3° A 120
- 1 Kgs 13:2.9 καύσει] *κατακαύσει L 318 Tht; conburet* Luc

According to Rahlfs’s solution, the original reading is τοὺς ἐπιθύνοντας, producing “he shall sacrifice on you the priests of the high places *who sac-*

101. Ugenti, 95: “contro l’altare.”

102. For the first *in te*, both manuscripts of Lucifer’s works read *inter*: “and he shall sacrifice *among* the priests,” which must be incorrect.

rifice on you.” Both *L* and 71 attest this, the former with the addition of καί (7). In addition, the reading is preserved in the Syrohexapla. In the archetype of the majority of the manuscripts the expression has been conformed to the plural genitive in the previous expression τῶν ὑψηλῶν, in effect making it an attribute of the “high places” instead of “the priests.” The result is hardly a meaningful notion. However, the argument can be turned around: the nonsensical τῶν ἐπιθυόντων is the original reading and the accusative results from an attempt to restore the right meaning. I do not want to propose either solution as the more convincing one. For the present purpose, it suffices to note that Lucifer attests the *right interpretation* of the passage: his *qui sacrificant* refers to a masculine antecedent which probably¹⁰³ is “the priests.”

In the LXX, the prophet clearly addresses the altar proper: “he shall sacrifice *on you* the priests of the high places who sacrifice *on you* and shall burn human bones *on you*.” The expected rendering for ἐπὶ σέ “on you” would be *super te*. Nevertheless, in all the three instances Lucifer gives the reading *in te* “in you” (8). Above (13:1.4) I suggested that Lucifer makes a distinction between *ara* “altar” and *sacrarium* “sanctuary,” both used as renderings for the Greek θυσιαστήριον. Lucifer’s choice of preposition here might corroborate this interpretation: although the narrator states that the prophet addressed the *altar* (*et propheta inuocauit ad aram*), the prophet actually shouts “O sanctuary!” (*sacrarium*). Thus, the actions that will take place happen *within* the sanctuary.¹⁰⁴ For that consideration, see the excursus above.

While there are many Latin words for “to burn up,” Lucifer appears to favour *comburo* (and the noun or participle *combustum*) in his render-

103. As a noun, *excelsus* can be used in the masculine as well as neuter. Lucifer uses the noun 15x. In the second declination the masculine and neuter are distinguishable only in nominative singular (-us, -um) and plural (-i, -a), and accusative plural (-os, -a). Of these distinguishable forms Lucifer (or his copyists) uses a neuter ending once: *excelsa* 2 Kgs 21:3 // *Reg.* 8. A masculine ending is found 2x: *excelsos* 2 Kgs 12:8, 13 // *Parc.* 7.

104. To be sure, “you” in the expression *in te* might be the *ara* as well: although the usage seems to be rare, the expression *sacrificare in ara* is found, for instance, in Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* 1.11.63 (*in ea ara Iuppiter sacrificavit*) and Augustine, *Civ.* 10.3 (*ei sacrificamus hostiam humilitatis et laudis in ara cordis*). Ugenti’s translation (95) passes over the difference: “il profeta gridò contro l’altare.... ‘O altare!’” Lucifer’s *in te* is rendered as “su di te” “on/upon/over you” in all three instances.

ings of the Greek verb (κατα)καίω.¹⁰⁵ In variation unit 9 it is impossible to decide whether he reflects the *L* reading κατακαύσει or the *B* reading καύσει.

- 1 Kgs 13:3 καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνῃ τέρας λέγων Τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα, ὃ ἐλάλησεν κύριος λέγων Ἰδοὺ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ῥήγνυται, καὶ ἐκχυθήσεται ἡ πίστις ἡ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ. (Rahlfs)
Et dabit in illa die prodigium quod locutus est dominus: ecce sacrarium dirumpetur et effundetur pinguedo quae est in eo. Luc Reg. 5 (145,63–65)
Ecce sacrarium rumpetur, et effundetur pinguedo quae est in eo. La^M
- 1 Kgs 13:3.1 ⲓⲛⲓ ⲉ̅̅ⲃⲟⲱⲕⲉⲛ δώσει B L^{-19'} 509 460 Luc: cf. MT
- 1 Kgs 13:3.2 λέγων 1^o om – ῥῆμα Luc Or-gr; ∩ 2^o 509 245
- 1 Kgs 13:3.3 ⲡⲉⲣⲓⲛ ῥῆμα] τέρας A 247 127^{mg} 318 Eus *Praep. ev.* 6.11.21
- 1 Kgs 13:3.4 λέγων 2^o] sub obel Syh; > L 328 Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:3.5 ἡ 2^o A V 247 19 328 71 245 318 707] > 509 610* 460; + οὔσα rel; *quae est* La^M Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:3.6 ἐπ’ αὐτῷ] ἐν αὐτῷ A 328; ἐπ’ αὐτό 247 246 x⁻⁵²⁷ 318; ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ 245; αὐτοῦ 509 610*; *in eo* La^M Luc

The MT reads: “He [i.e., the prophet] gave a sign the same day, saying, ‘This is the sign that the LORD has spoken: “The altar shall be torn down, and the ashes that are on it shall be poured out”’” (NRSV). The speech of the prophet ends with verse 2, and the narrator introduces the act of giving a sign. Rahlfs’s solution is based on the assumption that the translator had the above interpretation of the text and understood the Hebrew ⲓⲛⲓ as a perfect with the *wāw* (“and he gave”)¹⁰⁶ rather than a perfect consecutive (“and he will give”) and reproduced the reading with the Greek aorist καὶ ἔδωκεν. The variant reading δώσει (B L^{-19'} 509 460), then, came about when a scribe understood that the clause “he gave a sign the same day” belongs to the direct speech of the prophet and its subject is Josiah, who will carry

105. In addition to the present case, the root *conbu-* is attested 9x in Lucifer’s texts: κατάκαυμα ... κατακαύματος *combustum* ... *combusto* Exod 21:25 // *Athan.* 2:5; προνομὴν *combustionem* 2 Kgs 21:14 // *Reg.* 8; κατέπαυσεν 158 = Rahlfs] κατέκαυσε B L rel, *combussit* 2 Kgs 23:5 // *Parc.* 7; κατέκαυσεν omn, *combussit* 2 Kgs 23:11, 16; πυρώσω *conburo* Jer 9:6[7] // *Athan.* 2.1; εἰς καὺσιν πυρός *conburatur* Dan 7:11 // *Parc.* 30; [κατα] καίεται *conburuntur* Matt 13:40 // *Athan.* 2.17.

106. Or a variant (or a *nun-yod* misreading) ⲓⲛⲓ, suggested and preferred by Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 350; Benzinger, *Könige*, 91.

out the action in 2 Kgs 23:15. Since the error is shared by B and a part of the Antiochian tradition, it can be assumed to be very early. In *L*^{-19'} it is probably proto-Lucianic. Another solution would be that the translator understood קִנְיָ as a perfect consecutive and translated it with the Greek future *καὶ δώσει*.¹⁰⁷ In that case the variant reading *ἔδωκεν* would be a correction *ad sensum* in the right direction:¹⁰⁸ the direct speech is interrupted by the narrator, who states that the very same prophet not only spoke that day but gave signs as well. The Hebrew probably does not play a part here. It seems very likely that Lucifer attests the future (*dabit*).¹⁰⁹ His attestation together with B 509 460 and the proto-Lucianic text gives the reading *δώσει* a very good weight. Since the *ad sensum* corrections to the text can be assumed to be generally moving in the right direction, it is easier to explain *ἔδωκεν* as the corrected reading than vice versa.¹¹⁰ For these reasons I cautiously suggest that *δώσει* is the original reading.

Lucifer does not attest the words “saying, ‘This is the word’” (2). This may be Lucifer’s own shortening, but it might also be a weak hint towards his Greek text attesting the word *τέρας* (3; A 247 127^m 318) against *ῥῆμα*: the omission, then, would be due to a parablepsis from the first *τέρας* to the second. The omission of the latter word *λέγων* (4) in *L* 328 is probably due to Hexaplaric correction: according to the obelos in the Syrohexapla the plus is the genuine LXX reading.¹¹¹ In Lucifer’s text the omission is best attributed to the shortening tendency.

107. Thus Šanda, *Könige*, 352; cf. קִנְיָ καὶ θύσει in 13:2 above. The mixup of the *wāw* + perfect and the perfect consecutive does not seem to have taken place elsewhere in the Greek translation of Kings.

108. Similarly Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 131–32.

109. Similarly Ugenti, 95: “*In quel giorno darà anche il segno*” with a footnote: “The future is also attested in Greek (*δώσει*) ... from what follows one understands that the miraculous sign will not be given by Josiah, but is made immediately by the man of God ...; the curse of the prophet would end then with ‘and will burn human bones on you.’ What follows should be interpreted as follows: ‘Then the man of God gave a miraculous sign, as evidence that it was the Lord who had spoken’” (my trans.).

110. As I see it, this is a legitimate way of applying the principle of *lectio difficilior*. After all, the principle was formulated as a heuristic tool on the basis of the general observation that the conscious alterations by the scribes tend to actually improve the text. However, argumentation simply on the basis of the so-called difficulty of the reading—from whatever point of view—is not sound textual criticism.

111. See also Law, *Origenes Orientalis*, 131–32.

It is difficult to say whether the Latin readings follow the simple article or the participle of “to be” in variation unit 5. Nevertheless, there may be a genuine agreement between them as they agree in the reading *in eo* (6), which may follow the reading *ἐν αὐτῷ*, found only in A 328. Of course, the choice of preposition may be simply due to a preferred usage: in the excursus above I suggested that for Lucifer *sacrarium* was a confined place which included, but was not equal to, the altar proper.

Lucifer quotes the verses 1 Kgs 13:4–6 in both *Reg.* 5 and *Conv.* 3. Both contexts are cited in the following.

- 1 Kgs 13:4 καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ιεροβοαμ τῶν λόγων τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐπικαλεσαμένου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ ἐν Βαιθλ, καὶ ἐξέτεινεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λέγων Συλλάβετε αὐτόν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξηράνθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐξέτεινεν ἐπ’ αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ἐπιστρέψαι αὐτὴν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, (Rahlfs)
Et factum est, ut audiuit uerba hominis dei inuocantis in aram quae in Bethel erat, et extendit manum suam ad aram dicens: adprehendite eum. Et arida facta est manus regis quam extendit in eum, et non potuit reducere eam ad se. Luc *Reg.* 5 (145,65–68)
Et factum est, dicit de illo coapostata tuo, uerbum hominis dei, et infra: Et extendit manum suam ad aram dicens: adprehendite eum, et arida facta est manus regis, quam extendit in eum, et non potuit reducere eam ad se. Luc *Conv.* 3 (168,4–8)
- 1 Kgs 13:4.1 ὁ βασιλεὺς / Ιεροβοαμ] Ιεροβοαμ βασιλεὺς 98’ (245); > Luc; om ὁ βασιλεὺς 106 489 318; om Ιεροβοαμ *L*^{-19’} = MT
- 1 Kgs 13:4.2 τῶν λόγων Luc *Reg.* 5] τὸν λόγον V 247 610 x⁻⁵²⁷ 158 245 460 707 (Luc *Conv.* 3?) = MT
- 1 Kgs 13:4.3 ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον] ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου 488; om ἐπὶ 318; *in aram* Luc Cf. 13:1.4 (ἐπὶ) τὸ θυσιαστήριον] τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου *L* 55 627; (*super*) *aram* Luc Cf. 13:2.2 πρὸς (τὸ θυσιαστήριον) A B 247 *CI* x 55 71 244 342 372 707] ἐπὶ rel; *ad (aram)* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:4.4 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤀𐤃 Βαιθλ] Βεθλῆλ V* 247 46’ 246 527 55 245 342 460 Luc Cf. 1 Kgs 13:1.3 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤀𐤃 Βαιθλ] Βεθλῆλ V 247 46’ 527 245 342 460 Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:4.5 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤀 ὁ βασιλεὺς 2°] > 247 *L* d⁻¹⁰⁶ 71 Luc Vg.; tr post αὐτοῦ 1° 245 460
- 1 Kgs 13:4.6 ἰδοὺ] > *L* Luc = MT
- 1 Kgs 13:4.7 αὐτοῦ 2°] *regis* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:4.8 ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου] ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου 19 509 106*(c pr m)-107*-125 92; ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον z 245; *ad aram* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:4.9 ἑαυτόν] αὐτόν B 247 328 509 44; *se* Luc

Whether Lucifer read in his Greek exemplar “King Jeroboam” (B; 1), “Jeroboam the king” (98’ 245), “the king” (*L*⁻¹⁹), or “Jeroboam” (106 489 318), he omitted it since the subject of “to hear” is self-evident. In variation unit 2 the variation between the Greek plural “words” and singular “word” originates more likely in an *omicron-ōmega* confusion than in Hebraizing correction, even though the singular corresponds to MT. Lucifer should probably be cited in favour of the plural: the singular in *Conv.* 3 seems to be an adaptation since the quotation is broken: “‘And it happened,’ says [the Holy Scripture] about your co-apostate, ‘the word of the man of God’...” Since the notion of hearing is omitted, the meaning becomes “the word of the man of God became.” The previous context does not recount the “words” of the prophet; they are not cited anywhere in *De non conveniendo*. Thus, the singular *verbum* standing for “message” is appropriate.

It seems that somehow Lucifer imagines that the prophet is standing by the altar (*in aram*; 3), although that is not suggested in verse 2: the prophet can proclaim towards or against (*ad*) the altar without actually standing within the altar area (see excursus above). Variation units 3 and 8 are probably connected, though it is not certain which should be interpreted in the light of the other. In the latter case the question is of the king extending his arm, probably pointing toward the prophet. The following words make it clear that the subject is Jeroboam and since the king is standing in or near the altar the hand is expected to be extended *from* the altar (so most Greek witnesses). Lucifer’s *ad aram* “towards the altar” makes sense only if the prophet, as well as the king, is standing by the altar. One might interpret the extending of the hand toward the altar as an act of devotion—or even of protecting the altar. However, in his comments Lucifer explicates that the withered arm that the king “stretched out against” was directed against the prophet: “et brachium impium porrectum ad dei hominis ...” (*Reg.* 5 [146,75–76]). While Lucifer’s own modification seems to be the best explanation for his reading in variation unit 8, one should not exclude the possibility that it originated in an error in an OL source: that might explain why the curious reading is found in two different works of Lucifer.

The second explication of Jeroboam (5) is as unnecessary as the first one. When the options are two different explications (יִרְבֵּעָם MT, ὁ βασιλεύς B and majority) and nothing (247 *L* *d*⁻¹⁰⁶ 71 Luc Vg.), the last one is the safest choice.¹¹² However, Lucifer might leave the subject out inde-

112. So, cautiously, the BHS apparatus: “> 𐤁𐤏𐤁, dl?”; similarly Noth, *Könige*, 290.

pendently, as may be the case with the, likely Hebraizing, omission of ἰδοῦ “behold” (L; 6). The lack of the subject has prompted Lucifer to explicate “the hand of the king” (7).¹¹³ In variation unit 9 Lucifer’s *se* “(to) himself” is *ad sensum* and may reflect either Greek reading.

- 1 Kgs 13:5 καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐρράγη, καὶ ἐξεχύθη ἡ πύκτης ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κατὰ τὸ τέρας, ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου. (Rahlfs)
Et sacrificium ruptum est, et effusa est pinguedo eius a sacrario secundum prodigium quod dixit homo dei in uerbo domini. Luc Reg. 5 (145,68–70)
Et sacrarium ruptum est, et effusa est pinguedo eius a sacrario secundum quod dixit homo dei in uerbo domini. Luc Conv. 3 (168,8–10)
- 1 Kgs 13:5.1 θυσιαστήριον] *sacrarium* Luc Conv. 3; *sacrificium* Luc Reg. 5
- 1 Kgs 13:5.2 ἀπό Luc] > CH⁻³²⁸ 121 d t s z 554
- 1 Kgs 13:5.3 τὸ τέρας Luc Reg. 5] > Luc Conv. 3
- 1 Kgs 13:5.4 ἔδωκεν] *dixit* Luc

For the different Latin renderings of the Greek θυσιαστήριον (1), see the excursus above. Since the sign (τὸ τέρας *prodigium*) is something that the prophet said, Lucifer changes the verb “gave” to “said” (4).¹¹⁴ This, in turn, has made “the sign” less necessary and in *De non conveniendo* Lucifer omits it, resulting in “according to what the man of God had said” (3).

- 1 Kgs 13:6 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ιεροβοαμ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ Δεθήητι τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου, καὶ ἐπιστρέψάτω ἡ χεὶρ μου πρὸς με. καὶ ἐδέηθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου, καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐγένετο καθὼς τὸ πρότερον. (Rahlfs)
Et respondit rex et dixit homini dei: roga faciem domini dei tui, ut reuertatur manus mea ad me. Et rogauit homo dei faciem domini, et reuersa est manus regis ad eum, et facta est quemadmodum primum. Luc Reg. 5 (145,70–146,74)
Et respondit rex et dixit homini dei: roga a facie domini dei tui, ut reuertatur manus mea ad me. Et rogauit homo dei faciem domini, et reuersa est manus regis ad eum, et facta est quemadmodum primum. Luc Conv. 3 (168,10–13)

113. It must be noted, however, that since the omission of the latter “king” and the subsequent explication “the hand of the king” are not self-evidently what Lucifer is expected to do, their occurrence in both *De non conveniendo* and *De regibus* might indicate that they existed in an underlying Latin source; see my conclusions at the end of the section.

114. Again, agreement in a special reading between two different citing contexts may point to a common underlying Latin source; see the conclusions.

- 1 Kgs 13:6.1 καὶ 1^o – Ἱεροβοαμ] καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἶπε(ν) *L* Luc = MT
- 1 Kgs 13:6.2 δέηθητι] + δὴ *L*⁻¹⁹ 246 = MT; Luc?
- 1 Kgs 13:6.3 יְפַח־פָּנָיו τοῦ προσώπου 1^o] τῷ προσώπῳ *A CI d* 799; *faciem* Luc Reg. 5; *a facie* Luc Conv. 3
Cf. below יְפַח־פָּנָיו τοῦ προσώπου 2^o] *faciem* Luc Reg. 5 Conv. 3 (no Greek variants)
- 1 Kgs 13:6.4 σου Luc] + καὶ πρόσευξαι περὶ ἐμοῦ *A* 247 127(sub ast) = MT
- 1 Kgs 13:6.5 ἡ χεῖρ Luc: cf. MT] τὴν χεῖρα *L*⁻¹⁹
- 1 Kgs 13:6.6 ἐπέστρεψεν] ἀπέστρεψε(ν) 93 488 707; *reuersa est* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:6.7 τὴν χεῖρα] ἡ χεῖρ *L* Luc: cf. MT

Lucifer and *L* agree with MT in providing the more natural clause “the king answered and said” against “And King Ieroboam said” (NETS) of the B text (1). Since corruption in either direction is unlikely, it is best to accept that Lucifer and *L* share here a Hebraizing correction and B retains the OG which reflects the words יוען המלך ירבעם.¹¹⁵ While *L* is known to preserve a number of Hexaplaric readings against all the other witnesses in Samuel,¹¹⁶ the same phenomenon is much less usual in Kings, and Lucifer is generally almost free of Hexaplaric influence. Thus one might search for the origin of the correction outside the Hexapla, although a Hexaplaric origin cannot be ruled out. The plus of the emphatic particle δὴ in *L*⁻¹⁹ 246 (2) is probably Hebraizing as well, but we cannot know whether Lucifer attests it or not: it cannot be reproduced in Latin. Lucifer constructs the expression “entreat the face” (NETS) either with *rogo* + acc. (3; *De regibus*) or *rogo a(b)* + abl. (*De non conveniendo*); the underlying Greek hardly plays a role. Expectedly, Lucifer does not attest the Hexaplaric addition in variation unit 4. The formulations in Lucifer and *L* concerning “letting the hand return” (5–7) are probably totally independent: Lucifer prefers the passive throughout whereas *L* (partly) uses both the intransitive and transitive formulations but in a different order than B and the majority.

Conclusion: Lucifer's quotation from 1 Kgs 13 in *Conv.* 3 continues for twenty more verses and for two more in *Reg.* 5. It is best to leave the interim conclusion until after 13:34; see the separate subsection.

115. Thus according to the reconstruction in the Tov-Polak alignment.

116. Brock, *Recensions*, 171.

1 Kgs 13:4–28 (14:4–28 Ant) (Conv. 3)

For verses 4–6, see under Reg. 5 above.

- 1 Kgs 13:7 καὶ ἐλάλησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ Εἰσελθε μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς οἶκον καὶ ἀρίστησον, καὶ δώσω σοι δόμα. (Rahlfs)
Et locutus est rex ad hominem dei et dixit: intra me cum in domum et prande, et dabo tibi munera. Luc Conv. 3 (168,13–15)
- 1 Kgs 13:7.1 θεοῦ = MT] + λέγων L 246; + *et dixit* Luc
 Cf. 13:9 λέγων *dicens* Luc] > 246
 Cf. 13:12 λέγων *dicens* Luc] > V 44-125
- 1 Kgs 13:7.2 οἶκον Luc = MT] + μου L⁻⁹³

Lucifer likely follows *L* in the plus “and said” (1), although he can occasionally make such explications himself. Lucifer does not, however, attest the recensional addition μου (2).

- 1 Kgs 13:8 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἐάν μοι δῶς τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ οἴκου σου, οὐκ εἰσελεύσομαι μετὰ σοῦ οὐδὲ μὴ φάγω ἄρτον οὐδὲ μὴ πῖω ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. (Rahlfs)
Et dixit homo dei ad regem: nec si mihi dimidiam domum tuam, non intrabo te cum nec manducabo panem nec bibam aquam in hoc loco, Luc Conv. 3 (168,15–17)
- 1 Kgs 13:8 δῶς] > Luc^V; tr post σου 1^o Luc^G (*dederis*)

No significant Greek variants.

- 1 Kgs 13:9 ὅτι οὕτως ἐνετείλατό μοι ἐν λόγῳ κύριος λέγων Μὴ φάγῃς ἄρτον καὶ μὴ πίῃς ὕδωρ καὶ μὴ ἐπιστρέψῃς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἣ ἐπορεύθης ἐν αὐτῇ. (Rahlfs)
quoniam sic praecepit mihi dominus in uerbo dicens: non manducabis panem et non bibes aquam, et non reuerteris in uia qua iueris in ea.
Quomodo uobis cum poteramus conuenire ad deum adorandum, cum iste homo dei, ... Luc Conv. 3 (168,17–21)
- 1 Kgs 13:9.1 ἐν λόγῳ] > 93 158* 245; tr post κύριος ο 527 Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:9.2 μὴ 1^o] pr οὐ L 328; *non* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:9.3 καὶ μὴ 1^o] οὐδὲ μὴ L; μηδέ 247 372; καὶ οὐ μὴ 328; καὶ 246 158* (c pr m); μὴ A; *et non* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:9.4 καὶ 2^o] οὐδέ L; > 122*; + οὐ 328; *et (non)* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:9.5 ἧ Luc] pr ἐν L⁻¹²⁷
 Cf. 13:10 ἧ Luc] pr ἐν 82

The qualification ἐν λόγῳ “by a word” (1) is disruptive before the subject, and the word-order change in Lucifer and ο 527 may happen indepen-

dently. For the three consecutive negations, Rahlfs chose the pattern *μή ... καὶ μή ... καὶ μή* (B and majority; 2–4) as the original. The double negative *οὐ/οὐδὲ μή* in *L* results from stylistic correction. Lucifer likely follows B, but as the double negative is not emphatic in Latin, Lucifer could not reproduce the *L* reading element by element. The Lucianic reviser has added a preposition in connection with the relative pronoun (5).

- 1 Kgs 13:10 καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐν ὁδοῖ ἀλλή καὶ οὐκ ἀνέστρεψεν ἐν τῇ ὁδοῖ, ἣ ἦλθεν ἐν αὐτῇ εἰς Βαιθλ. (Rahlfs)
Et abiit, inquit post haec scriptura de illo homine dei, per aliam uiam et non est reuersus per uiam quam uenerat in Bethel. Luc Conv. 3 (168,24–26)
- 1 Kgs 13:10.1 ἀνέστρεψεν] ἀπέστρεψεν 328 130; ἐπέστρεψεν ο; *est reuersus* Luc
 Cf. 13:11 ἐπέστρεψαν] ἀπέστρεψαν A 488*; *conuerterunt* La^M; *auerterunt* Luc
 Cf. 13:17.4 ἐπιστρέψης] ἀποστρέψης 93 246 x; *reuerteris* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:10.2 ἦλθεν] ἀπῆλθεν V; ἐπορεύθη(ν) 247 19; *uenerat* Luc
 Cf. above ἀπῆλθεν] *abiit* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:10.3 הָבָה ἐν αὐτῇ] > 247 488 Luc
 Cf. 13:9 ἐν αὐτῇ *in ea* Luc (no variants)
- 1 Kgs 13:10.4 εἰς] ἐν 328 245 318 707; *in* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:10.5 הָבָה-תֵּבָה Βαιθλ] Βεθλ V* 247 46' 527 245 342 460 Luc

There is not a big semantic difference between the intransitive use of *ἀναστρέφω* (*GELS*: “to turn back, return”), *ἀποστρέφω* (“to turn back, revert; to turn round and start moving in the opposite direction”), and *ἐπιστρέφω* (“to reverse the direction of movement and return; to turn round and head in a different direction”). The appropriate Latin equivalent—*averto* “to turn away,” *converto* “to turn round, turn back,” or *revert* “to turn back, turn about; to come back, return”—depends on the context. In practice, Lucifer may attest any verb in variation unit 1. Lucifer’s use of *abeo* “to go from” and *venio* “to come” (2) probably reflects the Greek readings *ἀπῆλθεν* and *ἦλθεν* (B), but the choice of the verbs may be contextual as well. In the previous verse Lucifer had retained the redundant prepositional expression *ἐν αὐτῇ in ea*, but here he omits it (3). There is no reason to suppose a genuine agreement with 247 and 488. The Greek constructions *εἰς* + acc. and *ἐν* + dat. (4) gradually became indistinguishable in *Koine* Greek; while in principle the Latin *in* + acc. corresponds to the former and *in* + abl. to the latter, the Latin usage is often regulated by the context. For the spelling *Bethel*, see 12:29.

- 1 Kgs 13:11 καὶ προφήτης εἷς πρεσβύτερος κατῴκει ἐν Βαιθηλ, καὶ ἔρχονται οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ διηγῆσαντο αὐτῷ ἅπαντα τὰ ἔργα, ἃ ἐποίησεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν Βαιθηλ, καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐλάλησεν τῷ βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν. (Rahlfs)
Et propheta alius habitabat in Bethel,¹¹⁷ et uenerunt filii eius et nuntiauerunt ei omnia opera quae fecerit homo dei in die illo in Bethel et uerba quae locutus est regi, et auerterunt faciem patris sui. Luc Conv. 3 (168,26–169,29)
Et pseudopropheta alius senior erat commorans in Bethel, Al.: Non habet «pseudo», sed simpliciter «propheta». Et converterunt faciem patris sui. La^M
- 1 Kgs 13:11.1 προφήτης Luc] *pseudopropheta* (Al.: *propheta*) La^M; > 509^{mg} 460
- 1 Kgs 13:11.2 εἷς = MT] ἄλλος L C^{mg}(98^{txt}) La^M Luc (*alius*); > 247; + ἕτερος 246
- 1 Kgs 13:11.3 πρεσβύτερος La^M = MT] > 19¹¹⁸ C^{mg}(98^{txt}) 707 Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:11.4 ἐκείνη Luc] > A B 509: cf. MT (כִּי־הָיָה)
- 1 Kgs 13:11.5 καὶ 4^o Luc] > A B 93 509 460 = MT

The variant *pseudopropheta* in La^M (1) is treated under 13:20 below where the same reading is found in Lucifer's text. Lucifer probably follows *L C^{mg}* in the reading "another" against "one" of the B text (2). The variation may go back to the Hebrew variants **תַּחֲתֵּי** (MT) and **תַּחֲתֵּי**,¹¹⁹ but there is little internal evidence to decide which was the reading of the *Vorlage* and whether it is εἷς or ἄλλος that is a Hebraizing correction. Because of Lucifer's support I would tentatively suggest that the latter is the original reading. In the light of that, it seems safe to suppose that Lucifer follows 19 C^{mg} in the minus of πρεσβύτερος "old" (3) and, accordingly, even the minus might be original. That La^M follows the majority of the *L* group in that reading may point to the late origin of the Latin marginal glosses. The differences between La^M and Lucifer (*pseudopropheta/propheta, erat commorans/habitabat, converterunt/auerterunt*) demonstrate the independence of these witnesses. There may be two kaige-type omissions in A

117. The first clause was omitted in the older edition of Lucifer's works by Hartel by homoioteleuton. Rahlfs (*Lucians Rezension*, 144 n. 1) notes the same fact. Following Hartel, Brooke-McLean cite Lucifer for the omission (found in 509 d⁻¹⁰⁶).

118. Ant has erroneously omitted ">"; read "> πρεσβύτερος 19".

119. Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 350–51; Burney, *Notes*, 181; Šanda, *Könige*, 353; Noth, *Könige*, 290; Gray, *I and II Kings*, 327.

B 509: ἐκεῖνη (4)¹²⁰ and the fourth καί (5) have no formal correspondences in the MT. Lucifer, as is expected, attests neither of these.

- 1 Kgs 13:12 καὶ ἐλάλησεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν λέγων Ποία ὁδὸς πεπόρευται; καὶ δεικνύουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνῆλθεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐλθὼν ἐξ Ιουδα. (Rahlfs)
Et locutus est ad eos pater eorum dicens: qua uia abiit? Et demonstrauerunt filii eius uiam per quam ierat homo dei qui uenerat ex Iuda. Luc Conv. 3 (169,29–31)
- 1 Kgs 13:12.1 τῇ πεπόρευται] πορεύεται 489 707; ἀπελήλυθε(ν) L; abiit Luc
 Cf. v. 10 ἀπῆλθεν] abiit Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:12.2 ἐν ᾗ] ἦν L 74; per quam Luc
 Cf. v. 9 ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἣ in uia qua
 Cf. v. 10 ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἣ per uiam quam
- 1 Kgs 13:12.3 ἀνῆλθεν B V 509 55 71 158 318 342 372] ἀπῆλθεν rel; ierat Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:12.4 ἐλθὼν Luc ([qui] uenerat)] ἐξελθὼν A 247 CI d⁻¹⁰⁶ 246 o 55 158 244 245 318 342 707
- 1 Kgs 13:12.5 ἐξ Luc = MT] ἐκ γῆς L

Theoretically, the expected pattern concerning the Latin renderings for the Greek verbs of moving is πορεύομαι-*eo*, ἀπέρχομαι-*abeo*, and ἔρχομαι-*venio*. The renderings for εἰσέρχομαι (and ἀνέρχομαι, which is very rare in biblical Greek) depend on the point of view: they can denote both coming and going. In practice, however, the Latin translators tend to adopt a suitable verb without much regard to the underlying Greek verb. A few examples from the Vulgate suffice to demonstrate this: ἐπορεύθησαν *abierunt* (Matt 2:9), ἐλθόντες εἰς *intrans* (11), πορεύου *vade* (20), ἀπελθεῖν *ire* (22), ἀπελθόντες εἰς *venientes in* (8:33). Lucifer himself may occasionally use *abeo* for πορεύομαι (Deut 13:5[4] // *Parc. 2*; 1 Sam 15:12, 20 // *Reg. 2*; 24:3 // *Athan. 1.14*; 1 Kgs 11:33 // *Reg. 4*). Thus, even though in verse 10 Lucifer uses *abiit* for ἀπῆλθεν (thus also 1 Kgs 13:10, 24 // *Conv. 3*; 18:29 // *Athan. 1.17*; Matt 18:30 // *Athan. 2.19*; 22:5 // *Athan. 2.20*; 27:5 // *Parc. 26*; Acts 5:26 // *Parc. 17*), it is by no means certain that his *abiit* in 12.1 reflects ἀπελήλυθεν (L). Both πορεύομαι and ἀπέρχομαι are possible renderings for the Hebrew תָּלַךְ, and there is only a slight difference in their use between the nonkaige and kaige sections: in the former sections the ratio ἀπέρχομαι:πορεύομαι is about 1:4, in the latter 1:9. Only rarely is a

120. Differently Burney, *Notes*, 181: “Luc. ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνη is more likely to be an alteration of LXX ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.”

variant found in *L* (in the *kaige* section of Kings: 2 Kgs 4:35 ἐπορεύθη] διήλθεν, 7:8 ἐπορεύθησαν 2x] ἀπῆλθον 2x). Thus, there are few grounds to argue that ἡλθ-πορεύομαι was a *kaige* feature. It is best to attribute such sporadic changes to the Lucianic reviser, who wants to employ a more precise expression. Lucifer may or may not follow.

The situation is similar in variation unit 3: we do not know which rendering Lucifer would prefer for ἀνέρχομαι (3; B V etc.) since he does not quote any of the other three verses with this verb (John 6:3; Gal 1:17, 18). The only thing that can be said is that the renderings for ἀπέρχομαι (3; *L* rel) vary (*vado* 1 Sam 15:6 // *Reg.* 2, *recedo* 26:11 // *Athan.* 1.15, *discedo* Act 4:15 // *Parc.* 16) and that the rendering ἀπέρχομαι-*eo* is not unheard of in Lucifer's texts (εἰς γέενναν ἀπέλθῃ *eat in gehennam* = Vg. Matt 5:30 // *Conv.* 9). Then again, in variation unit 4 it is safe to accept Lucifer as a witness for the verb ἔρχομαι (B *L* etc.)

It is best not to cite Lucifer in favour of either reading in variation unit 2; Lucifer chooses the suitable preposition to go with a verb of going (cf. vv. 9, 10) and the use of the Latin cases is regulated by the preposition. The Lucianic reviser has added “*land of Judah*” (5)—Lucifer does not follow.

1 Kgs 13:13 καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ Ἐπιστάξατέ μοι τὸν ὄνον· καὶ ἐπέσαξαν αὐτῷ τὸν ὄνον, καὶ ἐπέβη ἐπ’ αὐτόν. (Rahlfs)
Et dixit filiis suis: sternite mihi asinam; et strauerunt ei, et ascendit super illam Luc *Conv.* 3 (169,31–32)

1 Kgs 13:13.1 τόν 1^ο] τήν A 247 L 731* 236-242-530 106 246 o 92-489-762 71 245 318 342 372 (*asinam* Luc)
 Cf. *passim* below

1 Kgs 13:13.2 τὸν ὄνον 2^ο] > Luc

Between 1 Kgs 13:13–29 a donkey (1) is mentioned altogether eight times. While most Greek witnesses treat it as a masculine, in a considerable number of manuscripts the gender of the article or a pronoun varies, especially when in the accusative. Only 19' 731* 489 attest the feminine with great consistency, A 247 L^{-19'} 71 245 372 somewhat less consistently. The extant Latin witnesses, on the other hand, always refer to the donkey as *asina* “she-ass.” Since the Latin language, too, makes a distinction between a male and female donkey or ass,¹²¹ it is best to accept that in this detail Lucifer follows a Greek text that—at least, most of the time—treated the donkey as female.

121. Lucifer, too, uses the masculine word once: ὄνον *asinum* Judg 6:4 // *Reg.* 1.

- 1 Kgs 13:14 καὶ ἐπορεύθη κατόπισθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εὗρεν αὐτὸν
καθήμενον ὑπὸ δρυὶν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ
ἐληλυθὼς ἐξ Ἰουδα; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἐγώ. (Rahlfs)
*et abiit post hominem dei et inuenit eum sedentem sub arbore ilicis et
dixit ei: si tu es homo dei qui uenisti ex Iuda? Et dixit: ego sum. Luc
Conv. 3 (169,32–34)
Sub arbore (-em La⁹⁵) ilice (-em La^{94,95}), La^M*
- 1 Kgs 13:14.1 ὑπό La^M Luc = MT] ἐπὶ A 247 19
- 1 Kgs 13:14.2 δρυὶν] *arbore ilice* La^M; *arbore ilicis* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:14.3 τοῦ θεοῦ Luc = MT] > A
- 1 Kgs 13:14.4 ἐληλυθὼς A B V 93-127 (509) o 55 342 372 460 Luc ([*qui*] *uenisti*)
ἐξελθὼν 44; ἐξεληλυθὼς rel
Cf. 13:12.4 ἐλθὼν Luc] ἐξελθὼν A 247 CI d⁻¹⁰⁶ 246 o 55 158 244 245
318 342 707; (*qui*) *uenerat*
- 1 Kgs 13:14.5 αὐτῷ 2° A B 247 509 44 372 460] > rel Luc = MT
- 1 Kgs 13:14.6 ἐγώ] + εἰμί 460 Luc

Moreno explains that La^M and Lucifer agree in the manner of translating the word δρυς “oak” with a combination of the generic term *arbor* “tree” and the species *ilex* “oak” (2).¹²² Lucifer writes little about trees and does not appear to favour the usage “oak-tree, mastic-tree etc.” over the simple “oak.”¹²³ In the Vulgate the word “tree” is not used here and the Hebrew word תְּרִינִי is translated as *terebinthus* “terebinth.” Regarding La^M, the form of the Vulgate reading (*sedentem subtus terebinthum*) may have necessitated addition of the word “tree” to make it certain as to which part of the text the variant is related to.¹²⁴ Thus it is not absolutely necessary to suppose dependence between La^M and Lucifer, but some kind of a genetic connection seems to be the best explanation. As in 12.4, Lucifer can be accepted as a witness for the verb ἔρχομαι (A B V 93-127 etc.). Lucifer may omit the second, likely original and unnecessary, αὐτῷ independently (5). The Latin language favours the explication of the verb “to be” and thus the

122. Moreno, *Glosas*, 255.

123. Lucifer uses the word *ilex* only once elsewhere (Sus 58 // *Athan.* 2.10). There the word is found alone, but the word *arbor* is used directly before: *sub qua arbore comprehendisti eos inuicem tractantes? Respondit: sub ilice.*

124. Or, less likely, to avoid a possible mix-up between *ilex* and *illex* “alluring” or *illicium* “that which entices”: several of the declined forms of all the three words can only be distinguished by the presence or absence of the double consonant *l*, a feature to which not all copyists were sensitive.

agreement with 460 in variation unit 6 may be coincidental. However, in the light of other noteworthy agreements between Lucifer and 460 (see Text-Historical Conclusions below), the possibility of a genetic connection should not be overlooked.

1 Kgs 13:15 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Δεῦρο μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ φάγε ἄρτον. (Rahlfs)
Et dixit ei: ueni me cum et manduca panem; Luc Conv. 3 (169,34–35)

1 Kgs 13:15 ἐμοῦ Luc] + εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν A 247 = MT

Lucifer does not attest the Hexaplaric addition.

1 Kgs 13:16 καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ μὴ δύνωμαι τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι μετὰ σοῦ οὐδὲ μὴ φάγομαι ἄρτον
οὐδὲ πίομαι ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ· (Rahlfs)
*et dixit: non possum reuertere te cum neque manducare panem neque
bibere aquam in hoc loco, Luc Conv. 3 (169,35–37)*

1 Kgs 13:16.1 μὴ 2° B L⁻¹⁰⁸ 530 509 ο 245 318 460] > rel

1 Kgs 13:16.2 φάγομαι] φάγω L 509 318; (*non possum ...*) *manducare* Luc

1 Kgs 13:16.3 οὐδέ 2°] + μὴ L 509 318 460

1 Kgs 13:16.4 πίομαι] πίνω L 460; (*non possum*) *bibere* Luc

As in verse 9 above, nothing can be said about Lucifer's text concerning the double negatives (1, 3). Lucifer alters the formulation "I am not able to return with you neither will I eat food nor drink water" (NETS) slightly to "... neither to eat food nor to drink water" and may follow any Greek reading in variation units 2 and 4.

1 Kgs 13:17 ὅτι οὕτως ἐντέταλται μοι ἐν λόγῳ κύριος λέγων Μὴ φάγῃς ἄρτον ἐκεῖ καὶ
μὴ πῖνῃς ὕδωρ ἐκεῖ καὶ μὴ ἐπιστρέψῃς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἣ ἐπορεύθης ἐν αὐτῇ.
(Rahlfs)
*quoniam sic praecepit mihi in uerbo dominus dicens: non manducabis
panem ibi et non bibes aquam ibi et non reuerteris inde per uiam quam
ieris. Luc Conv. 3 (169,37–39)*

1 Kgs 13:17.1 μὴ 1°] pr οὐ A 247

1 Kgs 13:17.2 ἄρτον ἐκεῖ Luc] om ἐκεῖ 121 488 = MT; tr A 247

1 Kgs 13:17.3 ἐκεῖ 2° Luc: cf. MT (םִן מִן) > A B L 328 246 244 460

1 Kgs 13:17.4 ἐπιστρέψῃς] ἀποστρέψῃς 93 246 x; *reuerteris* Luc

1 Kgs 13:17.5 ἐν 2°] pr ἐκεῖ A B ο x 55 318 342 372 707 Luc (*inde*); pr תָּחִלָּה MT

1 Kgs 13:17.6 ἦ Luc] pr ἐν L 246
Cf. 13:9.5 ἦ Luc] pr ἐν L⁻¹²⁷
Cf. 13:10 ἦ Luc] pr ἐν 82

1 Kgs 13:17.7 ἐν αὐτῇ] ἐκεῖ 247; > 381 Luc
 Cf. 13:10.3 ἐν αὐτῇ] > 247 488 Luc
 Cf. 13:9 ἐν αὐτῇ in ea Luc (no variants)

Variation units 2, 3, and 5 concern the presence or absence of the adverb “there” in connection with “bread,” “water,” and “returning.” The patterns in the witnesses can be visualized as follows:

	MT	121 488	A	247	L+	Rahlfs = many MSS	B	Luc + many MSS
bread (2)	–	–	<i>pr</i> there	<i>pr</i> there	+ there	+ there	+ there	+ there
water (3)	<i>pr</i> there	+ there	–	+ there	–	+ there	–	+ there
return (5)	–	–	+ there	–	–	–	+ there	+ there

None of the combinations of readings 2 and 3 in the Greek witnesses corresponds exactly to the MT and no Greek witness changes the word order from “water there” to “there water” (3; MT מַיִם שָׁם). It is difficult to find arguments supporting Rahlfs’s solution that the pattern ἐκεῖ-ἐκεῖ-nothing (V and the majority) is the best reading: the minus of ἐκεῖ in connection with “water” (3) in both B and L and, in addition, in A and 244 particularly, can hardly be coincidental. The minus is unlikely to be Hebraizing; as a Hebraizing attempt, it would be misplaced. Regarding the adverb in connection with “returning” (5), it should be noted that the plus alters the sense from “do not return the same way” to “do not go back there again” which cannot be the proper meaning. Lucifer likely attests the plus, but chooses the adverb *inde* “from that place,” which makes better sense. The MT has the infinitive לֵלֶכְתָּ “going/walking,” but ἐκεῖ in A B *o x* et cetera can hardly reflect that. Since the plus is not Hebraizing and the minus in L and the slight majority can be seen as an improvement to the text, it might be safest to accept the plus as original.

Accordingly, the pattern retained only in B seems to be the best choice: ἄρτον ἐκεῖ ... ὕδωρ ... μὴ ἐπιστρέψῃς ἐκεῖ. The variation is caused partly by Hebraizing attempts (2: 121 488), some of them unsuccessful (A and 247), as well as a desire to have as full a text as possible (3: majority). In some contexts, Lucifer might supply *ibi* even against his Greek text, but generally it is far more likely that he would omit such an expression. Therefore, there is very likely a genuine disagreement between Lucifer and A B L as well as several important minuscules.

Concerning the Latin renderings for the Greek verbs denoting turning about or returning (4), see verse 10 above. The Lucianic reviser has added ἐν in variation unit 6. Lucifer is probably independent of MS 381 in omitting the redundant “on it” at the end of the verse (7).

- 1 Kgs 13:18 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν Κἀγὼ προφήτης εἰμὶ καθὼς σύ, καὶ ἄγγελος
λελάληκεν πρὸς με ἐν ῥήματι κυρίου λέγων Ἐπίστρεψον αὐτὸν πρὸς
σεαυτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου, καὶ φαγέτω ἄρτον καὶ πιέτω ὕδωρ· καὶ
ἐψεύσατο αὐτῷ. (Rahlfs)
*Et dixit ad eum: et ego propheta sum sicuti et tu, et angelus locutus est
ad me in uerbo domini dicens: reduc eum ad te in domum tuam, et man-
ducat panem et bibit aquam. Et mentitus est illi* Luc Conv. 3 (169,39–42)
- 1 Kgs 13:18.1 καθὼς] ὥς καὶ L Luc (*sicuti et*)
- 1 Kgs 13:18.2 λελάληκεν A B V CI 328 246 o x 55 71 158 244 245 318 342 372 460
707] ἐλάλησε(ν) rel; *locutus est* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:18.3 רָבִי רִהְמַתִּי] λόγῳ L; στόματι 247; *uerbo* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:18.4 πρὸς σεαυτὸν Luc] μετὰ σεαυτοῦ L 246
- 1 Kgs 13:18.5 φαγέτω ... πιέτω Luc] φάγεται ... πίνεται A V 247

Since Lucifer tends to render καθὼς with *quemadmodum* (e.g., 1 Kgs 13:6 // Conv. 3, Reg. 5), his *sicuti et* probably reflects ὥς καὶ in L (1).¹²⁵ While the kaige reviser constantly preferred the aorist over other past tenses, the Lucianic reviser had the habit of making a similar change when other past tenses interrupt a series of aorists. Thus, in variation unit 2 the perfect (A B V etc.) is probably original. The Latin perfect (*locutus est* Luc) can reflect either one. Lucifer appears not to make a distinction between λόγος “word” (GELS: “that which is said or uttered”) and ῥῆμα “word spoken; thought or intent uttered verbally”: both can be rendered with either *verbum* or *sermo*.¹²⁶ In the present context Lucifer uses *verbum* throughout, even in the cases in which all the Greek witnesses attest ῥῆμα (13:21, 26). Thus, it is wisest not to cite him in favour of either ῥήματι or λόγῳ (3).¹²⁷ Regarding the Greek words, neither of them seems to be a kaige rendering. There is no difference between the kaige and nonkaige sections in the distribution of the renderings λόγος and ῥῆμα for רָבִי. To be sure, in 1 Samuel there is a

125. The same rendering is found in Matt 18:33 // Athan. 2.19 (ὥς κἀγὼ *sicut et ego*); Eph 2:3 // Conv. 14; and 2 Tim 3:9 // Mor. 10.

126. For instance, *sermo* for λόγος is found in Deut 28:14 // Conv. 2, 2 Chr 19:3 // Conv. 4, and 2 Tim 2:17 // Conv. 13.

127. Thus also Brooke-McLean.

clear tendency to favour the latter (the ratio is 17:43 \approx 2:5), but in the kaige sections λόγος is retained in *L* in most cases.¹²⁸ The reading μετὰ σεαυτοῦ (4) is a recensional improvement: since the prophet of Bethel encounters the Judean prophet on the way, he will naturally bring the other prophet back “with him.”

For the next ten verses (13:19–28) we have text by both Lucifer and La¹¹⁵.

- 1 Kgs 13:19 καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἔφαγεν ἄρτον καὶ ἔπιεν ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.
(Rahlfs)
et reduxit eum, et manducauit panem in domo eius et bibit aquam. Luc
Conv. 3 (169,42–43)
--] *in domum eius et bibit | aquam* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:19.1 αὐτόν Luc] + σὺν ἑαυτῷ A (247): cf. MT (וַיָּשָׁב אִתּוֹ)
- 1 Kgs 13:19.2 καὶ ἔπιεν ὕδωρ] post αὐτοῦ tr A B 247 318 La¹¹⁵ Luc = MT
- 1 Kgs 13:19.3 ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ *in domo* Luc] *in domum* La¹¹⁵

Regarding the word order (2), Rahlfs has chosen the reading of *L* and the majority of the manuscripts that is further away from the Hebrew text (וַיָּאֲכַל לֶחֶם בְּבֵיתוֹ וַיִּשָּׁתְּ מִיָּי). If the transposition in B is indeed secondary, it probably results from early Hebraizing correction. In A 247 318 the change is probably Hexaplaric. Nevertheless, both La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer certainly follow B. Due to loss of folios, we cannot tell what was in La¹¹⁵ before the words *in domum eius* “into his house” (3). If the words **et manducavit panem* “and he ate bread” were lacking in the manuscript (or its exemplar), the meaning of the accusative would be “and he brought him [= the prophet from Judah] back *into* his house. I find it more probable, however, that the case is just a vulgar form, one of the many found in La¹¹⁵.¹²⁹

128. *L* can even change ῥῆμα to λόγος: 2 Sam 14:20 ῥήματος] λογου *L* 554^{mg}.

129. So Fischer, Ulrich, and Sanderson, 331–32.

- 1 Kgs 13:20 καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καθημένων ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου
 πρὸς τὸν προφήτην τὸν ἐπιστρέψαντα αὐτόν (Rahlfs)
Et factum est sedentibus illis ad mensam uerbum domini ad pseudo-
prophetam qui reduxit eum, Luc Conv. 3 (169,43–45)
Et factum est sedentib.¹³⁰ | illis ad mensam et fac|tum est uerbum dñi |
at¹³¹ propheta¹³² qui reuoca|uit eum · La¹¹⁵
Factum est verbum Domini ad pseudopropheta, qui reduxerat eum,
 La^M
- 1 Kgs 13:20.1 αὐτῶν καθημένων La^M Luc] αὐτοῦ καθημένου 19'
- 1 Kgs 13:20.2 ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης] > B*
- 1 Kgs 13:20.3 καὶ ἐγένετο 2° La¹¹⁵ La^M] > Luc; om καὶ L 328 d⁻¹⁰⁶ 246 71
- 1 Kgs 13:20.4 τὸν προφήτην La¹¹⁵] *pseudopropheta* La^M Luc
 Cf. 1 Kgs 13:11.1 προφήτης Luc] *pseudopropheta* (Al.: *Non habet*
«pseudo», sed simpliciter «propheta».) La^M
 Cf. 1 Kgs 22:12 οἱ προφῆται] *pseudoprophetae* ... La^M
- 1 Kgs 13:20.5 τὸν ἐπιστρέψαντα] *qui reuoca|uit* La¹¹⁵; *qui reduxerat* La^M; *qui reduxit*
 Luc

Lucifer, as is his habit, omits the latter καὶ ἐγένετο (3). Jesús Cantera has noted points of contact between the Aramaic targums and some OL witnesses. He suggests that since the reading *pseudopropheta* (4) in La^M and Lucifer reproduces very accurately the Greek word ψευδοπροφήτης, it must go back to that Greek reading.¹³³ Treballe, on the other hand, calls this into question: the reading *pseudopropheta* may be a contextual explication, probably motivated by verse 18 where it is stated that the prophet of Bethel lied to the Judean prophet (καὶ ἐψεύσατο αὐτῷ).¹³⁴ While acknowledging that possibility, Moreno nevertheless suggests that since the structure of the word *pseudopropheta* is clearly Greek, it may go back to a lost Greek reading.¹³⁵ However, the term *pseudopropheta* is as much Latin as

130. Edition: *sedentib.* = *sedentibus*.

131. Edition: *at* = *ad*.

132. Edition: *propheta* for *prophetam*.

133. Jesús Cantera, "Puntos de contacto de la Vetus Latina con el targum arameo y con la Pešitta: Hipótesis de un origen targúmico de la Vetus Latina," *Sefarad* 25 (1965): 240: "Ello nos está diciendo muy a las claras que el traductor latino la debió leer en el texto griego que tenía delante."

134. Julio Treballe Barrera, *Jehú y Joás: Texto y composición literaria de 2 Reyes 9–11* (Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo, 1984), 32 n. 51: "Tal calificativo sin embargo podría derivar del propio texto de LXX en el v. 18: ἐψεύσατο."

135. Moreno, *Glosas*, 255; 257.

it is Greek; the corresponding Greek term ψευδοπροφήτης is found eleven times in the New Testament, nine times rendered with *pseudopropheta* in the Vulgate as well as in most of the extant OL witnesses (Matt 24:11, 24; Mark 13:22; Acts 13:6; 2 Peter 2:1; 1 John 4:1; Rev 16:13, 19:20, 20:10). Therefore, the term was certainly familiar in Latin context both to Lucifer (18x in his texts) and to the putative OL translator whose work La^M might reflect. Accordingly, while the agreement in the reading is somewhat striking, it probably does not go back to a lost Greek reading. That the question is of a contextual adaptation is further suggested by the fact that La^M produces the reading in 1 Kgs 13:11 and 22:12 as well, in both instances without support by any Greek manuscript. In the former of those instances it is noted in La^M under the sign “Al.” (probably meaning *alia* “other [witnesses]”, but we do not know for sure¹³⁶) that the text actually “does not read ‘pseudo-’ but simply ‘prophet.’”

The change from the participle to a relative clause “who had brought him back” (5) in all the Latin witnesses is very natural. The difference between the three separate translations comes forward in precisely these kind of small details in which the translator has to abandon the grammatical structure of the source text: while agreeing with La¹¹⁵ in the choice of the tense (perfect for the Greek aorist against the pluperfect in La^M), Lucifer agrees with La^M in the choice of the more literal rendering *reduco* for the Greek transitive ἐπιστρέφω “return.”

- 1 Kgs 13:21 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἥκοντα ἐξ Ἰουδα λέγων Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἄνθ' ὧν παρεπίκρανας τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξας τὴν ἐντολὴν, ἣν ἐνετείλατό σοι κύριος ὁ θεός σου, (Rahlfs)
et dixit ad hominem dei qui uenerat ex Iuda dicens: haec dicit dominus propter quod exacerbasti uerbum domini et non custodisti praeceptum quod praecepit tibi dominus deus tuus, Luc Conv. 3 (169,45–47)
 -- *propter quod ad | iracundiam instigasti | uerbum dñi ·et non | seruasti praeceptum | quod praecepit tibi dñs | dñ tuus La¹¹⁵*
Propter quod exacerbasti verbum Domini ... La^M
- 1 Kgs 13:21.1 παρεπίκρανας exacerbasti La^M Luc] ad | iracundiam instigasti La¹¹⁵
 (תִּיָּרָה MT; inoboediens fuisti Vg)
- 1 Kgs 13:21.2 ἐφύλαξας] seruasti La¹¹⁵; custodisti Luc

The reading *exacerbasti* in La^M and Lucifer (1) is a direct rendering for the Greek παραπικραίνω, here perhaps “rebel against.”¹³⁷ It is unlikely that

136. Moreno, *Glosas*, 214–16.

137. Cf. *GELS*, s.v. “παραπικραίνω”: “2. to add to the harshness and bitterness of: +

La¹¹⁵ reflected any other Greek reading (not to say any Hebrew reading). Its formulation “you incited to wrath” is an attempt to improve the text slightly: that the disobedience of the prophet was making Yahweh “bitter” was perhaps a difficult notion. The same renderings are found in verse 26 (see below). The rendering *custodisti* for the Greek verb φυλάσσω by Lucifer is perhaps a little more accurate than *servasti* of La¹¹⁵, but the latter may also mean “keep, preserve.”

- 1 Kgs 13:22 καὶ ἐπέστρεψας καὶ ἔφαγες ἄρτον καὶ ἔπιες ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ὃ ἐλάλησεν πρὸς σέ λέγων (Rahlfs)
et redisti et manducasti panem et bibisti aquam in hoc loco, de quo locutus est ad te dicens: Luc Conv. 3 (169,47–49)
et redisti et manducasti panem et bibisti aquam in loco hoc | de quo locutus est ad te | dñs dicens La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:22.1 τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ loco hoc La¹¹⁵] hoc loco Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:22.2 ὃ] pr ἐν L 328 246 Tht; ὡς A; de quo La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:22.3 λέγων (sub obel SyH) Luc] pr dñs La¹¹⁵; > 107-610 = MT

Lucifer independently changes the word order in the expression “in this place” (1). For the expression ὃ “about which” the Latin language needs the preposition *de*, which both of the Latin witnesses provide (2). They need not to be interdependent in this, nor can the reading be cited as evidence for the—obviously secondary—plus of ἐν in L.¹³⁸ La¹¹⁵ is alone in providing the subject *dominus* “Lord” before the word λέγων “saying” (3).

- 1 Kgs 13:22 Μὴ φάγῃς ἄρτον καὶ μὴ πίνῃς ὕδωρ, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ τὸ σῶμά σου εἰς τὸν τάφον τῶν πατέρων σου. (Rahlfs)
non manducabis panem neque bibes aquam; ideo non intrabit corpus tuum in monumentum patrum tuorum. Luc Conv. 3 (169,49–51)
non man|ducabis panem et non | bibes aquam non in|trabit corpus tuum in | monumentum patrū La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:22.4 καὶ μὴ et non La¹¹⁵] μηδέ CII^{-328.530} 121 d^{-44.125} t⁻⁷⁴ s z; neque Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:22.5 οὐ 2°] pr ideo Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:22.6 σου 2°] αὐτοῦ 82; > La¹¹⁵

acc., ... based on a faulty analysis of the Heb. text, 3K 13.21, 26.” The Tov-Polak alignment does not suggest a different *Vorlage*, but notes the connection to the Hebrew verb מרר “be/make bitter” with the note “etymological derivation or exegesis.”

138. The edition of Brooke-McLean does well in citing the Latin witnesses separately as I do.

Generally speaking, the Latin witnesses should not be cited when there is variation between the Greek expressions *καὶ μή* / *μηδέ*, *καὶ ἔάν* / *ἐάν δέ*, and alike, especially if the expression is preceded by another comparable expression. While the Latin construction with *-que* formally corresponds to the latter type of Greek expressions, the critic must in these cases make a “distinction between what the Latin language is able to reflect theoretically and what in practice the individual translator did reflect.”¹³⁹ Nevertheless, in the case of La¹¹⁵ it seems that the translator was very strict in his renderings of the conjunctions in his Greek source text.¹⁴⁰ Thus it is safe to cite La¹¹⁵ as attesting the reading *καὶ μή* (4).¹⁴¹ Lucifer, however, should not be cited as attesting *μηδέ* by *neque*: although he generally prefers *non* ... *neque* for *οὐ/μή* ... *οὐδέ/μηδέ*,¹⁴² he also uses it on occasions where all or most of the Greek witnesses have the sequence *οὐ/μή* ... *καὶ οὐ/μή*.¹⁴³ The disagreement between the translations in La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer in this respect could be ascribed equally well to either the source text or the manner of translation.

In verse 21 the prophet of Bethel stated: “Because you rebelled against the word of the Lord ...” (my translation). This “because” clause is continued by the clause *οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ τὸ σῶμά σου εἰς τὸν τάφον τῶν πατέρων σου* “your body shall not come to the tomb of your fathers” in verse 22. This connection can be blurred if the reader does not understand that only the words “Do not eat food, and do not drink water” are part of Yahweh’s speech in the middle of the speech of the prophet. Lucifer attempts

139. Ulrich, “Characteristics and Limitations,” 283.

140. See the examples of this phenomenon in 1 Samuel that I give in my *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 145–46 (1 Sam 2:12), 148 (6:9).

141. The edition of Brooke-McLean takes a more cautious approach and does not cite any Latin in this variation unit.

142. Thus at least in the following cases: Lev 19:15 // *Athan.* 1.4; Deut 1:21 // *Athan.* 1.4 5:8, 9 // *Athan.* 1.6; 7:2 // *Conv.* 2; Josh 1:5, 9 // *Athan.* 1.9; 1 Sam 3:13 (probably) // *Athan.* 1.11; 24:12 // *Athan.* 1.14; 1 Kgs 13:16 // *Conv.* 3; Jud 9:16[11] // *Parc.* 10; Prov 1:29–30 // *Athan.* 1.25; 18:5 // *Athan.* 1.26; Wis 1:12 // *Athan.* 1.31; 6:5[4] // *Athan.* 1.32; Jer 10:23 // *Athan.* 2.2; Amos 7:14 // *Parc.* 8; Ezek 3:5–6 // *Parc.* 9; 18 // *Parc.* 10; Matt 7:18 // *Athan.* 2.5; 12:32 (*οὐκ* ... *οὔτε*) // *Parc.* 26; Sus 1:48 // *Athan.* 2.8.

143. So in 1 Sam 2:10 // *Athan.* 1.10, 26:12 // *Athan.* 1.15; 1 Kgs 13:28 // *Conv.* 3; 18:26 // *Athan.* 1.17; Jonah 4:10 // *Athan.* 2.33 In addition, paratactic *οὐ* ... *οὐ* is rendered as *nolite* ... *neque* in Lev 19:11 // *Athan.* 1.4 and *καί* in a negative clause is rendered as *neque* in Neh 2:20 // *Parc.* 14.

to clarify the continuation of thought by adding *ideo* “therefore” (5). The omission of the final possessive pronoun by La¹¹⁵ (6) is due to oversight.

- 1 Kgs 13:23 καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ φαγεῖν ἄρτον καὶ πιεῖν ὕδωρ καὶ ἐπέσαξεν αὐτῷ τὸν ὄνον, καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν. (Rahlfs)
Et factum est, postquam manducauit panem et bibit aquam, et straverunt ei asinam et reuersus est. Luc Conv. 3 (169,51–52)
Et factum est postquam | manducauit panem et | bibit aquam et strauit | asinam sibi et reuersus | est La¹¹⁵
Straverunt ei asinam, La^M
- 1 Kgs 13:23.1 φαγεῖν B V 379* 328 d⁻¹⁰⁶ 158 460] + αὐτόν rel = MT; *manducauit* La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:23.2 πιεῖν] + αὐτόν L^{-19'} 46' 245 = MT; *bibit* La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:23.3 ἐπέσαξεν *stravit* La¹¹⁵] *straverunt* La^M Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:23.4 αὐτῷ La^M Luc] > x⁻⁵²⁷ La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:23.5 ὄνον (Luc)] + τῷ προφήτῃ A C⁻³²⁸ 121 d t s z 244 554 = MT; + αὐτοῦ 158; + *sibi* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:23.6 ἐπέστρεψεν] ἀπέστρεψε(ν) V 328 o 488 x⁻⁷⁹⁹ 55 71 158 245 707; *reuersus est* La¹¹⁵ Luc

It is natural for the Latin translators to render the Greek *accusativus cum infinitivo* constructions μετὰ τὸ φαγεῖν (αὐτόν) ἄρτον καὶ πιεῖν (αὐτόν) ὕδωρ with finite verbs: *postquam manducauit panem et bibit aquam* “after he ate food and drank water” (NETS; 1, 2). It is impossible to tell whether the Latin texts attest the obviously secondary explication of the accusative part αὐτόν (2). The majority of the Greek witnesses do not explicate who saddled the donkey: the Judean prophet for himself or the prophet of Bethel for the Judean prophet. The explication τῷ προφήτῃ in A C’ et cetera makes it clear that the latter holds true. This is probably the notion behind the plural in La^M and Lucifer: *straverunt ei asinam* “they (impersonal or the servants) saddled the donkey for him (*ei*)” (3, 4), and the two witnesses are probably interdependent in this detail. In La¹¹⁵, by contrast, the Judean prophet saddles the donkey for himself: *stravit asinam sibi* (5). For the renderings of the Greek verbs with a prefix + στρέφω, see 13:10 above.

- 1 Kgs 13:24 καὶ ἀπῆλθεν, καὶ εὗρεν αὐτόν λέων ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἦν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐρριμμένον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, καὶ ὁ ὄνος εἰστήκει παρ’ αὐτό, καὶ ὁ λέων εἰστήκει παρὰ τὸ σῶμα. (Rahlfs)
Et abiit, et inuenit eum leo in uia et occidit eum, et erat corpus eius proiectum in uia, et asina stabat ad eum et leo stabat ad corpus ipsius. Luc Conv. 3 (169,52–54)

*et abit*¹⁴⁴ *et inuenit* | *eum laeo*¹⁴⁵ *in uiam et oc[cidit eum et erat corpus | eius proiectum in uiam*¹⁴⁶ | *et asina*¹⁴⁷ *stabat iuxta eū | et laeo stabat ad corpus | eius* La¹¹⁵

Et erat corpus eius proiectum in via: et asina stabat ante eum; et leo ad corpus illius La^M

1 Kgs 13:24.2 παρ' αὐτό] παρ' αὐτῷ V L^{-93.127} C' 121 d⁻¹⁰⁶ 246 64* s z 527 55 71 158
244 318 342 460; παρ' αὐτοῦ 134* 245; iuxta eū La¹¹⁵; ante eum La^M;
ad eum Luc

1 Kgs 13:24.3 καὶ ὁ λέων εἰστήκει παρά Luc] > A

1 Kgs 13:24.4 εἰστήκει 2°] > La^M

1 Kgs 13:24.5 σῶμα 2°] + eius La¹¹⁵; + illius La^M; + ipsius Luc

In these rare instances in which we can compare all three major Latin traditions, it is striking how they differ in rather insignificant details. In variation unit 2 the question is simply of the position of the donkey in relation to the corpse of the unlucky prophet. According to all the witnesses the donkey “stood” (εἰστήκει *stabat*) next to the corpse—therefore the Greek παρά + acc. must be understood as not involving movement (“beside” NETS).¹⁴⁸ The difference between the accusative and dative here is very slight if it exists at all, and a copying mistake from one to another happens easily (ο ↔ ω). The Latin readings, too, do not seem to make a real difference, even though they could be differentiated in English: “near to” (*iuxta* La¹¹⁵), “in front of” (*ante* La^M), and “by” (*ad* Luc). The edition of Brooke-McLean cautiously suggests that Lucifer might be following the reading παρ' αὐτῷ (L⁻⁹³ etc.; “Luc[uid]”), but the entry is probably there only because the Greek παρά + dat. is what could be expected. Then again, the Latin witnesses appear to agree in providing a pronoun after the latter word σῶμα “body” (5). Even though there are no known Greek witnesses for the addition, the agreement is not striking; the addition is conformation to the previous expression τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ “his body,” or it was done in order to reflect the definitiveness of the word *corpus*. Again, it is a question of a minor detail in which the Latin witnesses disagree: without a real difference in meaning, Lucifer reads *ipsius* as against *eius* of La¹¹⁵ and *illius* of La^M.

144. Edition: *abit* = *abiit*. Cf. Fischer, Ulrich, and Sanderson, 328.

145. Edition: *laeo* = *leo* (2x).

146. Edition: the latter “*in uiam* for *in via*.”

147. Brooke-McLean cites La^b, which, erroneously, reads *laeo* for *asina*.

148. GELS, s.v., “παρά”: “no movement involved, but static.”

- 1 Kgs 13:25a καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες παραπορευόμενοι καὶ εἶδον τὸ θνησιμαῖον ἐρριμμένον ἐν τῇ
 ὁδῷ, καὶ ὁ λέων εἰστήκει ἐχόμενα τοῦ θνησιμαίου· (Rahlfs)
 — Luc *Conv.* 3 (169,55)
 — La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:25a.1 om v. 25a L^{-19'} Luc La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:25a.2 θνησιμαῖον] σῶμα 247

Neither of the Latin witnesses attests the first half of the verse: “And behold, men were passing by and saw the carcass thrown in the road, and the lion was standing by the carcass” (25a.1). There is, of course, the possibility of a parablepsis between blocks of text beginning with the word καί. However, this could hardly have happened independently in both the Latin witnesses and one branch of the Lucianic manuscript tradition (L^{-19'}). In the Hebrew text the parablepsis could have happened from the word נִבְלָה “carcass” at the end of verse 24 to the same word in verse 25a.¹⁴⁹ If the *Vorlage* of the LXX did not originally contain the half-verse, or the translator overlooked it, it could have been supplied later. There are lexical hints in that direction. Elsewhere in the chapter the word נִבְלָה is constantly rendered with σῶμα (vv. 22, 24 [2x], 28 [3x], 29; no significant variants). In addition to these seven occurrences in 1 Kgs 13, the rendering נִבְלָה-σῶμα is found only two times in the whole LXX: “his corpse [נִבְלָתוֹ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ] must not remain all night upon the tree” (Deut 21:23); “and they took his body [נִבְלָתוֹ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα] down from the tree” (Josh 8:29). In 1 Kgs 13:25a, however, the Hebrew word is rendered with the more usual Greek counterpart θνησιμαῖον (*GELS*: “dead body; carcass of an animal”; 30x in the LXX; 1x elsewhere in Kings: 2 Kgs 9:37 with no lexical variants). The copyist of 247 probably noted the discrepancy and managed to change the former θνησιμαῖον to σῶμα but not the latter (1 Kgs 13:25a.2). Another hint that might reveal that a different translator is at work here is the rendering ἐχόμενα for the Hebrew preposition בְּצֵד “beside.” In the near context, the rendering is παρά (v. 24 [2x], 28, 31) as it often is in 1–2 Kgs (8 of 14 occurrences of the word בְּצֵד).¹⁵⁰ The rendering ἐχόμενα is

149. Differently DeVries, *1 Kings*, 167, who considers the half-verse an explicative gloss.

150. That these changes of renderings point to a different translator has been suggested before by, e.g., Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 352; DeVries, *1 Kings*, 167. Trebelle, “Text-Critical Use,” 293–94, suggests that the longer reading is secondary even in Hebrew.

found only once elsewhere in Kings (1 Kgs 1:9 [kaige section]; no significant variants¹⁵¹).

The above considerations lead to the following conclusion: the half-verse 25a was not originally part of the LXX translation. It was supplied quite early by a Hebraizing corrector and found its way into the vast majority of the witnesses, but not into the proto-Lucianic text. One branch of the Antiochian tradition (19') picked it up from the other textual traditions, probably at a quite late date. While the Greek source text of the Latin translations may have lost the half-verse accidentally, it seems more probable that here their source was of the proto-Lucianic type. In the second half-verse, too, there are some clues that corroborate this conclusion (see v. 25b below).

- 1 Kgs 13:25b καὶ εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἐλάλησαν ἐν τῇ πόλει, οὗ ὁ προφήτης ὁ πρεσβύτερος
κατῴκει ἐν αὐτῇ. (Rahlfs)
*et uenerunt uiri ciuitatis illius et locuti sunt in ciuitate ubi propheta
senior habitabat in illa. Luc Conv. 3 (169,55–56)
et accesserunt ui|ri loci illius et locuti sunt | in ciuitatem¹⁵² ubi homo |
senior habitabat La¹¹⁵*
- 1 Kgs 13:25b.1 εἰσῆλθον] ἦλθον CI 244; ἔρχονται (+ οἱ 19) ἄνδρες L; *et accesserunt ui|ri
loci illius La¹¹⁵; et uenerunt uiri ciuitatis illius Luc
Cf. 11:14c.2 Δαμασεκ] + ciuitatem Luc*
- 1 Kgs 13:25b.2 ἐλάλησαν La¹¹⁵ Luc] λαλοῦσιν L
- 1 Kgs 13:25b.3 ὁ προφήτης Luc] homo La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:25b.4 ἐν αὐτῇ Luc] ἐκεῖ 460; > La¹¹⁵

In a form of the text in which the half-verse 25a is lacking (see above), it is necessary to provide the subject (1). In *L* it is simply “some men” (ἄνδρες) but in the Latin witnesses “men of that place” (La¹¹⁵) or “men of that city” (Lucifer, who makes a similar explication in 1 Kgs 11:14c). This detail confirms that Lucifer or, less likely still, La¹¹⁵ have not lost 25a by accident. The Latin witnesses differ in two details: La¹¹⁵ reads *homo* “man” against *prophetes* of Lucifer (3) and omits the unnecessary ἐν αὐτῇ *in illa* at the end of the verse (4).

151. First Kings 2:29 (nonkaige) cannot be counted since there the LXX has a plus that regulates the construction: $\square\text{ב}\text{ז}\text{מ}\text{ה}$ $\text{ל}\text{צ}\text{ו}\text{ר}$ κατέχει τῶν κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.

152. Edition: *in civitatem* for *in civitate*.

- 1 Kgs 13:26 καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ ἐπιστρέψας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ εἶπεν Ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃς παρεπύκρανε τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου. (Rahlfs)
*Et cum audissent*¹⁵³ *qui reduxerant eum de uia, dixit: hic est homo dei qui exacerbauit uerbum domini. Luc Conv. 3 (169,56–58)*
*et au|diuit qui reuocauerat eū | de uia et dixit homo dei | hic est qui ad iracundiā | instigauerat uerbum | dñi La*¹¹⁵
Hic est qui exacerbavit uerbum Domini. La^M
- 1 Kgs 13:26.1 ἤκουσεν ... καὶ La¹¹⁵] *cum audissent* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:26.2 Ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ / οὗτός ἐστιν La¹¹⁵] tr Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:26.3 ⲙⲓⲛ οὗτός ἐστιν] om οὗτος 44: cf. MT; om ἐστιν L 707; tr 247 158 Syh (οὗτος sub obel)
- 1 Kgs 13:26.4 παρεπύκρανε La^M Luc] *ad iracundiā | instigauerat La*¹¹⁵
Cf. 13:21.1 παρεπύκρανας *exacerbasti La*^M Luc] *ad | iracundiam instigasti La*¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:26.5 fin B V L^{-19'} 328 o x 55 71 158 245 318 342 372 460 707 La¹¹⁵ Luc] + (26b–27) καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν Κύριος τῷ λέοντι καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα Κυρίου ὃ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἐλάλησε πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ λέγων Ἐπισάξατέ μοι τὴν ὄνον. καὶ ἐπέσαξαν rel = MT

In this verse the differences between La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer are so numerous that it is unnecessary to list them all. Lucifer chooses to use the temporal *cum*, and the subjunctive *audissent* “when they heard” along with the omission of the conjunction before the word “said” follow from this (1). The subject changes suddenly from the plural “men” in verse 25 to the singular prophet of Bethel in verse 26 and either Lucifer or a copyist fails to keep up and gives the verbs “heard” and “brought him back” in the plural. The Latin renderings of the Greek verb *παρεπικραίνω* are the same as in verse 21 (see above).

The original LXX proceeds directly from verse 26a to 28. Many manuscripts supply the, in all likelihood secondary,¹⁵⁴ passage 26b–27 according to the Hebrew text (variant unit 5). That the addition is not found in B, the proto-Lucianic text (witnessed by L^{-19'}), La¹¹⁵, and Lucifer, confirms the good quality of these witnesses.

153. Manuscript G of Lucifer’s works reads here the singular *audisset*, but gives the plural for *reduxerant*.

154. BHS apparatus: “add?,” i.e., the passage is probably added later. Similarly many commentators, e.g., Benzinger, *Könige*, 93; DeVries, *1 Kings*, 167. Differently Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 352; Montgomery, *Kings*, 265.

- 1 Kgs 13:28 καὶ ἐπορεύθη καὶ εὗρεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐρριμμένον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, καὶ ὁ ὄνος καὶ ὁ λέων εἰστήκεισαν παρὰ τὸ **σῶμα**, καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν ὁ λέων τὸ σῶμα **τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ** καὶ οὐ συνέτριψεν τὸν ὄνον. (Rahlf's)
*Et abiit et inuenit corpus eius proiectum in uia. Et asina et leo stabat super **corpus** eius et leo non edit corpus illius neque insiluit in asinam.* [quotation ends] Luc Conv. 3 (169,58–60)
*et abiit et inuenit cor|pus eius proiectum in uia | et asinam¹⁵⁵ et leo stabant¹⁵⁶ | iuxta **corpus** eius et leo | non manducauit cor|pus eius et non confre|git asinam La¹¹⁵*
Leo non tetigit corpus illius, nec insiluit in asinam. La^M
- 1 Kgs 13:28.1 εἰστήκεισαν *stabant* La¹¹⁵] *stabat* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:28.2 **σῶμα** 2°] + τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ CII^{-52.328} 121 106 s⁻¹³⁰; + *eius* La¹¹⁵
 Luc
 Cf. 13:24.5 **σῶμα** 2°] + *eius* La¹¹⁵; + *illius* La^M; + *ipsius* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:28.3 ἔφαγεν] *manducauit* La¹¹⁵; *tetigit* La^M; *edit* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:28.4 **τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ**] *eius* La¹¹⁵; *illius* La^M Luc; > L = MT; om τοῦ θεοῦ 554
- 1 Kgs 13:28.5 καὶ οὐ συνέτριψεν / τὸν ὄνον La¹¹⁵ La^M Luc] tr L
- 1 Kgs 13:28.6 συνέτριψεν] *confre|git* La¹¹⁵; *insiluit* in La^M Luc

The different origin of all three of the Latin witnesses is demonstrated again by the three different renderings for the verb ἔφαγεν “did (not) eat” (3). Due to the lack of the definite article, the Latin witnesses need to add a pronoun after the word σῶμα “body” (4)—here the agreement between La^M and Lucifer in reading *illius* against *eius* in La¹¹⁵ is insignificant. Nevertheless, all three Latin witnesses ultimately reflect a Greek text without the words “of the man of God.” The patterns are as follows:

	L = MT	B and majority	CII ^{-52.328} 121 106 s ⁻¹³⁰	La ¹¹⁵	La ^M	Luc
body 2°	–	–	+ of the man of God	+ <i>eius</i>	N/A	+ <i>eius</i>
body 3°	–	+ of the man of God	+ of the man of God	+ <i>eius</i>	+ <i>illius</i>	+ <i>illius</i>

155. Edition: *asinam* for *asina*.

156. Edition: *stabant*: *n* added by the second hand over the line. Perhaps the translator or a copyist read the clause as “he found the corpse ... and the donkey; and the lion stood...”. The correction of the verb “stood” from singular to plural makes “donkey” the other subject and that compels reading *asina* in the nominative.

The pattern in *CII* and so on derives from the B text: “of the man of God” has been added in the first position to produce a full text. But is the minus of the same notion in the latter position in *L* original or a Hebraizing omission? If the former holds true it is easy to explain the Latin readings as necessary explications that were made in a text without “of the man of God.” In that case, the addition of that notion in the B text would have to result from early free copying. The minus in *L* would then have to be Hebraizing, probably at an early stage since it is reflected in the Latin readings.¹⁵⁷ I see little basis for making a decision in either direction. However, the minus in *L* is partly reflected in the Latin witnesses and that agreement is best accepted as genuine.

In variation unit 6 we find the only instance of the verb *insilio* “to leap into or upon, to spring at” in Lucifer’s texts; elsewhere he renders the verb συντρίβω “to shatter, break to pieces, crush” with the verb *contribulo* “crush, bruise” (1 Sam 4:18 // *Athan.* 1.11; 2 Kgs 23:14, 15 // *Parc.* 7). The possibilities of the Latin language for expressing the connotations of συντρίβω are very wide;¹⁵⁸ therefore, the agreement between La^M and Lucifer in the choice of the rendering *insilio* for συντρίβω must be considered significant.

Conclusion: The interim conclusions for 1 Kgs 13 are provided in a separate subsection after 13:34.

1 Kgs 13:33–34 (*Reg.* 5)

1 Kgs 13:33 καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκ μέρους τοῦ λαοῦ ἱερεῖς ὑψηλῶν· ὁ βουλόμενος, ἐπλήρου
τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγένετο ἱερεὺς εἰς τὰ ὑψηλά. (Rahlfs)
*Et post hoc non est reuersus Hieroboas a malitia sua, sed reuersus est et
fecit ex parte populi sacerdotes excelsorum. Qui enim uolebat, adleuabat*

157. In my *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 158, 164, I cautiously suggest “that some sporadic contamination with the Lucianic Greek text has taken place in the transmission of the Latin translation [of La¹¹⁵].” An agreement between *L* and both La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer, however, is far less likely to have come about by late Lucianic influence in the Latin transmission.

158. This is demonstrated by the Vulgate, which gives six different renderings for the verb in the New Testament: *κάλαμον συντετριμμένον harundinem quassatam* Matt 12:20, *τὰς πέδας συντετριφθῆαι conpedes comminuisset* Mark 5:4, *συντρίψασα τὴν ἀλάβαστρον et fracto alabastro* 14:3, *συντρίβον αὐτόν dilanians eum* Luke 9:39, *ὅσπου οὐ συντριβήσεται αὐτοῦ os non comminuetis ex eo* John 19:36, *συντρίψει τὸν σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας conteret Satanā sub pedibus* Rom 16:20, *τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται vas figuli confringentur* Rev 2:27.

manum suam et fiebat sacerdos in excelsis. Luc Reg. 5 (146,85–88)
Qui enim volebat allevabat manum suam, Al.: Replebat manum suam,
La^M

- 1 Kgs 13:33.1 ἱερεῖς] ἱερεῖς *L*
 1 Kgs 13:33.2 ἐπλήρου *La^M-Al. (replebat)] allevabat La^M Luc; cf. implebat Vg.*
 1 Kgs 13:33.3 αὐτοῦ] *suam La^M Luc*
 1 Kgs 13:33.4 εἰς τὰ ὑψηλά *Luc*] τῶν ὑψηλῶν *L*

NETS follows Rahlfs's punctuation: "anyone who wanted to, he [= Jeroboam] would fill his [= of that one] hand, and he would become a priest." Accordingly, it is Jeroboam who "fills the hand" of the priestly candidate: "fill the hand" is the idiom for "to consecrate" (e.g., Exod 28:41, 29:9). Both Lucifer and *La^M*, however, attest the verb *alleva* "to raise, set up" and the subject of raising is the candidate himself: *suam* (3) is unequivocally reflexive, whereas the Greek αὐτοῦ may refer either to Jeroboam or the candidate himself.¹⁵⁹ Thus the meaning of the Latin readings is "who wants to be a priest, raise your hands!"¹⁶⁰ It is unlikely that the Latin witnesses were independent in this kind of notion, but where could it come from? All the extant Greek witnesses read ἐπλήρου. One wonders if it is a matter of a confusion between ἐπλήρου and *ἐπήρου (ἐπαίρω "lift, raise"): the latter is actually a second-person aorist (third singular imperfect: ἐπῆρε), but as not all Latin translators were well aware of the nuances of Greek grammar, a mix-up between persons in the contracted verbs might happen. That the notion of raising hands fits the context quite well and that the idiom of "filling hands" may have been unknown to a Latin translator are contributing factors. Thus, the Latin witnesses probably have a genuine agreement in a secondary, likely corrupted, reading against all the Greek witnesses. The agreement may demonstrate that in this passage Lucifer used an existing Latin translation. Alternatively, as the provenance

159. In the latter case the expression probably means: "they would bring their hands full of gifts in exchange for a priestly position." A parallel may be found in 1 Sam 2:36 ὁβολοῦ] ἐν ὁβολῷ *L* 799 245 554^c Cyprian, *Test.* 1.17 where the *L* reading probably has to be understood so that a priestly candidate comes to beg for a position by bringing a gift of a silver coin. See my analysis of Cyprian's reading in Kauhanen, *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 122–25.

160. Similarly Ugenti, 96: "*Infatti chi voleva, alzava la mano e diventava sacerdote delle alture.*" "Whoever wanted to, raised his hand and became a priest of the high places."

of the La^M readings is unclear, it should not be ruled out that this collection of Latin variants for the Vulgate text could have contained readings from Christian authors. Lucifer is an unlikely author to be quoted, but by chance some of his readings might have ended up in a compilation of interesting variants. I should stress, though, that, in the absence of more evidence, I find the possibility a remote one.

1 Kgs 13:34 καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο εἰς ἁμαρτίαν τῷ οἴκῳ Ιεροβοαμ καὶ εἰς ὄλεθρον καὶ εἰς ἀφανισμόν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς. (Rahlfs)
Et factum est hoc uerbum in peccatum in domum Hieroboam et in interitum et in exterminium a facie terrae. [par. and quotation ends] *Luc Reg. 5* (146,88–90)
Et factum est hoc (> La⁹⁵) uerbum in peccato domui (-us La⁹²) Hieroboam, et in (> La⁹⁵) interitum (-us La^{91,92}), et in exterminium a facie terrae. La^M

1 Kgs 13:34.1 τῷ οἴκῳ La^M] *in domum* Luc¹⁶¹; om οἴκῳ 93 x

1 Kgs 13:34.2 ὄλεθρον] *interitum* La^M Luc

The Latin translations deviate in minor details but agree in the renderings *interitus* “overthrow, fall, ruin, destruction” and *exterminium* “destruction” for the Greek words ὄλεθρος and ἀφανισμός. The former Latin rendering is what can be expected (*interitus* ὄλεθρος: Vulgate in 2 Macc 6:12, 13:6; 1 Cor 5:5; 1 Thess 5:3; 2 Thess 1:9; 1 Tim 6:9) whereas the latter appears to be rare in the Vulgate (only 2 Macc 5:13). Nevertheless, no strong connection between the Latin witnesses need be supposed.

Conclusion for 1 Kgs 13

Substantial parts of 1 Kgs 13 are quoted in *Reg. 5* and *Conv. 3*. It is best to draw an interim conclusion on the whole chapter. I will first do that concerning Lucifer’s relationship with the Greek witnesses, and after that I will provide a comparison between the Latin witnesses.

The main overall trait in Lucifer’s quotations from 1 Kgs 13 is fluctuation between accurate quoting and slight modification of the text. As far as Lucifer’s underlying Greek readings can be established, his text is notably close to the B text with which he agrees against *L* in eleven original readings. The readings in *L* are recensional alterations (13:2.3, 7; 7.2, 9.5, 12.5, 17.6, 18.4, 25b.2 [an unusual hist. pres. in *L*], 28.5, 33.4) and once a

161. Ugenti, 96: “*per la casa.*”

Hebraizing correction probably of Hexaplaric origin (1.1). It appears that Lucifer once agrees with B in an early Hebraizing correction (19.2) but as the case concerns the word order, it should not be given much weight.

In Lucifer's agreements with *L* in original readings, the B reading results once from an error (2.4), four times from probable Hebraizing correction (11.2 εἰς = MT] ἄλλος *L* *CI*^{mg} *La*^M Luc, doubtful; 11.4, 5; 25a.1). One probable original reading in Lucifer is attested not by the majority of the *L* group but only by 19 *CI*^{mg} 707 (om πρεσβύτης 11.3). In addition, Lucifer and *L* agree once in a Hebraizing correction: 6.1. The correction is probably pre-Hexaplaric, although a Hexaplaric origin cannot be ruled out. There is at least a coincidental agreement between Lucifer and *L* in two secondary readings of other than Hexaplaric origin: 7.1, 18.1. Some of Lucifer's agreements with *L* are too dubious to be used as weighty evidence: 1.4, 2.2, 7 *qui sacr.*; 3.5; 4.5 (although prob. OG), 6; 13.1. Once Lucifer attests a probable early variant against both B and *L* (1.5). Other noteworthy agreements in secondary readings with witnesses other than B and *L* include 9.1 (ο 527) and 14.6 (460).

The old age and the good quality of Lucifer, the B text, and the proto-Lucianic text is demonstrated by two agreements between them in original readings against most other witnesses: 3.1 δώσει B *L*^{-19'} 509 460; 26.5, although the former is somewhat doubtful. There are a number of Hexaplaric readings in the passage and, as can be expected, Lucifer follows none of these—although in a few instances such a case could be made (3.4, 4.6, 14.5). Often it is uncertain which reading Lucifer attests: 1.2, 2.8, 9; 3.6, 4.9, 6.2, 5–7; 9.2–4; 10.1, 4; 12.1, 3; 16.2, 4; 18.2, 3; 22.4; 23.1, 2; 24.2.

Finally, Lucifer attests a number of special readings in which occasional agreement with some Greek witnesses is only apparent or coincidental. Of these, eight are omissions (3.2, 4 [= *L*]; 4.1; 10.3 [=247 488], 13.2, 14.5 [unlikely Hex.], 17.7 [= 381]; 20.3) and thirteen other than omissions (2.1, 5; 4.7, 5.4, 17.3, 5; 22.1, 5; 24.5 [cf. *La*], 25b.1, 26.2, 28.2, 4). All of the instances are best explained as Lucifer's own modification. Two inter-related readings, attested in both *Reg.* 5 and *Conv.* 3, are curious enough to be considered a weak hint at an underlying Latin source: 4.3 *in aram*, 8 *ad aram*. For more of Lucifer's special readings, see the comparison with the other Latin witnesses in the following paragraphs.

In 13:20–28 there is a possibility of comparing a substantial portion of Lucifer's text with that of *La*¹¹⁵. In addition, Lucifer and *La*^M overlap in twelve verses, in six of them with *La*¹¹⁵ (Luc *La*^M: 3, 11, 14, 18, 33, 34; Luc *La*¹¹⁵ *La*^M: 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28). Statistical considerations of the agree-

ment/disagreement patterns are left to the text-historical conclusion at the end of the study, but two observations can be made here.

1. Most of the differences between the Latin witnesses do not go back to different Greek readings but to different translations of the same Greek expression. This can be seen especially well in the twelve disagreements between Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ (no Gk variants involved: 21.2, 22.1, 3, 5, 6; 25b.1 *civitatis/loci*, 3; 26.1, 2; 28.1; Gk unclear: 22.4, 23.5). Furthermore, Lucifer agrees with La^M against La¹¹⁵ in seven additional instances (no Gk variants: 20.4, 21.1, 23.3, 4; 26.4, 28.6; Gk unclear 28.4), and in three more cases all three disagree (20.5, 24.5; 24.2 with Gk unclear). By contrast, noteworthy agreements between Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ are very few (23.1–2, 28.2; Gk unclear), one of them an agreement against La^M (24.4). On the other hand, Lucifer and La^M have enough noteworthy agreements to arouse curiosity: 3.5–6 (Gk unclear) 14.2, 33.2 (La^M-Al. differently), 3. The disagreements between the two are slightly fewer (*disrumpetur/rumpetur* v. 13:3; variant units 11.1, 34.1). Only once do La¹¹⁵ and La^M agree against Lucifer when Greek is not involved: 20.3.
2. When it comes to the readings with noteworthy Greek variants involved, the number of cases is too small for any kind of picture to emerge. The most significant cases are 11.2 and 25a.1 in which Lucifer and La^M agree with *L* against B in an original reading. Then again, in one (probable) original reading Lucifer agrees with *L* against B and La^M (11.3). Lucifer agrees with La¹¹⁵ and B against *L* in an original reading twice (with La^M: 28.5; 25b.2). There is an additional agreement between Lucifer, La¹¹⁵, and B against *L* (rel) which may be an early Hebraizing correction (19.2)—or an original reading after all.

1 Kgs 15:3, 34; 16:25–26, 28B (16:31 Ant), 30–33 (*Reg.* 6)

Chapter 6 of *De regibus* continues the argument that kings may continue to reign even after having committed grave sins. This time the examples are Abijam son of Rehoboam of Judah (1 Kgs 14:31–15:8), Baasha son of Ahijah of Israel (15:33–34), Omri of Israel (16:16–28), and the notorious Ahab (16:29 onwards). In addition, the list includes Jehoshaphat (22:41–50; see part 2), whom Lucifer depicts here in a negative light.

- 1 Kgs 15:3 καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, αἷς ἐποίησεν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ τελεία μετὰ κυρίου θεοῦ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἡ καρδία Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. (Rahlfs)
item ... Abiud, de quo scriptum inuenio: *Et abiit in peccatis patris sui, quae fecit in conspectu eius, et non erat cor eius consummatum cum domino deo suo, sicut erat cor David patris eius*, et tamen, cum seru-
irent idolis, fuerint in regno ... Luc Reg. 6 (146,13–16)
- 1 Kgs 15:3.1 ταῖς (Luc)] pr πάσαις A 44: cf. MT; πάσαις 247 CII⁻³²⁸ 121 d⁻⁴⁴ t s⁻⁴⁸⁹ z 554 = MT
- 1 Kgs 15:3.2 τοῦ πατρὸς 1° Luc = MT] pr οἴκου L 246
- 1 Kgs 15:3.3 ἐνώπιον] ἔμπροσθεν L 246; *in conspectu* Luc
- 1 Kgs 15:3.4 καὶ 2° Luc] > L
- 1 Kgs 15:3.5 ὡς] καθὼς L; *sicut erat* Luc; + ἦν 460
- 1 Kgs 15:3.6 Δαυὶδ Luc = MT] > B 71 372

As could be expected, Lucifer avoids the Hexaplaric reading *πάσαις* (1) as well as the Lucianic addition of *οἴκου* (2) and the omission of a *καὶ* (4). Lucifer could not make a distinction between the Greek readings in variation unit 3 and is best not cited in favour of either one.¹⁶² Lucifer's general tendency is to render *ὡς* with *sicut* (e.g., Matt 5:48 // *Athan.* 2.4) and *καθὼς* with *quemadmodum* (e.g., 1 Kgs 13:6 // *Conv.* 3, *Reg.* 5), but there are a few instances of the opposite: *καθὼς sicut* Eph 4:17 // *Athan.* 2.31; *ὡς quemadmodum* Exod 33:11 // *Conv.* 1, 1 Sam 15:2 // *Reg.* 2, 1 Kgs 15:34 // *Reg.* 6. Thus, I would not cite Lucifer for either reading in variation unit 5.¹⁶³ In addition, Lucifer does not need to follow 460 in providing the verb “to be” since in Christian Latin the preference is to explicate it in every instance. The plus of “David” (6) is attested by the vast majority and, outside the kaige section, that is an unlikely attestation for a Hebraizing addition. It seems more likely that the proper noun was dropped out by a mistake in B 71 372. The fact that the word “father” is used in two senses (“father/forefather”) hardly plays a role: “David” is a necessary qualification for the latter “father,” and it would not be omitted on purpose easily.

162. Thus also Brooke-McLean.

163. Thus also Brooke-McLean.

- 1 Kgs 15:34 *καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν ὁδῷ Ἱεροβοαμ
υῖοῦ Ναβατ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν Ἰσραὴλ.*
(Rahlfs)
uideas ... Basiam, filium Achiae, ... de quo scriptum iuenisti in Reg-
norum libro tertio: *Et fecit malignum coram domino et abiit in uiam
Hieroboam filii Nabath et in peccatis eius, quemadmodum peccauit in
Israel.* Luc Reg. 6 (147,23–27)
... peccare fe]cit israel La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 15:34.1 ἐποίησεν Luc] + Βαασά L⁻⁸² 328
- 1 Kgs 15:34.2 αὐτοῦ Luc] > A 19'
- 1 Kgs 15:34.3 *רָשָׁע* ὡς Luc (*quemadmodum*)] ἐν αἴς L⁻⁸² 328 246; αἴς ο 71 318 244^c
245 342; > 125
Cf. 2 Kgs 21:16.8 ὥν] ὡς 127; *quae* Luc Reg. 8; > 125
- 1 Kgs 15:34.4 ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν Ἰσραὴλ (La¹¹⁵)] *peccauit in Israel* Luc
Cf. 2 Kgs 21:16 ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν Ἰουδαν *peccare fecit Iuda* Luc Reg. 8
Cf. 2 Kgs 21:17.1 καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία αὐτοῦ ἦν ἡμαρτεν] *quemadmodum pec-
care fecit Israel* Luc Reg. 8 (no significant Greek variants)

The Lucianic reviser provides the subject Baasha (1). Lucifer does not, to be sure, need to explicate the name since it is already mentioned in the introduction to the quotation. In variation unit 3 Lucifer attests the reading ὡς with the majority. While the translators of Samuel-Kings normally use a form of the Greek relative pronoun (like αἴς in *L* and a small number of other witnesses) to render the Hebrew *רָשָׁע*, ὡς is found not infrequently as a rendering for both *רָשָׁע* (e.g., 1 Sam 6:6, 8:1; 2 Sam 17:12; 1 Kgs 3:14; 2 Kgs 7:7) and *רָשָׁע* (e.g., 1 Sam 13:8, 15:2; 2 Sam 7:23, 14:26; 1 Kgs 2:32, 11:27; 2 Kgs 14:6, 21:4). If (ἐν) αἴς (*L* etc.) was the original reading, the B reading could only be a Hebraizing correction towards *רָשָׁע*, not *רָשָׁע* as found in the MT. It is easier to see the *L* reading as a recensional improvement.

According to *GELS*, ἁμαρτάνω or ἐξαμαρτάνω is not used in a transitive or factitive meaning. However, both here in 1 Kgs 15:34.4 and in 2 Kgs 21:16 it is hard to find any other meaning for the expression ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν Ἰσραὴλ/Ἰουδαν than “he made Israel/Iouda sin” (NETS). The factitive meaning was probably not clear to Lucifer and since without it the accusative τὸν Ἰσραὴλ would make poor sense, Lucifer may have modified the expression. Alternatively, a confusion about the meaning may have facilitated a misreading ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν → -τεντεν → *ἐξήμαρτεν ἐν. In 2 Kgs 21:16 Lucifer, correctly, uses a factitive Latin expression.

For 16:25 there is text by Lucifer, La¹¹⁵, and La^M.

- 1 Kgs 16:25 καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἀμβρι τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ ἐπονηρεύσατο ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς γενομένους ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ· (Rahlfs)
Scriptum est etiam de Iambre rege: *Et fecit malignum in conspectu domini, et maligne fecit super omnes qui fuerunt ante eum* Luc Reg. 6 (147,32–34)
et fecit zambri | malum in conspectu dñi | et malefecit super omnes La¹¹⁵
Et malignatus est super omnes ... La^M
- 1 Kgs 16:25.1 יַמְבְּרִי Ἀμβρι (vel sim.) L⁻⁸² 328 106^c 246] Γαμβρι 68; Ζαμβρεῖ (vel sim.) rel La¹¹⁵; Iambri (?) Luc (de Iambre)
- 1 Kgs 16:25.2 ἐπονηρεύσατο] *malefecit* La¹¹⁵; *malignatus est* La^M; *maligne fecit* Luc

Lucifer spells the proper noun Omri with an initial *iota*, although outside the actual quotation: “It is written about King *Iambri*” (1). This probably reflects the Greek spelling without the initial *zeta* (majority) as found in L⁻⁸² 328 106^c 246. The three different Latin formulations for the verb ἐπονηρεύσατο “did evil” (2) demonstrate the independence of the three Latin witnesses.

- 1 Kgs 16:26 καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν πάσῃ ὁδῷ Ἱεροβοαμ υἱοῦ Ναβατ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτοῦ, (Rahlfs)
et abiit in omnem uiam Hieroboam, filii Nabath, in peccatis eius; et tamen hic qui dicitur super omnes peccasse Luc Reg. 6 (147,34–36)
*et abit*¹⁶⁴ *in omnem uiam | hierobam fili nadab | et in peccatis eius* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 16:26.1 Ἱεροβοαμ Luc] Ἱεροβααμ (vel sim.) V 55* 372; *hierobam* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 16:26.2 Ναβατ Luc] *nadab* La¹¹⁵; > 125 71
- 1 Kgs 16:26.3 καὶ 2° La¹¹⁵] > 46^s 509 489 Luc

There are differences in minutiae between La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer, possibly including a difference concerning the second conjunction καὶ in the Greek source text (3).

The passage 1 Kgs 22:41–51 that recounts Jehoshaphat's reign is not attested in *L*. The same information is already provided in the LXX in chapter 16 (16:28a–h [16:29–37 Ant], omitted only by A), and therefore the Lucianic reviser might have deleted it in chapter 22. James Shenkel provides arguments against that: the translation in 22:41–51 contains kaige features like יַיְבֹרַךְ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς (v. 43, see below), θυσιάζω pro θύω, and the absence of the historical present (contrast 16:28a βασιλεύει /

164. Edition: *abit* = *abiit*; *fili* = *fili*.

22:41 ἐβασίλευσεν, 16:28h θάπτεται / 22:51 ἐτάφη).¹⁶⁵ The kaige features are undeniable, but they do not prove that the passage was not a part of the OG translation: they may have been brought about by revision rather than a fresh translation. A hint in the latter direction can be found in verse 43 where the OG style ἐνώπιον is found as a variant for ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς: how did the former reading come about if the entire passage was translated by the kaige revisers? However, the question of the originality of the passage in chapter 22 is not an issue in the present study since it is clear from the context that Lucifer refers to Jehoshaphat according to chapter 16; the structure of Reg. 6 (146–8) is as follows:

Constantius should not be hopeful even though he continues to reign despite having acted like Jeroboam. (l. 1–11)

Reference to Solomon and his son Abijam, quotation: 1 Kgs 15:3 (11–18)

Baasha son of Ahijah, quotation: 15:34 (18–32)

Omri, quotation: 16:25–26 (32–39)

Exposition: God has reserved judgment on Constantius for the future. (39–46)

Son of Asa (= Jehoshaphat), quotation: **16:28b** (cf. 22:43–44) (46–56)

Exposition: Constantius should not boast since even an idolatrous king could reign for 33 years. (56–65)

Ahab, quotation: 16:30–33 (66–81)

In addition to the context, a few readings below suggest that Lucifer is quoting 1 Kgs 16:28b specifically, not 22:43–44. Nevertheless, readings from the latter are given for comparison in the analysis.

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 1 Kgs 16:28b | καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Ἀσα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξέκλινεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου· πλὴν τῶν ὑψηλῶν οὐκ ἐξῆραν, ἔθουον ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς καὶ ἐθυμίων. (Rahlfs) |
| 1 Kgs 22:43–44 | καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν πάσῃ ὁδῷ Ἀσα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· οὐκ ἐξέκλινεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου· (44) πλὴν τῶν ὑψηλῶν οὐκ ἐξῆρεν, ἔτι ὁ λαὸς ἐθυσίαζεν καὶ ἐθυμίων ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς. (Rahlfs)
<i>Abiit in vias Asab patris sui, et non declinauit ab illis, ut faceret quod rectum erat in conspectu domini, [44] sed ab excelsis non abstinuerunt et sacrificabant in excelsis et incendebant. Luc Reg. 6 (147,51–148,54) 44 Et odoramenta fumigaverunt ... La^M</i> |
| 1 Kgs 16:28b.1 | ἐπορεύθη Luc] + Ἰωσαφάτ L ⁻⁸² 328 246 158 |
| 1 Kgs 16:28b.2 | τῇ ὁδῷ pr πάση 22:43; vias Luc |

165. Shenkel, *Chronology*, 55; see also p. 17.

- 1 Kgs 16:28b.3 Ασα] *Asab* Luc^{Diercks.Ugenti.Hartel}; *basa* Luc^{VG}
- 1 Kgs 16:28b.4 αὐτῆς] *illis* Luc (cf. *uias* above)
- 1 Kgs 16:28b.5 ἐνώπιον *in conspectu* Luc
Cf. 1 Kgs 22:43 יְנִיבֵּן ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον A CI 244 245; ἔναντι 460
- 1 Kgs 16:28b.6 πλὴν Luc] πάντα 19'-93
- 1 Kgs 16:28b.7 τῶν ὑψηλῶν] (τὰ) ὑψηλά *L*⁻⁸² 379 328 246; *ab excelsis* Luc
- 1 Kgs 16:28b.8 ἐξῆραν B 82 246^c x 55 71 342 Luc] ἐξῆρην (+ Ἰωσαφάτ *L*⁻⁸²; + ἔτι ὁ λαός 245 = 22:44) rel = 22:44 (no variants)
- 1 Kgs 16:28b.9 ἔθουον] pr καί 92; ἔθουεν 245; ἐθυσίαζεν 22:44; *et sacrificabant* Luc
- 1 Kgs 16:28b.10 ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς Luc] ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν *L*⁻⁸²; tr post ἐθυμίων 125 = 22:44
Cf. 22:44 מִן הַבְּרָכִים מִן הַבְּרָכִים מִן הַבְּרָכִים מִן הַבְּרָכִים MT
- 1 Kgs 16:28b.11 ἐθυμίων Luc] *odorama fumigaverunt* La^M

Lucifer does not attest the recensional explications of the name Jehoshaphat (1, 8). While making small modifications (2–4, 7), he quotes the B text of 16:28b faithfully. For the renderings of יְנִיבֵּן in Greek and Lucifer's treatment of the expressions ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς and ἐνώπιον (5), see 2 Kgs 21:2 below. *L*⁻⁸², along with the majority, reads ἐξαίρω “remove” in the singular, making Jehoshaphat the subject. This probably motivated the Lucianic reviser to change πλὴν “except” to πάντα (τὰ ὑψηλά; 6, 7): “he did not remove *all* the high places,” implying he did remove some of them. Lucifer's *sacrificio* may reflect θύω or θυσιάζω (22:44), but he certainly reads the plural with the majority (9). Lucifer agrees with B in reading “*in* the high places” against “on” in *L*⁻⁸² (10). The *L* reading, again, is best attributed to the Lucianic reviser. Finally, if the reading in La^M cited above coincides with Lucifer's quotation, the wording for “(kept) offering incense” is totally different.

- 1 Kgs 16:30 καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἀχααβ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου, ἐπονηρεύσατο ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. (Rahlfs)
Et fecit Achab malignum in conspectu domini, et maligne fecit super omnes qui fuerunt ante eum. Luc Reg. 6 (148,67–69)
- 1 Kgs 16:30.1 Ἀχααβ B V 247 L 328 121 610 246 381 z 318 460 Luc] > 236-242-530 44-125; + υἱὸς Ζαμβρί rel = MT
- 1 Kgs 16:30.2 ἐπονηρεύσατο] pr καί 247 L CII 121 125 246 o s⁻¹³⁰ 122 244 318 372 460 Luc; > A = MT
- 1 Kgs 16:30.3 τοὺς] + γενομένους *L* 328 246; *qui fuerunt* Luc
Cf. below 16:33 ἐκακοποίησεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς Ἰσραὴλ τοὺς **γενομένους** ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ *et malignum fecit super omnes reges Israel qui fuerunt ante eum* Luc

The coincidences between Lucifer and *L* are in insignificant details. Adding the conjunction (2) as well as the verb “had been” (3) fit the tendencies of the Lucianic reviser. Lucifer may attest both of them, even though making such modifications is well within Lucifer’s quoting habits.

- 1 Kgs 16:31 καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ ἱκανὸν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις Ἱεροβοαμ υἱοῦ Ναβατ, καὶ ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα τὴν Ἰεζαβελ θυγατέρα Ἰεθεβααλ βασιλέως Σιδωνίων καὶ ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἐδούλευσεν τῷ Βααλ καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ.
(Rahlfs)
Et non fuit illi satis ut ambularet in peccatis Hieroboam, filii Nabath, sed et accepit uxorem Iezabel, filiam Basan et Hela, regis Sidoniorum. Et abiit et seruiuit Baali et adorauit eum Luc Reg. 6 (148,69–72)
Ethaal La^{91.93}; *thaal* La⁹²; *et haal* La⁹⁵
- 1 Kgs 16:31.1 καὶ 2^o pr *sed* Luc
- 1 Kgs 16:31.2 Ἰεθεβααλ] Ἰεθβάαλ (vel sim.) *L*; Εθβααλ 246 488 x 71 342; *Ethaal* La^{91.93}; *thaal* La⁹²; *et haal* La⁹⁵; *Basan et Hela* Luc; > 158
- 1 Kgs 16:31.3 ἐπορεύθη Luc] + Ἀχαάβ *L* 328 246

The plus of *sed* (1) is easiest to explain as a free modification. The incorrect proper nouns *Basan et Hela* for Ἰεθβάαλ (2) must be due to a confusion in the transmission of Lucifer’s work.¹⁶⁶ Lucifer may ultimately reflect a form **Ethbaal* (cf. 246 488 x 71 342 and the Vulgate): the letters of that name are included in the reading BASANETHELA. Probably the exemplar was damaged and some visible letters brought to the mind of the copyist the kings of Israel Baasha and Elah, *Baasa* and *Hela* in the Vulgate (1 Kgs 15:33, 16:6). Lucifer does not attest the recensional explication of the name Ahab (3).

- 1 Kgs 16:32 καὶ ἔστησεν θυσιαστήριον τῷ Βααλ ἐν οἴκῳ τῶν προσοχθισμάτων αὐτοῦ, ὃν ὠκοδόμησεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, (Rahlfs)
et statuit sacrarium Baali in domo religionum suarum, quam aedificauit in Samaria; Luc Reg. 6 (148,72–73)
- 1 Kgs 16:32.1 ἐν οἴκῳ Luc = MT] ἐνώπιον *A*
- 1 Kgs 16:32.2 וְאֵשׁ ὃν Luc] ὦν *A* V 247 19’-82 731^c 236^c-242’-530 121 246 381
^{s-130.762} 71 318 342 460 707; 372
- 1 Kgs 16:32.3 וְהָרַח סαμαρείᾳ] Σαμαρία V* 379 z 158 245 707 Luc = Vg.

Lucifer agrees with *B* in reading the singular ὃν which makes “house” the correlate. With the plural ὦν the correlate is τῶν προσοχθισμάτων “of his

166. Similarly Ugenti, 99 n. 36: “I nomi son sicuramente corrotti; forse si tratta di un solo nome.” “The names are surely corrupt; perhaps it is a question of a single name” (my trans.).

offences" (NETS). The latter is probably an early corruption resulting from conformation to the preceding plural genitives. In familiar proper nouns like Samaria (3), the copyists of Lucifer's work tend to follow the forms of the Vulgate, in this case *Samaria* in both the Old Testament and the New Testament.

- 1 Kgs 16:33 *καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἀχααβ ἄλσος, καὶ προσέθηκεν Ἀχααβ τοῦ ποιῆσαι παροργίσματα τοῦ παροργίσαι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐξολεθρευθῆναι· ἐκακοποίησεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς Ἰσραὴλ τοὺς γενομένους ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ.*— (Rahlfs)
*et fecit Achab lucum, ut faceret exacerbationem, ut exacerbaret deum et animam suam disperderet, et malignum fecit super omnes reges Israel qui fuerunt ante eum. Noli adhuc te sinere esse apud Arrianos, ...*¹⁶⁷ Luc Reg. 6 (148,73–76)
- 1 Kgs 16:33.1 *καὶ προσέθηκεν (ἐπλεόνασεν L^{-127c}) Ἀχααβ]* > 127^c Luc
- 1 Kgs 16:33.2 *παροργίσματα]* παρόργισμα 318 Luc (*exacerbationem*); > A V 245 342 707 = MT
- 1 Kgs 16:33.3 *παροργίσαι]* + κύριον 127^c; + *deum et* Luc
- 1 Kgs 16:33.4 *τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ* B x 372 460 554 Luc] *pr τὸν κύριον θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ ποιῆσαι* 328 246; *pr τὸν κύριον θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ* 247 121 o 488 z 318: cf. MT; *pr τοῦ (καὶ 82) ποιῆσαι L; τὸν κύριον θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ (vel sim) rel = MT*
- 1 Kgs 16:33.5 *τοῦ (> L 488 x 554) ἐξολεθρευθῆναι* Luc] > A V CII⁻³²⁸ d t s⁻⁴⁸⁸ 71 245 342 707; + *τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ* 55 158 244^{mg}
- 1 Kgs 16:33.6 *ἐκακοποίησεν]* *pr ἀνθ' ὧν* L 328 246; *pr καὶ* 460 554 Luc
- 1 Kgs 16:33.7 *ὑπέρ]* *pr τὸν κύριον θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ* x⁻¹¹⁹ 554

Lucifer does not attest the clause “and Achaab added” (NETS; 1). That, together with the singular form of the word “provocations” (*exacerbationem*; 2) are likely Lucifer's own modification. To be sure, there is a Greek witness for the omission but that can be explained as a hasty corrector of 127 mixing up the clauses *καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἀχααβ* and *καὶ ἐπλεόνασεν Ἀχααβ* (L): the vague graphical similarity caused the corrector to suppose that the latter clause is a dittography of the first. In addition, Lucifer adds *et* on two occasions (3, 6) probably independently of the Greek witnesses. In the latter case Lucifer avoids a Lucianic recensional improvement (*ἀνθ' ὧν* L 328 246). The noteworthy issues are that Lucifer does not attest any of

167. Lucifer's citation ends with v. 33. In the context of *De regibus apostaticis* it is a perfect place to end a citation: Constantius II is reminded of Ahab who “did more evil than all the kings of Israel who were before him.”

the, likely Hebraizing, plusses in variation unit 4 but he does have a plus of the word *deum* (3). If, as seems probable, Lucifer attests the reading “to provoke to anger” without an object for the verb, he may well have seen fit to provide “God”—the obvious choice for an object. Furthermore, Lucifer attests the words τοῦ ἐξολοθρευθῆναι “that (his life) might be destroyed,” omitted by a long array of witnesses that regularly attest Hexaplaric additions and omissions.¹⁶⁸

From the point of view of the textual criticism of the LXX, the situation in this verse is rather straightforward: Lucifer follows the B text with some modifications and avoids the Hexaplaric quantitative changes introduced in most of the witnesses (4, 5, 7). There are, however, literary-critical issues involved. These are best treated after summarizing the text-critical conclusions for this passage.

Conclusion: Lucifer mostly agrees with B in avoiding a Hexaplaric reading (15:3.1) and six Lucianic recensional readings (15:3.2, 4; 34.1, 3; 16:31.3, 33.6). Then again, Lucifer agrees once with L against B when the latter has a corrupt reading (15:3.6) and three other times in a probable secondary reading (16:25.1, 30.2, 3). The latter instances, however, are all but striking. In addition, Lucifer makes small modifications, one of which (15:34.4) may go back to a misreading. Lucifer does not show a close relationship with La¹¹⁵ or La^M in these verses.

Literary-Critical Considerations: Ahab’s Provocations

Trebolle suggests that the minus of “and Achaab added” (16:33.1) goes back to Lucifer’s Greek base text and retains the oldest form of the verse. The different forms are best compared in a table.

1 Kgs 16:33 NRSV	1 Kgs 16:33 NETS (Ant; my trans.)	Luc Reg. 6 (148,73–76) (my trans.; following NETS)
Ahab also made a sacred pole.	... and Achaab made a grove,	... and Achaab made a grove,

168. If I understand Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 149, correctly, they suggest that the OG text was *τοῦ παροργίσαι τὸν Κύριον θεὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ: “τὸν Κύριον θεὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ... dropped out owing to the creeping into the text of the marginal addition τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ἐξολοθρευθῆναι.”

Ahab did more to provoke the anger of the Lord, the God of Israel,	and Achaab added to do provocations to provoke (+ the Lord 127) to anger (+ and/to make Ant)	> (in order) to do a provocation to provoke God to anger
than had all the kings of Israel who were before him.	so that his life might be destroyed; (+ because Ant) he did more evil than all the kings of Israel who were before him.	and his life (so that it) might be destroyed; and he did more evil than all the kings of Israel who were before him.

33 וַיַּעַשׂ אָחָאב אֶת־הָאַשְׁרָה וַיִּזְקֶה אָחָאב לַעֲשׂוֹת לְהַכְעִיס אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכָּל מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ לִפְנָיו:	33(42 Ant) καὶ ἐποίησεν Αχααβ (+ τὸ Ant) ἄλλος καὶ προσέθηκεν (ἐπλεόνασεν Ant) Αχααβ τοῦ ποιῆσαι παροργίσματα τοῦ παροργίσαι (+ κύριον supra lineam 127) (+ τοῦ [καί 82] ποιῆσαι Ant) τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐξολεθρευθῆναι ἐκακοποίησεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς Ἰσραηλ τοὺς γενομένους ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ	(33) <i>et fecit Achab</i> <i>lucum,</i> > <i>ut faceret</i> <i>exacerbationem,</i> <i>ut exacerbaret deum</i> <i>et</i> <i>animam suam</i> <i>disperderet,</i> <i>et malignum fecit super omnes</i> <i>reges Israel</i> <i>qui fuerunt ante</i> <i>eum.</i>
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According to Trebolle, the oldest form of the text, retained in Lucifer's quotation, consists of two clauses: "to do a provocation" (literal translation of the expression in NETS) and "to provoke God" (*ut faceret exacerbationem, ut exacerbaret deum*). The words "to do a provocation" correspond to the Greek τοῦ ποιῆσαι παροργίσματα of which the MT manages to retain only the verb לעַשׂוֹת. The latter clause in Lucifer's reading ("to provoke God") corresponds to the Hebrew אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל which, however, appears in the MT in an extended form. A putative original Hebrew would have been *להכעיס את יהוה/אלהים¹⁶⁹ "to do provocations, to provoke [the anger] of Yahweh/God." Furthermore, Trebolle suggests that ultimately the two clauses are alternative readings that have contaminated each other during the transmission of the text.

169. Cf. the apparatus of BHS for the word לעַשׂוֹת: "ins כְּעָעִים? cf G*."

This conclusion is based on two considerations: the absence of a conjunction between the clauses and the corruption that has developed the two clauses in different direction in the LXX and in the MT.¹⁷⁰ Treballe does not take an explicit stance on the originality of the clause *et animam suam disperderet*, retained in Lucifer's quotation and (with the exception of the conjunction) in Greek. He merely points out that it is connected with the expression (καὶ) ἐκακοποίησεν (Lucifer: *et malignum fecit*) which he retroverts as *ויעש הרע. This expression is lost in the Masoretic tradition but it belongs to the original text: it provides the necessary verb and the object for the remaining "than all the kings of Israel who were before him."¹⁷¹

After these insights Treballe adapts his findings to literary-critical considerations about the passage 16:30–33. In his view, verses 30 ("Ahab son of Omri did evil in the sight of the Lord more than all who were before him") and 33bγ ("and he did evil¹⁷² more than all the kings of Israel who were before him") form a *Wiederaufnahme*: an interpolation is connected with the original text by repeating immediately after it what was said directly before it. Everything in between, in this case verses 31–33a, will, in high probability, belong to the interpolation.¹⁷³

The possibility of a *Wiederaufnahme* is not dependent on how Lucifer's testimony is evaluated: he self-evidently attests the word ἐκακοποίησεν (*et malignum fecit*) in verse 33. However, I would challenge Treballe's evaluation of Lucifer's minus of "and Ahab added" as the oldest form of the text: any minus found only¹⁷⁴ in Lucifer's text, especially if it does not disturb the narration, is very likely due to Lucifer's shortening tendency. This possibility is enhanced here by the fact that there are several minor details that very much look like Lucifer's own modifications.

170. Treballe, *Centena*, 137.

171. Treballe, *Centena*, 138.

172. Reading *ויעש הרע with the LXX.

173. Treballe, *Centena*, 137. I did not find any suggestions of literary-critical problems concerning the clause "Ahab did more" in the commentaries: e.g., Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 362; Šanda, *Könige*, 410, 412–13; Noth, *Könige*, 325, 355,

174. About the dubious testimony of 127^c here, see the analysis above.

1 Kgs 17:1, 18:17–46, 19:2 (*Athan.* 1.16–18)

Chapters 10–15 of the first book of *De Athanasio* dealt with examples of unjust persecution and just punishment in 1 Samuel, notably David who was persecuted by Saul (1 Sam 19–26). Chapter 16 begins with a brief interpretation of the preceding stories: Constantius has acted like Saul. “Whom do you want us”—that is, Athanasius and Lucifer—“to imitate, you, perhaps, or David?” (*Athan.* 1.16 [29,6–7]). After this, Lucifer explains how the conflict between Elijah and Ahab (1 Kgs 17–22) can be seen between the Athanasians and the Arians: “Then, let us hasten through the things ... which happened between Elijah, the prophet of the Lord, and Ahab, your co-apostate; and you will find yourself being Ahab today” (29,30–33).

The analysis is divided into five parts. The dealings between Elijah and Ahab as well as the gathering of the people on Mount Carmel (17:1, 18:17–22) do not contain major textual problems. The passage about the preparations and the sacrificial attempt by the prophets of Baal (18:23–29) forms its own section since in it there is text by both Lucifer and La¹¹⁵. Elijah's actions around the altar (30–35) allow for interesting literary-critical considerations (treated at some length in the analysis of v. 32). The remainder of the chapter 1 Kgs 18 is analysed in the fourth section (36–46) and the short quotation from 19:2 in the last.

Elijah and Ahab (17:1, 18:17–22)

- 1 Kgs 17:1 Ζῆ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, ὃ παρέστην ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, εἰ ἔσται τὰ ἔτη ταῦτα δρόσος καὶ ὑετὸς ὅτι εἰ μὴ διὰ στόματος λόγου μου. (Rahlfs)
Vivit, inquit Helias, dominus, cui adsisto conspectum, ante si erit annis istis ros et pluuiia, nisi per uerbum oris mei. Luc *Athan.* 1.16 (29,33–35)
- 1 Kgs 17:1.1 ὁ 1^ο – Ἰσραηλ] > L⁻¹²⁷ Luc; om ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ 127 x
- 1 Kgs 17:1.2 ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων] sub obel Syh; > MT
- 1 Kgs 17:1.3 ὅτι] > 328 x 342 460 Luc = MT
- 1 Kgs 17:1.4 εἰ 2^ο] ἐάν L; > 554
- 1 Kgs 17:1.5 στόματος λόγου = MT] tr L 246 Luc

Lucifer's quotation is very short: it consists only of the sentence given above. Lucifer and *L* do not attest the words “the God of hosts, the God of Israel” (1). While the message of the quotation is clear enough even without the words and thus Lucifer might have been omitted them himself, the

agreement with *L* is striking enough to suppose some interdependence in this reading. That the MT lacks a correspondence to the Greek expression ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων hardly plays a role. Agreement between Lucifer and *L* in a small word-order issue (5) is generally best disregarded, but together with the previous variation unit it may enhance the degree of mutual dependency.

- 1 Kgs 18:17 Καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς εἶδεν Ἀχααβ τὸν Ἡλίου, καὶ εἶπεν Ἀχααβ πρὸς Ἡλίου Εἰ σὺ εἶ αὐτὸς ὁ διαστρέφων τὸν Ἰσραήλ; (Rahlfs)
 Audit dei propheta ore sacrilegi Achab: *Si tu es ipse, qui euertis israel?*
 Sic et tu dicis Athanasio uel nobis, quod enim nos sumus uertentes dei populum, ... Luc *Athan.* 1.16 (30,39–42)

Lucifer follows the B text for which there are no significant variants.

- 1 Kgs 18:18 καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου Οὐ διαστρέφω τὸν Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι ἀλλ' ἢ σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ πατρός σου ἐν τῷ καταλιμπάνειν ὑμᾶς τὸν κύριον θεὸν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπορεύθης ὀπίσω τῶν Βααλῖμ· (Rahlfs)
 Sed audis a nobis quae audiit Achab ille cultor idololatriae ab Helia glorioso: *Non nos euertimus dei domum, sed euertis tu et domus patris tui.* aut negabis nihil te cogitare, nisi ut omnes nos coapostatas efficias tuos? [17 (30,1)] Sed ut coeperam de Heliae et Achab dicere actibus: *Et dixit Helias: ego non uerto Israel, sed euertis tu et domus patris tui, dum relinquitis uos dominum deum nostrum et itis post Baal.* Luc *Athan.* 1.16–17 (30,43–46.1–4)
- 1 Kgs 18:18.1 οὐ διαστρέφω] pr ego Luc; + ἐγὼ 247 *L CII* 121 246 s⁻¹³⁰ 799 244 342 460
- 1 Kgs 18:18.2 ὅτι ἀλλ' ἢ] sed euertis Luc; om ὅτι 19-82 46' 44 372
- 1 Kgs 18:18.3 καταλιμπάνειν (ὑμᾶς)] ἐγκαταλιμπάνειν *CI* 246 o 55 244 342; καταλιπεῖν *L*; relinquitis Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:18.4 (θεὸν) ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν 247 82 246 92 527 460 554 Luc; Ἰσραήλ 71; > 125: cf. MT
- 1 Kgs 18:18.5 ἡπορεύθης] ἐπορεύθη *A V** 107-125-610 460; ἐπορεύθητε *V^c C⁻³²⁸* 92-314-489-762 244 342; πορευθῆναι *L* 246; itis Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:18.6 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ τῶν Βααλ(ε)ῖμ] τοῦ Βααλεῖμ *A* 245 460; om τῶν 328 o 120; Baal Luc

The first part of Lucifer's quotation (30,44–45) is actually a paraphrase—note the first-person plural as against the singular in Elijah's speech: "Hear from us ...: 'We are not perverting the house of God.'" The word-for-word quotation begins in chapter 17 of *De Athanasio*, and it consists of sixty-seven lines, one the longest single biblical quotations in Lucifer's works.

Lucifer probably attests the plus of “I” with *L* and several other witnesses (1) although with a different word order. The emphasis is on that word (“It is not *I* who is perverting Israel”), and thus it is natural if Lucifer prefers to have it at the beginning of the clause. The plus itself is rather widespread to be a Lucianic recensional addition; perhaps it is an early variant resulting from free copying.¹⁷⁵ The expression ὅτι ἀλλ’ ἡ (2) is not normal Greek but characteristic of the LXX.¹⁷⁶ Lucifer may simplify it himself. The evidence for the omission is slight (19-82 46’ 44 372) and a secondary omission of the needless ὅτι could happen independently in several lines of the textual transmission. In variation unit 3, Lucifer probably follows the present tense of B and the majority against the aorist of *L*, although he changes the construction to a finite verb. In variation unit 5 too, Lucifer favours the finite verb. There the second-person plural form is most likely conformation to the previous plural form (*relinquitis*). The variation between “your God” (4; B rel) and “our God” (a few manuscripts and Lucifer) results from itacism which can happen in both directions. The broader context in *De Athanasio* suggests that Lucifer may deliberately use the first-person (cf. the preceding “nobis ... nos ... omnes nos”).

- 1 Kgs 18:19 καὶ νῦν ἀπόστειλον συνάθροισον πρὸς με πάντα Ἰσραὴλ εἰς ὄρος τὸ Καρμῆλιον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας τῆς αἰσχύνης τετρακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας τῶν ἀλσῶν τετρακοσίους ἐσθίωντας τράπεζαν Ἰεζαβελ.
(Rahlfs)
Et nunc mitte et congrega ad me omnem Israel in montem Carmeli et prophetas confusionis quadringentos quinquaginta et prophetas lucorum quadringentos, manducantes et bibentes in mensa Iezabel. Luc Athan.
1.17 (30,4–7)
Prophetas confusionis La^M
- 1 Kgs 18:19.1 ἀπόστειλον A B CI 71 244 318 460] + καὶ rel Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:19.2 קָבַץ συνάθροισον] συνάγαγε CI 244 342; congrega Luc
Cf. 1 Kgs 18:20.1 קָבַץ׃ ἐπισυνήγαγεν] συνήγαγε(ν) A L 44 246; collegit Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:19.3 πάντα Luc = MT] + ἄνδρα ο x
- 1 Kgs 18:19.4 לְךָ εἰς Luc] πρὸς A
Cf. above לְךָ πρὸς με (no variants)

175. Benzinger, *Könige*, 109, considers the plus secondary.

176. For more information on this expression and its treatment in Latin witnesses, see Kauhanen, *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 128–30.

- 1 Kgs 18:19.5 Καρμήλιον Luc] + καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας τοῦ Βααλ τετρακοσίου καὶ πεντήκοντα A C⁹⁸.328 d 246 s⁴⁸⁸ t z 554: cf. MT
- 1 Kgs 18:19.6 τῶν ἀλσῶν Luc] pr τῶν ὑψηλῶν 246; της αλσος 245
- 1 Kgs 18:19.7 ἐσθίοντα] + et bibentes Luc

Lucifer agrees with *L* and the majority in providing a conjunction between the first and second verb (1). The translator of Kings varies the renderings for the Hebrew verb קָבַץ “gather, collect”: συναθροίζω “come/bring together” (19.2) and συνάγω “bring together” (20.1). Since Lucifer uses two different Latin verbs for these expressions, *congrego* and *colligo*, he probably attests two different Greek verbs as found in the majority. Lucifer follows the majority in small details (3, 4) and, as can be expected, does not follow the Hexaplaric doublet “and the four hundred fifty prophets of Baal [cf. τῆς αἰσχύνης ‘of shame’]” (5). The plus “and (who are) drinking” (7) is probably a free addition by Lucifer: while it is not a strong tendency, he may occasionally add small explications.

- 1 Kgs 18:20 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Αχααβ εἰς πάντα Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπισυνήγαγεν πάντας τοὺς προφῆτας εἰς ὄρος τὸ Καρμήλιον. (Rahlfs)
Et misit rex Achab ad omnem Israel et collegit omnes prophetas in montem Carmeli. Luc Athan. 1.17 (30,7–8)
- 1 Kgs 18:20.1 γᾱϛϛⲉⲓ ἐπισυνήγαγεν] συνήγαγε(ν) A L 44 246; collegit Luc
Cf. 2 Kgs 23:1 συνήγαγεν collegit (no variants)

See also 19.2 above. There is not a formal Latin equivalent for the Greek ἐπισυνάγω (*GELS*: “to collect and bring”). Otherwise Lucifer uses *colligo* in his biblical quotations five times: twice for the cognate συλλέγω (Matt 7:16, 13:40 // *Athan.* 2.5, 2.17) and once for συνάγω (2 Kgs 23:1 // *Parc.* 7). In the two remaining cases the question is of somewhat free renderings of words that contain the element συν-: ποιήσαντες συστροφὴν ... σὺν τῷ συνεδρίῳ *collegerunt* ... *colligite concilium* (Acts 23:12, 15 // *Athan.* 2.24). The evidence from Lucifer’s text is quite slim, and in the light of the usage in the Vulgate, where no real distinction is made between ἐπισυνάγω and συνάγω,¹⁷⁷ it is best to accept that Lucifer’s *colligo* may attest either verb.

177. Some examples will suffice: ἐπισυνάγω *congrego* 1 Macc 5:9, 10; Matt 23:37, 24:31; συνάγω *congrego* 1 Macc 1:4, 2:42; Matt 2:4, 3:12, 6:26; ἐπισυνάγω *convenio* 1 Macc 3:58, 5:15, 16, 38, 64; συνάγω *convenio* 1 Macc 3:52; Matt 22:34, 26:57. To be sure, *colligo* seems to be used mainly for συνάγω, e.g., Matt 25:35, 38, 43; Luke 11:23; John 6:12, 13; 11:47; 15:6.

- 1 Kgs 18:21 καὶ προσήγαγεν Ἡλίου πρὸς πάντας, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἡλίου Ἔως πότε ὑμεῖς χωλανεῖτε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰγνύαις; εἰ ἔστιν κύριος ὁ θεός, πορεύεσθε ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ ὁ Βααλ αὐτός, πορεύεσθε ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ λαὸς λόγον. (Rahlfs)
Et accessit Helias ad omnes et dixit eis: usquequo uos claudicatis sensu uestro? Si est dominus deus, ite post ipsum. Si autem Baal est, ite post illum. Et non respondit illi populus uerbum. Luc Athan. 1.17 (30,8–11)
Usquequo claudicamini vos utrisque femoribus vestris? Al. Pedibus vestris? Si est Dominus Deus, venite post eum; si autem Baal, ite post illum. La^M
- 1 Kgs 18:21.1 ὡς προσήγαγεν] προσῆλθον L 246; accessit Luc
 Cf. 18:30 προσαγάγετε accedite Luc (no variants)
 Cf. 18:30.1 προσήγαγεν] προσῆγεν 82-127; προσῆλθον 107-125-610; ῆλθον 44; accesserunt Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:21.2 πάντας Luc] πάντα τὸν λαόν A 247 L CII⁻³²⁸ 121 246 314-489'-762 = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:21.3 αὐτοῖς Luc] πρὸς αὐτούς L; > d⁻¹⁰⁶ = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:21.4 Ἡλίου 2^o] > L 246 245 Luc = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:21.5 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰγνύαις (+ ὑμῶν L 246 La^M)] *sensu uestro* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:21.6 πορεύεσθε 1^o Luc = MT] pr δεῦτε καὶ L 246
- 1 Kgs 18:21.7 αὐτός] ἐστὶ(ν) L⁽⁻⁸²⁾ Luc; > B CI 799 244 318 460 La^M(Al.)
- 1 Kgs 18:21.8 ὁ λαός] pr αὐτῷ 247 121 488 Luc; > 460; + αὐτῷ A 127

Lucifer's *accedo* "to come near, approach" (1) is a natural equivalent for the verb *προσέρχομαι* in L 246.¹⁷⁸ However, since the verb *προσάγω* (B and majority) means intransitively "to draw near" (see *GELS*), Lucifer may use *accedo* for that verb as well. That rendering is found twice with no variants in Greek (1 Kgs 18:30 // *Athan.* 1.17, Isa 57:3 // *Parc.* 34). In addition to the present case, in 18:30.1 (see below) *προσέρχομαι* is found as a variant. All other things being equal it seems safest to tentatively accept that Lucifer follows the usual Greek counterpart *προσέρχομαι* as attested by L 246, but the agreement is hardly striking: verbs denoting movement are frequently interchanged in both the Greek transmission and Latin translations.

178. In Lucifer's biblical quotations, *accedo* most often corresponds to *προσέρχομαι* (11x): 1 Sam 4:15 // *Athan.* 1.11; 1 Kgs 20:13 // *Reg.* 7; Dan 7:16 // *Parc.* 30; 1 Macc 2:16 // *Parc.* 12; 2:18, 23 // *Parc.* 7; Matt 18:21 // *Athan.* 2.19 (2x), 26:49, 50 // *Parc.* 25; Acts 23:14 // *Athan.* 2.24.

In variation unit 2 Lucifer agrees with B and the majority against A, L, and a number of other witnesses that have a Hexaplaric reading. The Lucianic text appears to have three recensional readings: αὐτοῖς is changed to πρὸς αὐτούς (3), and the words δεῦτε καὶ “come and” and the predicate ἐστίν are added (6, 7). It is clear that Lucifer does not follow L at least in variation units 3 and 6. Variation unit 7 concerns an addition of the verb “to be,” which Lucifer is prone to add due to the normal usage in Christian Latin. Thus, the instance should not be counted as an agreement between Lucifer and L. It is obvious, however, that Lucifer does not attest the omission of αὐτός in B and a handful of other witnesses. The omission of the second “Elijah” (4) may happen independently in several witnesses and the instance should not be counted as an agreement between Lucifer and L. That the unnecessary explication of “Elijah” is missing in the MT probably plays no role here. In variation unit 5 the LXX reads “How long will you go limping on both legs?” Lucifer alters the notion to “limping in your minds.”¹⁷⁹ The explication of “the people did not answer *to him*” (8) is, again, a detail that can be provided by any witness independently, but since its placement before the subject is not the obvious choice, there may be a weak agreement between Lucifer and 247 121 488.

- 1 Kgs 18:22 καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου πρὸς τὸν λαόν· Ἐγὼ ὑπολέλειμμαι προφήτης τοῦ κυρίου μονώτατος, καὶ οἱ προφῆται τοῦ Βααλ τετρακόσιοι καὶ πενήκοντα ἄνδρες, καὶ οἱ προφῆται τοῦ ἄλλους τετρακόσιοι· (Rahlfs)
Et dixit Helias ad populum dicens: ego superavi solus prophetarum domini unus, et prophetae huius Baal quadringenti quinquaginta uiri et prophetae lucorum quadringenti; Luc Athan. 1.17 (30,11–14)
- 1 Kgs 18:22.1 λαόν] + *dicens* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:22.2 προφήτης] *solus prophetarum* Luc; tr post τοῦ κυρίου CI 244
- 1 Kgs 18:22.3 μονώτατος] pr προφήτης L^{-82.127c}; *unus* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:22.4 τοῦ Βααλ] *huius Baal* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:22.5 τοῦ ἄλλους] τῶν ἄλσων L Luc
 Cf. 18:19 τῶν ἄλσων *lucorum* Luc] της αλσος 245

Lucifer modifies the verse somewhat: he adds the quite unnecessary *dicens* “saying” (1) and changes “I am left as a prophet of the Lord all alone” to “I alone am left of the prophets of the Lord, the only one” (2, 3). Furthermore,

179. Hugo, *Les deux visages*, 220, observes that this comes close to the meaning of the Hebrew word עִנְיָן “opinions” that sounds similar to עִנְיָן, the Hebrew expression underlying ταῖς ἰγνύαις.

he supplies the pronoun *huius* “of this (Baal)” (4) to denote the necessary genitive (Greek τοῦ). In light of these modifications, the agreement between Lucifer and *L* in the plural form “of the groves” (5), probably motivated by the plural in verse 19,¹⁸⁰ cannot be considered striking. By contrast, it is clear that Lucifer does not attest the plus of “prophet” in part of the Lucianic witnesses (3).

The Sacrifice for Baal (18:23–29)

For verses 23–29, Lucifer's quotation can be compared with La¹¹⁵.

- 1 Kgs 18:23 δότωσαν ἡμῖν δύο βόας, καὶ ἐκλεξάσθωσαν ἑαυτοῖς τὸν ἓνα καὶ μελισάτωσαν καὶ ἐπιθέτωσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ξύλων καὶ πῦρ μὴ ἐπιθέτωσαν, καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω τὸν βοῦν τὸν ἄλλον καὶ πῦρ οὐ μὴ ἐπιθῶ· (Rahlfs)
dentur ergo nobis duo boues, et eligant sibi illi unum et demembrent, et inponant eum super lignum et ignem non subponant; et ego faciam bouem alterum, et ignem non supponam. Luc Athan. 1.17 (30,14–17)
 -- | *ligna*¹⁸¹ in *aram* et *ignē* | *non subponant* et ego | *faciam bouem alterum* | et *ignem non subponā* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:23.1 δότωσαν] + οὖν *L* Luc (*ergo*)
- 1 Kgs 18:23.2 ἡμῖν Luc] ὑμῖν *L*⁻¹²⁷ 242-236-530 44-610* 246
 Cf. v. 24 ὑμῶν Luc] ἡμῶν 247 488* 460
 Cf. v. 25 ὑμῶν Luc] ἡμῶν 488 158
- 1 Kgs 18:23.3 ἑαυτοῖς] + *illi* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:23.4 ἐπιθέτωσαν 1°] + *eum* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:23.5 καὶ 3° – ξύλων Luc = MT] > A
- 1 Kgs 18:23.6 τῶν ξύλων] (τά 127^c 246) ξύλα *L* 246; *lignum* Luc; *ligna in aram* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:23.7 ἐπιθέτωσαν 2°] *subponant* La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:23.8 οὐ μὴ ἐπιθῶ] *non subponam* La¹¹⁵ Luc = Vg.
 Cf. 1 Kgs 18:25.10 (πῦρ μὴ) ἐπιθῇτε *inponere* La¹¹⁵] *supponere* Luc
 (*subponatis* Vg.)

Lucifer seems to follow *L* in adding an explicative word (οὖν *ergo*), although the agreement is not striking (1). Lucifer apparently felt that some more explications were needed since he added the words *illi* and *eum* after the words ἑαυτοῖς *sibi* and ἐπιθέτωσαν 1° *inponant* (3, 4). In variation unit 5 MS

180. Differently Hugo, *Les deux visages*, 219, 271, 275–76: the plural is original and the singular in the B text is conformation with the MT in v. 19 (הַרְחֵקֶנָּה).

181. Edition: *ligna* corrected from *lignum*.

A has lost a clause probably by homoioteleuton. La¹¹⁵ is alone in adding *in aram* “to the altar” (6). The expression favoured by the Latin translators both here (7, 8) and in verse 25 is *ignem subponere* “to put fire under something.”¹⁸² Although the usual Latin rendering for ἐπιτίθημι is *inpono* (used by La¹¹⁵ in v. 25), the choice of *subpono* in verse 23 by both La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer is regulated by the Latin usage rather than a common origin.

- 1 Kgs 18:24 καὶ βοᾶτε ἐν ὀνόματι θεῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπικαλέσομαι ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ μου, καὶ ἔσται ὁ θεός, ὃς ἐὰν ἐπακούσῃ ἐν πυρί, οὗτος θεός.
(Rahlfs)
Et clamate in nomine deorum uestrorum, et ego clamabo in nomine dei (> G) mei, et erit hic deus quicumque exaudierit nos in igne, hic erit deus. Luc Athan. 1.17 (30,17–19)
et clamate in nomine | deorum uestrorum | et ego inuocabo in no|mine dī mei et dīs qui|cumque exaudierit | hodie et dederit ignē | hic est dīs La¹¹⁵
Vos inuocabitis in nomine deorum uestrorum, et ego inuocabo in nomine Domini Dei mei; et Deus qui exaudiet hodie, ipse est Deus Iren Haer. 3.6.3
- 1 Kgs 18:24.1 θεῶν La¹¹⁵ Iren Luc] (+ κυρίου 93) θεοῦ A 93 460
- 1 Kgs 18:24.2 ἐπικαλέσομαι] *invocabo* La¹¹⁵ Iren; *clamabo* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:24.3 κυρίου Iren] > 460 La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:24.4 ἔσται] > La¹¹⁵ Iren; *erit hic* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:24.5 ἐπακούσῃ = MT] + σήμερον L 246 La¹¹⁵ Iren; + *nos* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:24.6 ἐν πυρί Luc] *et dederit ignē* La¹¹⁵; > Iren
- 1 Kgs 18:24.7 οὗτος] αὐτός 372 460; + ἔστι(ν) L 246 460 La¹¹⁵ (*hic est*); *ipse est* Iren; *hic erit* Luc

Both La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer lack any correspondence for the word “of the Lord” (3), probably for transcriptional reasons: the letters D, M, and I are repeated several times within a narrow space and the letters D̄M̄I (for *domini*) are easily dropped out (*INNOMINEΘ̄M̄ID̄IMEI).¹⁸³ Since the source of the error is not obvious it is best to accept the omission as a true agreement between La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer. There are no Greek witnesses for the omission of the verb ἔσται (4); its omission in La¹¹⁵ and in Irenaeus’s quotation is probably connected with the presence of the verb “to be” at the

182. Apart from La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer, there are only a few Latin witnesses for vv. 23 and 25, and they are directly dependent on the Vulgate.

183. Manuscript G of Lucifer’s works has lost the word *dei* as well, likely for the very same reason. To be sure, the words “my God” are lacking in the MT, but that is not connected with what we find in Lucifer’s text here.

end of the sentence. La¹¹⁵ and Irenaeus attest the plus of “today” (5) with the Antiochian text. That is probably a Lucianic addition: later in verse 36 Elijah prays “let it be known *this day* that you are God in Israel” according to the MT, or “O Lord, heed me *today* with fire” according to the LXX. The addition is probably motivated by this clause. Again, there are indications of the great degree of independence of the Latin witnesses in several translational choices (2, 6, 7). The agreement in providing the verb “to be” (7), with or without support in Greek witnesses, should never be considered a true agreement when Latin witnesses are in question.

- 1 Kgs 18:24 καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ εἶπον Καλὸν τὸ ῥῆμα, ὃ ἐλάλησας.
(Rahlfs)
Et respondit omnis populus, et dixerunt: bonum uerbum quod locutus est Helias. Luc Athan. 1.17 (30,20–21)
et respondit | omnis populus et dixit | bonum uerbum quod | locutus est helias La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:24.8 εἶπον *dixerunt* Luc] εἶπε(ν) *L* 246 527 318 La¹¹⁵ (*dixit*)
- 1 Kgs 18:24.9 καλὸν τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ] ἀγαθὸς ὁ λόγος ὃν *L* 246; *bonum uerbum quod* La¹¹⁵
Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:24.10 ἐλάλησας] *locutus est Helias* La¹¹⁵ Luc (om. MT)

Lucifer follows the B text faithfully in giving the first action of “the people” in the singular (*respondit* “answered”) but the second in the plural: *dixerunt* “they said” (8). La¹¹⁵ prefers to give the predicate *following* the subject “the people” in the plural¹⁸⁴, and therefore its attestation to the singular together with *L* should be considered a true agreement.

184. The most frequent pattern in La¹¹⁵ is that a predicate preceding the subject *populus* is in the singular, and if there are any additional predicates following the subject they are in the plural. The evidence is as follows: 1 Samuel: 9x, e.g., *misit populus ... et tulerunt* 4:4, *cognovit ... p. et dixerunt* 10:24; but the contrary happens 2x: *levaverunt omnis p. ... et plovaerunt ... plorant* 11:4–5, *peccavit p. ... manducavit* 14:33. 2 Samuel: 3x, e.g., *recte est populus* 11:7. 1 Kings: 5x, e.g., *populo huic ... eis ... eis ... erunt* 12:7, *populo huic qui locuti sunt ... (dicentes)* 9, 10; but the contrary 3x: *locutus est p. ... dicens* 12:3, *audivit p. qui erat ... dicentes* 16:16, *respondit ... p. et dixit* 18:24 (the present case). When the previous pattern is not applicable, the tendency is to keep the predicate or correlate in the singular, e.g., *populo ... qui sacrificabat* 1 Sam 2:13, *p. multus veniebat* 2 Sam 13:34, *p. sacrificabat et incendebant* 2 Kgs 15:35; but there are three cases of the opposite: *in populum ... et clamaverunt* 1 Sam 11:7, *disposuit Saul p. ... et intraverunt* 11; *p. qui ... erant ... super eos* 2 Sam 18:1. In addition, there is one doubtful case: *Saul et omnis populus ... venerunt* 1 Sam 14:20—the subject of the plural predicate may be “Saul and all the people.”

In the MT, the reply of the people is simply **טוֹב הַדְּבָר**, literally “the thing is good,” which the Vulgate renders as *optima propositio* “excellent suggestion” (cf. NASB: “That is a good idea”). The Greek words for “good,” *καλός* and *ἀγαθός*, cannot really be differentiated in Latin (see also 1 Kgs 22:8 below), and while the usual practice is to render *ῥῆμα* with *sermo* and *λόγος* with *verbum*, the equivalent depends heavily on the context, and Lucifer does not appear to make such a distinction; see 1 Kgs 13:18 above. Thus, it is wisest not to cite the Latin witnesses in favour of either the B or the L text in variation unit 9. That they produce exactly the same translation is not striking. The LXX has a plus *ὁ ἐλάλησας* “which you spoke”¹⁸⁵ but the Latin witnesses read *locutus est Helias* “which Elijah spoke” instead (10). It is unlikely that both La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer would independently formulate the end differently from the LXX.

- 1 Kgs 18:25 καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου τοῖς προφήταις τῆς αἰσχύνῃς Ἐκλέξασθε ἑαυτοῖς τὸν μόνον τὸν ἕνα καὶ ποιήσατε πρῶτοι, ὅτι πολλοὶ ὑμεῖς, (Rahlfs)
Et dixit Helias ad prophetas confusionis: eligit uobis uitulum unum et facite priores, quoniam uos multi estis, Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,21–23)
et | dixit helias profetis | confusionis eligit | uobis unum bouem | quia uos multi estis | et facietis sacrificiū | primi La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:25.1 Ἡλίου] Ἡλίας L 246; *Helias* La¹¹⁵ Luc = Vg.
- 1 Kgs 18:25.2 τοῖς προφήταις La¹¹⁵] πρὸς (> 93) τοὺς προφήτας 93 381 Luc; ὁ προφήτης πρὸς αὐτούς 19
- 1 Kgs 18:25.3 τῆς αἰσχύνῃς La¹¹⁵ Luc] τοῦ Βααλ 246 318 = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:25.4 μόνον *uitulum* Luc] βούν L 246; *bouem* La¹¹⁵
 Cf. 18:23 βόας ... βούν *boues* ... *bouem* (La¹¹⁵) Luc
 Cf. 18:26.1 μόνον *uitulum* Luc] βούν L 246; *bouem* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:25.5 καὶ ποιήσατε πρῶτοι / ὅτι πολλοὶ ὑμεῖς Luc] tr L 328 La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:25.6 ποιήσατε πρῶτοι] *facietis sacrificiū | primi* La¹¹⁵; *facite priores* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:25.7 πολλοὶ ὑμεῖς] tr L; *uos multi estis* La¹¹⁵ Luc

In Lucifer’s works the proper noun Elijah is always found spelled as *Helias* (1). *Helias* or *Elias* is the form used in the Vulgate and other Latin witnesses, and the copyists are prone to use the established form regardless of what Lucifer actually wrote. In La¹¹⁵ the name is found four times, always with the same spelling (*helias* 1 Kgs 18:24, 25; *helia[s]* 27, *heliae* 2 Kgs

185. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 153: “a scribal expansion which is entirely superfluous and merely weakens the statement.”

10:10). In light of these observations the coincidence between *L*, Lucifer, and La¹¹⁵ can hardly be considered striking. Lucifer's *ad prophetas* (2) may follow the accusative construction in 93 and 381, but the alteration from the dative to the *ad* + acc. construction in connection with verbs of saying may be due to Lucifer or the copyists of his works. In variation unit 3 the change from "shame" to "Baal" in 246 and 318 is either Hexaplaric or contextual. Lucifer uses the word *vitulus* "bull-calf" (4) to render the Greek μόσχος "calf" (6x outside 1 Kgs 18 // *Athan.* 1.17, for example) or δάμαλις "young cow" (3x or 4x times in 1 Kgs 12:28, 29, 32 // *Reg.* 3). By contrast, *bos* "bull" is used for the Greek cognates βοῦς (6x, e.g., 1 Kgs 18:23) and βουκόλιον (1x). It is likely that Lucifer follows that scheme in 1 Kgs 18:25.4 and 26.1 attesting the B-reading μόσχον against βοῦν of *L* and La¹¹⁵; the reading of the latter results from harmonization with verse 23. The change of the word order to "for you are many, and do it first" (5) is probably a true agreement between *L* and La¹¹⁵. The form of the expression "do it first" varies, however; La¹¹⁵ goes as far as providing the explication *sacrificium* "the sacrifice" (6). La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer appear to agree with *L* in the word order ὑμεῖς πολλοί *vos multi* (7), but generally Latin witnesses should not be used in minor word-order issues. Christian Latin does not tolerate the nominal clause and therefore the agreement between La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer in providing the predicate *estis* "you (pl.) are" is not striking.

- 1 Kgs 18:25 καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθε ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ ὑμῶν καὶ πῦρ μὴ ἐπιθῆτε. (Rahlfs)
et clamate in nomine deorum uestrorum, et ignem nolite supponere. Luc
Athan. 1.17 (31,23–24)
et inuocate in | nomine deorum ues|trorum et ignem no|lite inponere
 La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:25.8 ἐπικαλέσασθε B 247 246 488 55 71 318 460] ἐπικαλεῖσθε rel; *inuocate*
 La¹¹⁵; *clamate* Luc
 Cf. 18:27 ἐπικαλεῖσθε] ἐπικαλέσασθε ο 55 71 372; *in[uocate]* La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:25.9 θεοῦ] pr κυρίου 71; θεῶν *L* 246 92 318 La¹¹⁵ Luc (אלהים MT); κυρίου 130
- 1 Kgs 18:25.10 (πῦρ μὴ) ἐπιθῆτε *inponere* La¹¹⁵] *supponere* Luc (*subponatis* Vg.)
 Cf. 1 Kgs 18:23.7 ἐπιθέτωσαν 2^o] *subponant* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 Cf. 1 Kgs 18:23.8 οὐ μὴ ἐπιθῶ] *non subponam* La¹¹⁵ Luc = Vg.

The difference between the imperative middle forms ἐπικαλέσασθε and ἐπικαλεῖσθε (8, 18:27) is in the tense alone; the former is aorist and the latter present. They cannot be differentiated in Latin. The competing readings θεοῦ "god" and θεῶν "gods" (9) probably do not go back to a difference in the Hebrew text since אלהים can mean either depending on the context.

Since Elijah is addressing the prophets of Baal, the LXX translator probably thought that in this context אֱלֹהֵיכֶם means “your one god,” that is, Baal. The change to plural is motivated by the use of the plural θεοί as a term for foreign gods or idols. The agreement between *L*, *La*¹¹⁵, and Lucifer is probably true but certainly not striking.¹⁸⁶ For the usage of the Latin verbs concerning the making of fire (10), see 18:23 above.

- 1 Kgs 18:26 καὶ ἔλαβον τὸν μόσχον καὶ ἐποίησαν καὶ ἐπεκαλοῦντο ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Βααλ ἐκ πρωΐθεν ἕως μεσημβρίας καὶ εἶπον Ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν, ὁ Βααλ, ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν· καὶ οὐκ ἦν φωνὴ καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀκρόασις· (Rahlfs)
Et acceperunt uitulum et fecerunt, et inuocabant in nomine Baal a mane usque ad uesperum, et dicebant: exaudi nos, Baal, exaudi nos. Et non fuit istis uox neque auditio. Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,24–26)
et acce|perunt bouem et fe||cerunt sacrif[icium] | et inuocaueru[nt in no] | mine bahal et [dixer-] | exaudi nos bah[al exau] | di nos Et non e[rat uox] | et non erat ex[auditio] La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:26.1 μόσχον *uitulum* Luc] βοῦν *L* 246; *bouem* *La*¹¹⁵; + ὃν ἔδωκεν (ἤρεσκεν 246) αὐτοῖς *A* 246 *Syh* (sub ast α' θ') = *MT*
Cf. 1 Kgs 18:25.4 μόσχον uitulum Luc] βοῦν *L* 246; *bouem* *La*¹¹⁵
Cf. 18:23 βόας ... βοῦν boues ... bouem (La¹¹⁵) Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:26.2 ἐποίησαν 1° *Luc*] + *sacrif[icium]* *La*¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:26.3 ἐπεκαλοῦντο *inuocabant* *Luc*] ἐπεκαλέσαντο ο; *inuocaueru[nt]* *La*¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:26.4 ἐκ πρωΐθεν ἕως μεσημβρίας (*Luc*) = *MT*] > *L* *La*¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:26.5 ἕως μεσημβρίας] *usque ad uesperum* *Luc*
- 1 Kgs 18:26.6 ἦν 1° *erat* *La*¹¹⁵] *fuit istis* *Luc*
- 1 Kgs 18:26.7 καὶ οὐκ ἦν 2° *La*¹¹⁵] οὐδέ 379; *neque* *Luc*

In variation unit 1 there is very likely a genuine disagreement between Lucifer and *La*¹¹⁵ in the readings “calf” and “bull” (see 25.4 above). Neither of the Latin witnesses attest the Hexaplaric plus “that he had given them” in *A* and, slightly corrupted, in 246. As in 25.6 (see above), there is a difference in tense concerning the verb ἐπικαλέω “to call”; the former

186. I located some of Lucifer’s biblical quotations in which a foreign “god” or foreign “gods” are mentioned. The Greek counterpart is plural in each instance and Lucifer follows the practice: λατρεύσωμεν θεοῖς ἐτέροις, ... ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν *seruiamus dis alienis, ... ex dis nationum* Deut 13:7 // *Parc. 2*; ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ, θεοῖς, οἷς οὐκ ᾔδεισαν *et sacrificauerunt daemoniis et non deo, deos quos non nouerant* Deut 32:17 // *Parc. 23*; τοὺς θεοὺς τοῦ Ἀμορραίου *deos Amorrhaeorum* Judg 6:10 // *Reg. 1*; καὶ ἤνεγκεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς υἱῶν Σηιρ καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτοὺς ἐαυτῷ εἰς θεοὺς *et attulit inde deos montis Seir et statuit eos sibi in deos* 2 Chr 25:14 // *Parc. 5*.

of the indicative middle forms (ἐπεκαλοῦντο) is in the imperfect and the latter (ἐπεκαλέσαντο) in the aorist (26.3). Lucifer likely attests the former with the imperfect *invocabant*, but it is unclear which form the perfect *invocaverunt* in La¹¹⁵ attests. My experience of La¹¹⁵ in 1 Samuel led to the observation that generally its translator renders the Greek imperfect with a Latin imperfect, but there are exceptions, including instances of perfect for imperfect.¹⁸⁷ Since perfect is the expected past tense in Latin, I suggest the following two rules of thumb: (1) Imperfect in La¹¹⁵—imperfect in the Greek source in high probability; (2) Perfect in La¹¹⁵—any past tense in the Greek, but rarely imperfect. Here the Greek evidence for the aorist is very slight and the Latin perfect is the expected form for any Greek past tense. Thus, La¹¹⁵ probably does not reflect the Greek aorist.

The plus ἐκ πρωῒθεν ἕως μεσημβρίας “from morning until noon” in B and the majority (4), not attested by *L* La¹¹⁵, is too widespread in the manuscripts to be easily accepted as a kaige-type addition. Moreover, it is attested by Lucifer, although he changes “noon” to *vesper* “evening” (5; see also v. 29 below). The internal criteria, too, do not point to a kaige origin: while בִּקְרָא is mostly rendered with the simple πρωῒ, πρωῒθεν is found in 2 Sam 2:27 (nonkaige section; no variants)¹⁸⁸ and is the standard rendering for יִמְרֵי הַיּוֹם (18x in the LXX). On the other hand, it is hard to see a reason for the omission of the clause in *L* and La¹¹⁵.¹⁸⁹

The Latin translations differ in minor details (6, 7). For Lucifer's treatment of the expression οὐ/μή ... καὶ οὐ/μή, see verse 13:22 above.

- 1 Kgs 18:26–27 καὶ διέτρεχον ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, οὗ ἐποίησαν. 27 καὶ ἐγένετο μεσημβρία καὶ ἐμυκτήρισεν αὐτούς (Rahlfs)
 — Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,26)
 — La¹¹⁵

187. Kauhanen, *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 156: “There are, however, instances of present for imperfect ([1 Sam] 14:19 ἐλάλει *loquitur*), perfect for imperfect (11:11 ἔτυπτον *percussit*; 14:32 ἔσθιεν *manducauit*), imperfect for perfect (14:25 ἡρίστα *prandebat* [*sic!*]), and imperfect for aorist (11:11 διεθερμάνθη *calesceret*; 14:18 ἤρεν *ferebat*; 14:19 ἐπλήθυνεν *increscibat*).”

188. Other instances of בִּקְרָא πρωῒθεν: Exod 18:13, 14; Ruth 2:7; 2 Sam 24:15 (kaige-section; πρωῒ is found only in four manuscripts, V f 244, and is likely secondary); Job 4:20.

189. Montgomery, *Kings*, 310, suggests, with a question mark, that *L* omitted the expression “as exaggerative.”

The omission of the half-verse 26b as well as the first words in 27 (“And it happened at noon that ... mocked them”) is found only in La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer. Bontifatius Fischer, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson suppose that it is a transcriptional error.¹⁹⁰ This is the only instance of a common error leading to a large omission between La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer, and while it must be recognized as an argument in favour of a close text-historical relationship, the possibility of mere chance must be taken into account as well. (For the reading μεσημβρία, see v. 29 below.)

- 1 Kgs 18:27 ... Ηλίου ὁ Θεσβίτης καὶ εἶπεν Ἐπικαλεῖσθε ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλη, ὅτι θεός ἐστιν, ὅτι ἀδολεσχία αὐτῷ ἐστιν, καὶ ἅμα μήποτε χρηματίζει αὐτός, (Rahlfs)
Et apposuit Helias Thesbites dicens: inuocate in uoce magna pariter, ne forte occupatus sit Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,26–28)
*et addidit helia[s thes]b[ita] dicens in[uocate] | in uocem magn[am ne] | forte sortes de[derit aut]*¹⁹¹ La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:27.1 Ηλίου] pr *addidit* La¹¹⁵; pr *apposuit* Luc: cf. *L*
- 1 Kgs 18:27.2 καὶ εἶπεν] καὶ προσέθετο λέγων *L*; *dicens* La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:27.3 ὅτι θεός ἐστιν = MT] ἅμα μήποτε *L* 246; *pariter* Luc; > La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:27.4 ὅτι ἀδολεσχία αὐτῷ ἐστιν] *ne forte occupatus sit* Luc (?); > La¹¹⁵ (?)
- 1 Kgs 18:27.5 καὶ ἅμα – αὐτός] [*ne*] | *forte sortes de[derit]* La¹¹⁵; > Luc (?)

The Latin witnesses seem to follow the Antiochian text in the first part of the verse, even though they differ in their renderings of the Greek verb προστίθημι “to add”: *addo* and *adpono* (1). Moreover, the Latin witnesses agree in modifying the word order somewhat: ***et apposuit*** (*addidit* La¹¹⁵) *Helias Thesbites dicens* against Ηλίου ὁ Θεσβίτης **καὶ προσέθετο** λέγων. The word-order change is probably connected with the omission of a part of the text in 26–27 (see above): when the notion of “mocking” is left out—*et apposuit* (*addidit* La¹¹⁵) could hardly be a translation for ἐμυκτήρισεν—“Elijah the Thesbite” is made the subject of the verb προστίθημι *addo/adpono*. Accordingly, Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ agree with *L* in variation unit 2 and between themselves against the Greek witnesses in 1.

190. “There follows in 115 the same omission by homoiarkton which Lucifer has.” Since the Latin witnesses start the following sentence in v. 27 with the conjunction *et*, there may be a possibility of a parablepsis from καὶ to καί or from *et* to *et*.

191. Edition: “*de[derit aut]*”: perhaps should be restored as *de[t ipse aut (or vel)]*, cf. Lucifer and Greek.”

Both Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ leave out “for he is a god” (3) preceding the first mocking. They are in partial agreement with *L* and 246, which replace the notion with ἅμα μήποτε “perhaps at the same time,” found in all the Greek witnesses in connection with the second mocking. While the majority reading might be a Hebraizing addition, it seems more probable that the notion is left out by a parablepsis, a homoiarkton from ὅτι to ὅτι.¹⁹² If this happened in the proto-Lucianic text the instance should be considered a weighty agreement between *L* (246), Lucifer, and La¹¹⁵. The Lucianic reviser would have supplied the words ἅμα μήποτε in order to produce a fuller text. That Lucifer appears to attest ἅμα μήποτε, at least partially, with *pariter*, may be accidental: since Lucifer attests only one mocking (see the next variation units), *pariter* here may actually attest ἅμα μήποτε found in the latter part of the verse.¹⁹³

Both La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer attest only one mocking where the Greek witnesses attest two: “prating occupies him, and at the same time he is perhaps giving an oracle.” Treballe takes this as evidence for the secondary nature of the first mocking; thus, the whole segment ὅτι θεός ἐστιν, ὅτι ἀδολεσχία αὐτῷ ἐστιν probably was not part of the OG.¹⁹⁴ I would argue, however, that the shorter Latin texts are secondary: The meaning of the Greek mockings is not entirely clear,¹⁹⁵ and Lucifer especially is prone to shorten a text somewhat if he feels that something is not needed. The main point in the Greek mockings is that Baal might be occupied by unimportant activities. Both “being busy” (*occupatus*) and “drawing lots” (*sortes dederit* or *det*) have probably been coined by the translators to reproduce the idea of unimportant activities. Moreover, the Latin mockings may reflect different Greek clauses: while La¹¹⁵ (“perhaps he will be drawing lots”; 5) probably reflects the latter (μήποτε χρηματίζει αὐτός), Lucifer’s “perhaps he is busy” (4) might reflect the former equally well.¹⁹⁶

192. Montgomery, *Kings*, 310: the omission is deliberate “to avoid such a confession.”

193. Slightly differently Julio Treballe Barrera, “Old Latin, Old Greek and Old Hebrew in the Books of Kings (1Ki. 18:27 and 2Ki. 20:11),” *Text* 13 (1986): 88: “*pariter* ... translates the Greek ἅμα of the Lucianic text” (emphasis added).

194. Treballe, “Old Latin, Old Greek, and Old Hebrew,” 88, 89.

195. Cf. NETS: “Call in a loud voice! For he is a god, for prating [ἀδολεσχία; footnote: Possibly *meditation*] occupies him, and at the same time he is perhaps giving an oracle [χρηματίζει], or perhaps he is asleep and will get up.”

196. Differently Treballe, “Old Latin, Old Greek, and Old Hebrew,” 87–88: “*occupatus sit* (Lucifer) and *sortes dederit* (Palimpsestus Vindobonensis), reflect the two

- 1 Kgs 18:27 ἢ μήποτε καθεύδει αὐτός, καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται. (Rahlfs)
uel dormiat ipse, et suscitabitur. Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,28)
 [aut] | *dormiat et exc[itetur]* | *et exsurget* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:27.6 μήποτε (2°)] > 44-125 246 Luc; ἢ πότε L^{-19'}; inc La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:27.7 καθεύδει] καθεύδῃ V 19' CII^{-242.236*} 107 o^{-381*} s^{-130.488} 55 245 318 342
 460; *dormiat* La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:27.8 αὐτός (2°) Luc (*ipse*) > L 125 246 381 342 La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:27.9 ἐξαναστήσεται] *exc[itetur]* *et exsurget* La¹¹⁵; *suscitabitur* Luc

Both La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer read the subjunctive for the verb καθεύδω “to sleep,” probably reflecting the Greek subjunctive in V 19' and several other witnesses (7). In Greek, the change goes back to an itacism, probably from -ει (indicative) to -ῃ (subjunctive). The small differences concerning some details underline the independence of the Latin witnesses (8, 9).

In verse 28 there is a very short note in La^M.

- 1 Kgs 18:28 καὶ ἐπεκαλοῦντο ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλη καὶ κατετέμνοντο κατὰ τὸν ἐθισμόν αὐτῶν ἐν μαχαίραις καὶ σειρομάσταις ἕως ἐκχύσεως αἵματος ἐπ' αὐτούς· (Rahlfs)
et illum uocabant in uocem magnam, et secabant se secundum consuetudinem suam gladiis et nouaculis usque ad effusionem sanguinis super se, Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,28–31)
et [inuo]|cabant magna [uoce] | et secabant se s[ecundū] | consuetudinem [suam] | gladiis et flage[llis usq.] | at effusionem s[anguin]is super se La¹¹⁵
Lanceis syromatis (suromatis La⁹²; sic hyromatis La⁹⁵) ... La^M
- 1 Kgs 18:28.1 καὶ 1° – μεγάλη] *et [inuo]|cabant magna [uoce]* La¹¹⁵; *et illum uocabant in uocem magnam* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:28.2 κατετέμνοντο] *secabant se* La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:28.3 ⲙⲣⲉⲩⲛⲁⲓⲥ κατὰ τὸν ἐθισμόν αὐτῶν La¹¹⁵ Luc] > B 318 460
- 1 Kgs 18:28.4 τὸν ἐθισμόν La¹¹⁵ Luc] τὸ κρίμα A: cf. MT
- 1 Kgs 18:28.5 σειρομάσταις] *pr* ἐν A L 246 o x 460; *flagellis* La¹¹⁵; *lanceis syromatis* La^M; *nouaculis* Luc

The Latin formulations of La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer differ at the beginning of the verse (1), but they most likely attest the same Greek text. For most of the

possible meanings of the same Greek verb χρηματίζει: ‘Negotiate, have dealings....’” Šanda, *Könige*, 433, too, appears to suggest that *ne forte occupatus sit* corresponds to καὶ ἅμα μήποτε χρηματίζει αὐτός.

verse both the Latin witnesses produce the same text. The seeming addition of the reflexive pronoun *se* (2) is needed for the Greek middle voice—the Latin witnesses do not need to be interdependent. For no obvious reason, B 318 460 have lost the words “as was their custom” (3); there is some faint similarity between the readings *κατετεμνοντο* and *κατατονειμοναυτων*, which may be a contributing factor in the omission. The support for the reading by both Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ makes it unlikely that the plus in the overwhelming majority was a Hebraizing addition. Intrinsically, the reading would be a poor Hebraizing attempt which can be seen in the Hexaplaric correction for the word *טִפְסָה* “judgment”: τὸ κρίμα (A; 4). As can be expected, the Latin witnesses do not attest the Hexaplaric reading.

The Latin renderings for the Greek word *σ(ε)ιρομάστης* “barbed lance” (MT: רִמָּח “lance”) differ (5). Lucifer’s choice of word is *novacula* “sharp knife, razor,” La¹¹⁵ gives the word *flagellum* “whip, scourge,” while in La^M we find the word *lancea* “lance, spear” (cf. the Vulgate: *lanceolis*) and a defective transcription of the Greek word (*syromatis*).¹⁹⁷ There can hardly be any significance in this detail; what is needed in the text is any sharp object that can be compared to a sword.¹⁹⁸ The only possible explanation for the difference in the Latin witnesses is that they are totally independent of one another.

Verse 29 contains special problems and its analysis is divided into three parts (variant units 1–3, 4–6, 7–12).

197. The word as such or its variants in La^{92.95} is not found in any other Latin texts. The word *syromasten* is found 2x: *Legi syromasten Finees, auctoritatem Helyae* (*Decretum magistri Gratiani* 2.23.8.13; Emil Friedberg, ed. *Corpus iuris canonici: Pars prior, Decretum magistri Gratiani* [Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1879]); *ut melius nostis recisis ducatur legitime syromasten fineen* (Ratherius Veronensis, *Epist.* 5; Ratherius Veronensis, *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather von Verona*, ed. Fritz Weigle [Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1984]). Moreno, *Glosas*, 336 gives the basic form of the word as *syromata* and includes it in a list of terms attested in other OL texts or Christian authors but not in the Vulgate.

198. The *Biblia Patristica* and other indexes report only two references by ancient commentators to this verse: Theodoret, *Quaest.* 3.58; Eustathius, *De engastrimytho* 8.3. Neither author puts any significance on the sharp objects.

- 1 Kgs 18:29 και ἐπροφήτευσον, ἕως οὗ παρῆλθεν τὸ δειλινόν. (Rahlfs)
et prophetabant usque dum transiret merides. Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,31)
et [profe]|tabant donec tr[ansit] | medius dies La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:29.1 ἐπροφήτευσον] ἐπροφήτευσαν B CI 244 318 460; ἐγένετο A = MT; prophe-
tabant La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:29.2 ἕως οὗ παρῆλθεν] ὡς παρῆλθεν A: cf. MT; donec tr[ansit] La¹¹⁵; usque
dum transiret Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:29.3 מִן הַצֶּהֳרָיִם τὸ δειλινόν] τὸ μεσημβρινόν L; medius dies La¹¹⁵; merides Luc
Cf. v. 26.4, 5 ἕως μεσημβρίας (מִן הַצֶּהֳרָיִם)] usque ad uesperum Luc; > L
La¹¹⁵
Cf. v. 27 מִן הַצֶּהֳרָיִם וְיָהִי וְעַתָּה ἐγένετο μεσημβρία] > La¹¹⁵ Luc (homoiot.?)

In the former part of the verse A alone attests two Hexaplaric readings: ἐγένετο “it happened” (1), and ὡς (2). As can be expected, the Latin witnesses follow the majority in each of these instances. To be sure, in variation unit 2 *donec* “as long as, while” in La¹¹⁵ could theoretically reflect the A reading since in Late Greek ὡς can mean “while” (LSJ). In variation unit 1 it is not certain, however, whether the imperfect *prophetabant* attests the Greek imperfect in the majority or the aorist in B (see 18:26 above). The independence of the Latin witnesses is seen in the different formulations for the same Greek in variation unit 2.

Variation unit 3 concerns the time until which the prophets of Baal “raved on,” and it is connected with the notions of time in verses 26 and 27. There are altogether five different patterns in the witnesses:

	MT	B text	L text	La ¹¹⁵	Luc
v. 26: prophets called on the name of Baal	from morning until noon	from morning until noon	>	>	from morning until evening
v. 27: Elijah mocked them	at noon	at noon	at noon	– (homoiot.?)	– (homoiot.?)
v. 29: prophets raved on	as midday passed	until evening came	until midday passed	until midday passed	until midday passed

Let us start with Lucifer. He states that the prophets “invoked” Baal “from morning until evening,” yet “they prophesied until midday passed.” Omitting the notion of Elijah mocking the prophets “at noon” in verse 27 does

not help remove the contradiction: the prophets did not continue their action “until evening.” Thus, it is unlikely that “evening” in verse 26 was connected with the large omission in verse 27. However, it is possible that “evening” in verse 26 comes from the B reading in verse 29. If that is the case, the reading “midday” by Lucifer in verse 29 could be explained as his own interpretation. Since, however, there are other witnesses attesting “midday” in verse 29 (*L* La¹¹⁵), it seems to be an easier explanation to accept that both La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer follow the *L* reading there.¹⁹⁹ Lucifer’s “evening” in verse 26 could then be seen as the error of a hasty quoter: since “from morning until evening” is a natural expression, Lucifer expected to read ἐκ πρωΐθεν ἕως ἑσπέρας and rendered that accordingly: *a mane usque ad uesperum*.²⁰⁰

The question remains whether the *L* reading is the original one or recensional. The expression in the B text in verse 29, τὸ δειλινόν “the evening,” is rare in the LXX and in Samuel-Kings it is found only here. Elsewhere it renders the Hebrew עֶרֶב “evening” (Exod 29:39, 41; Lev 6:13; 2 Chr 31:3 [τὴν δειλινὴν]) or יוֹם “day” (“evening breeze,” Gen 3:8). The word צָהָרִים “noon,” by contrast, is regularly rendered with μεσημβρία “noon” (e.g., 2 Sam 4:5, 1 Kgs 18:26, 27; 20:16). Therefore, it can rightly be asked, as Schenker does,²⁰¹ whether τὸ δειλινόν in the majority (3) might go back to a different Hebrew reading. A further contributing factor is that the formulation in the LXX in verse 29 corresponds more closely to the similar expression in verse 36 in the MT where there is not a corresponding element in the Greek text. The following presents a comparison between the relevant textual segments in verses 29 and 36, with my reconstruction of the possible LXX *Vorlage* in verse 29 in the middle column.

199. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 148, posits that Lucifer’s *meridies* probably follows the Lucianic reading τὸ μεσημβρινόν but might also result from contamination from the Vulgate (*postquam autem transiit meridies* etc.) in the manuscripts of *De Athanasio*.

200. To be sure, Lucifer happens to use the expression only here. *Ad vesperum* is found once elsewhere: *Parc.* 3 quoting Josh 7:6. In addition, there is a chance, admittedly slight, of a graphical confusion between μεσημβριας and εσπερας.

201. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 14 n. 17.

BHS v. 29	BHS v. 36	*LXX <i>Vorlage</i> v. 29	Rahlfs v. 29	Rahlfs v. 36
וַיְהִי כַּעֲבֹר הַצֶּהֳרָיִם וַיִּתְנַבְּאוּ עַד לַעֲלוֹת הַמִּנְחָה	וַיְהִי בְעֲלוֹת הַמִּנְחָה	וַיִּתְנַבְּאוּ עַד עֲבֹר הָעֶרֶב וַיְהִי כְעֲלוֹת הַמִּנְחָה	καὶ ἐπροφήτευσον (ἐγένετο A) ἕως οὗ (> A) παρήλθεν τὸ δειλινόν (μεσημβρινόν L La ¹¹⁵ Luc) καὶ ἐγένετο ὥς ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀναβῆναι τῇ θυσίαν	— [+ καὶ ἐγένετο κατὰ ἀνάβασιν τοῦ δώρου (τὸ ῥῥωρ A) A 127*]
And it happened as the midday passed, and they raved on until the offering of the oblation	And it happened at the offering of the oblation		And they were acting the prophet until evening came. And it happened, as it was the time for the sacrifice to ascend,	

This observation allows for the following hypothesis: the reconstructed LXX *Vorlage* attests the older form of the text. The phrase “and it happened at the offering of the oblation” was originally only in verse 29. It was added at the beginning of verse 36 to make it clear that Elijah made his sacrifice at the correct time.²⁰⁴ For the same reason the notions of the prophets of Baal “raving on” and the time of day in verse 29 were transposed. That the verb “they raved on” ended up directly before “the offering of the oblation” made it necessary to specify that the raving took place “until” that time. The resulting construction, -עד ל-, is a feature of Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH): it is found nowhere else between Genesis and Qohelet (in the Hebrew canon) but it is often found in Chronicles (e.g., 1 Chr 4:39; 12:17, 23; 2 Chr 14:12; 16:12, 14; 17:12) and Ezra (3:13; 9:4, 6; 10:14), as

202. Or: אשר עבר.

203. Or: בעלות = MT v. 36 (bet/kaph confusion?). Another possibility: בעת עלות.

204. Gray, *I and II Kings*, 389, 401, allows for the possibility that it “may even be a gloss” and suggests about 3 PM as the time for this sacrifice.

well as once in Esther (4:2).²⁰⁵ Here historical linguistics and textual criticism point in the same direction:²⁰⁶ a LBH feature in the text reveals the secondary nature of the reading.

It is still not easy to account for the reading *δειλινόν* (B). If it is the original reading, it probably reflects the Hebrew word עֲרֵב, which cannot be correct in the context. It might result from a metathesis of *bet* and *reš* and a dittography with the preceding verb עָבַר and, subsequently, it replaced the correct reading צִהְרִים. In this scenario, the *L* reading *μεσημβρινόν* would result from harmonization with verse 27 (*L* lacks the notion of “noon” in v. 26; see above). Accordingly, there would be a genuine agreement with both of the Latin witnesses in a recensional reading. If, instead, *μεσημβρινόν* is chosen as original, the agreement between *L* and the Latin witnesses is easily explained. However, then it would be extremely hard to explain how *δειλινόν* in the B text came about. Corruption (*μεσημβρ*- lost due to a hole in the exemplar and *δειλ*- supplied as a scribal conjecture) or correction towards a now lost Hebrew reading עֲרֵב are hardly very convincing explanations. Because of this difficulty, I would cautiously opt for the former possibility: *δειλινόν* is the original reading after all.

- 1 Kgs 18:29 καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀναβῆναι τὴν θυσίαν καὶ οὐκ ἦν φωνή, (Rahlfs)
Et factum est quomodo tempus erat ut ascenderet sacrificium, Luc
Athan. 1.17 (31,32)
et c[um] | hora esset ut asc[ende]|ret sacrificium La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:29.4 ἐγένετο ὡς ὁ καιρὸς] *c[um] | hora esset* La¹¹⁵; *factum est quomodo tempus erat* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:29.5 ἐγένετο] ἐπροφήτευσον A = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:29.6 καὶ οὐκ ἦν φωνή] > B 82-93 328 318 460 La¹¹⁵ Luc; + καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀκρόασις²⁰⁷ CI⁻³²⁸ s⁻⁴⁸⁸
Cf. 18:26 καὶ οὐκ ἦν φωνή καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀκρόασις· (Rahlfs)
Et non fuit istis uox neque auditio. Luc *Athan. 1.17 (31,26)*
Et non e[rat uox] | et non erat ex[auditio] La¹¹⁵

205. This has been noted already by Samuel Rolles Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 9th rev. ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1913), 538.

206. Cf. Jan Joosten, “Textual Developments and Historical Linguistics,” in *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts; The Historical Books*, ed. Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, and Julio Trebolle Barrera, BETL 246 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012). In the article, Joosten does not mention this LBH feature, but he drew my attention to this in a discussion.

207. GELS, s.v. “ἀκρόασις”: “attentive listening ... sign of response to vocal signal: 3K 18.26, 4K 4.31.”

Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ formulate the same Greek expression “and it happened, as it was the time” differently (4). MS A is alone in attesting the Hexaplaric reading ἐπροφήτευσον “they prophesied” (5). The verse 1 Kgs 18:29 is considerably longer in the LXX than in the MT; the latter has no correspondence for the words “that Eliou the Thesbite spoke to the prophets of the offences, saying, ‘Stand aside for the present, and I will do my whole burnt offering,’ and they stood aside and departed” (NETS) in the LXX. However, all the witnesses of the LXX have fewer references to Baal’s silence than the MT; the latter has three expressions while B 82-93 328 318 460, La¹¹⁵, and Lucifer omit the notion of Baal’s silence altogether:

As midday passed, they raved on until the time of the offering of the oblation, but **there was no voice, no answer, and no response.** (NRSV)

And they were acting the prophet until evening came. And it happened, as it was the time for the sacrifice to ascend (+ and **there was no voice Majority** [+ **and there was no answer** CI⁻³²⁸ s⁻⁴⁸⁸]) (NETS with my modifications)

Schenker suggests that the complete lack of any reference to Baal’s silence might be the original LXX reading. The longer forms of the Greek text are easy to explain as Hebraizing corrections.²⁰⁸ It would be quite natural for the text to be expanded by notions of a complete silence by Baal: despite the efforts of the prophets of Baal (vv. 26–28) there is no reaction whatsoever, whereas Elijah’s simple prayer is instantly answered by Yahweh (vv. 36–38). Indeed, Schenker brings forward several arguments that could point to the conclusion that the LXX *Vorlage* retains here the older form.²⁰⁹ Since, however, Lucifer has no particular significance here—he simply follows the OG with several other good witnesses—I will not go through the literary-critical argumentation. Of course, it is appropriate to note that Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ have here a strong agreement in an original reading.

208. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 15 n. 21. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 154, seem to imply that the shorter readings are secondary: the missing portions were “dropped out in many codd. of G” because of the earlier LXX plus, which they consider secondary.

209. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 21–27.

- 1 Kgs 18:29 καὶ ἐλάλησεν Ἡλίου ὁ Θεσβίτης πρὸς τοὺς προφῆτας τῶν προσοχθισμάτων λέγων Μετάστητε ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω τὸ ὀλοκαύτωμά μου· καὶ μετέστησαν καὶ ἀπῆλθον. (Rahlfs)
et locutus est Helias Thesbites ad prophetas dicens: discedit amodo, et ego faciam holocaustomata. Et discesserunt et abierunt. Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,33–34)
 [dixit] | *helias thesbita ad [profe]|tas offensionis d[icens]* || -- La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:29.7 ἐλάλησεν Luc (*locutus est*)] εἶπεν L 125 246 La¹¹⁵ ([dixit])
- 1 Kgs 18:29.8 ὁ Θεσβίτης La¹¹⁵ Luc] > B d⁻¹⁰⁶ 245 318 460
- 1 Kgs 18:29.9 τῶν προσοχθισμάτων] *offensionis* La¹¹⁵; > Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:29.10 καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω Luc] καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω A 460; καὶ (> 246) ποιήσω καὶ (> 93) ἐγὼ L^{-19'} 246; καὶ ποιήσω καὶ ἐγὼ 19'
- 1 Kgs 18:29.11 τὸ ὀλοκαύτωμα] τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα 106 Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:29.12 μου] > Luc

The word corresponding to the Greek ἐλάλησεν (B) or εἶπεν (L 125 246) is missing in La¹¹⁵, but considerations of space require reconstructing the word *dixit* rather than *locutus est* (7). While the Latin translators may use formulas introducing direct speech somewhat freely, other things being equal it is best to accept that *loquor* corresponds to λαλέω and *dico* to λέγω/εἶπον.²¹⁰ Thus the case is an agreement between Lucifer and B against L and La¹¹⁵, in all probability in an original reading. For some reason B and some other witnesses have dropped out Elijah's epithet "the Thesbite" (8). The omission of the words "of the offences" (9) is probably due to Lucifer's shortening tendency. That is the last variation unit in this passage for which there is text by La¹¹⁵. Lucifer appears to follow the majority against the, likely stylistic, modifications in A L 246 460 (10). The agreement with 106 in the plural form "whole burnt offerings" is probably coincidental; Lucifer does, after all, depart from all the Greek witnesses in omitting "my" (11, 12).

Conclusion: The interim conclusions on Lucifer's relationship with the Greek witnesses will be given after 19:2. Since the remainder of the story is

210. The pattern becomes clear enough by noting the renderings for λαλέω in Kings: *loquor* 1 Kgs 13:3 // Reg. 5; 13:7, 11, 12, 18, 22, 25 // Conv. 3; 18:24, 29, 31 // Athan. 1.17; 21[20]:23 // Athan. 1.19; 22:8 // Reg. 8; 2 Kgs 2:11 // Athan. 1.20; 21:10 // Reg. 8; 22:14, 19; 23:16 // Parc. 7; *dico* 1 Kgs 21[20]:19 (ἐρεῖς L) // Athan. 1.19.

not present in La¹¹⁵ due to loss of pages, the comparison between Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ in this chapter can be briefly summed up here.

The most notable feature is the high degree of independence between Lucifer and La¹¹⁵. Within the seven verses under inspection, they have fourteen noteworthy differences when no Greek variation is involved: 18:23.6, 25.6, 8, 10; 26.2, 3, 6; 27.9, 28.1, 5 (both \neq La^M); 29.2, 3 (*meridies/medius d.*) 4, 9. To these can be added six cases in which the underlying Greek is unclear: 24.7 (both \neq Iren, La¹¹⁵ = *L*?) 25.2, 26.7, 27.1 (Luc \approx *L*?), 3, 4–5 (counted as one). In addition, there are two cases in which La¹¹⁵ and Irenaeus agree against Lucifer (24.2, 4), and one case of disagreement between all of them (24.6). All in all, Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ disagree altogether twenty-three times when no Greek variants are involved or the Greek is unclear—three times per verse on average. By contrast, they agree against the Greek witnesses in only two indisputable cases (24.10; large omission in 18:26–27), and perhaps once in a minor detail (28.2 + *se* for the Gk middle) as well as once in a tiny omission where they may be following MS 460 (24.3). In light of these seven verses alone it seems most unlikely that Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ witnessed a common OL source.

Regarding the relationship between the Greek and Latin witnesses, Lucifer is often in agreement with B against La¹¹⁵ and *L*, always in the OG reading (7x: 24.8; 25.4, 5; 26.1, 4 [less probably OG]; 27.8; 29.7 [La¹¹⁵ according to reconstruction]). There is no clear case of the reverse. One further agreement is found in 24.5, where La¹¹⁵ and Irenaeus agree with *L* against B and against Lucifer who has a singular reading (ἐπακούσῃ] + σήμερον *L* 246 La¹¹⁵ Iren; + *nos* Luc). Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ agree four times with *L* against B (25.9, 28.3 [Luc La¹¹⁵ *L* = OG], 29.3 [slightly doubtful], 8). There are two cases of the reverse pattern but both are somewhat doubtful: 25.7 is a minor word-order issue and in 29.6 the *L* group is divided. Finally, there is an agreement between Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ with V 19' *multi* against B and the rest of the *L* group (27.7).

The Altar of Yahweh (18:30–35)

- 1 Kgs 18:30 καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου πρὸς τὸν λαόν Προσαγάγετε πρὸς με· καὶ προσήγαγεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς πρὸς αὐτόν. (Rahlfs)
Et dixit Helias ad populum: accedite ad me. Et accesserunt omnes populi ad eum. Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,35–36)
- 1 Kgs 18:30.1 προσήγαγεν] προσῆγεν 82-127; προσῆλθον 107-125-610; ῆλθον 44; *accesserunt* Luc
 Cf. 18:21.1 προσήγαγεν] προσῆλθον *L* 246; *accessit* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:30.2 fin B *L* *CI* 328 246 o x 55 71 244 318 372 460 Luc] + καὶ ἴασατο τὸ θυσιαστήριον Κυρίου τὸ κατεσκαμμένον *A CII* ⁻³²⁸ s ^{-130.488} = MT; + καὶ ἴασατο τὸ θυσιαστήριον *V* 247 121 *d* 130-488 158 245 342 554 707
 Cf. 1 Kgs 18:32.2 καὶ ἴασατο τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ κατεσκαμμένον] > *A CII* ⁻³²⁸ s ^{-130.488}

While theoretically Lucifer's *accedo* could reflect the verb (προσ)έρχομαι as found in *d*⁻¹⁰⁶ (1; see v. 21 above), the agreement is best considered only apparent: the previous Greek verb προσάγω is rendered here with *accedo* as well. The MT attests the words “First he repaired the altar of the LORD that had been thrown down” at the end of the verse. While a number of manuscripts add the notion (2), it is clear that the OG did not contain the words. On the literary-critical implications of the lack of the notion of “the altar of the Lord,” see verse 32 below.

- 1 Kgs 18:31 καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἡλίου δώδεκα λίθους κατ' ἀριθμὸν φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὡς ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων Ἰσραὴλ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου. (Rahlfs)
Et accepit Helias duodecim lapides secundum numerum tribus Israel, sicut locutus est dominus ad eum dicens: Israel erit nomen tuum. Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,36–38)
- 1 Kgs 18:31.1 ἀριθμὸν Luc = MT] + τῶν δώδεκα *L* 246 489 460^c
- 1 Kgs 18:31.2 יַבְרָחֵם τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ Luc] τοῦ Ἰακωβ *A*: cf. MT
- 1 Kgs 18:31.3 κύριος Luc] > 460; tr post αὐτόν *V*

The addition of “of the twelve (tribes)” in *L* is a Lucianic addition which Lucifer, as can be expected, does not follow (1). The reading “of Jacob” in *A* (2) is Hexaplaric. Two manuscripts attest small secondary modifications which Lucifer does not follow (3).

- 1 Kgs 18:32 καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν τοὺς λίθους ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου καὶ ἰάσατο τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ κατεσκαμμένον καὶ ἐποίησεν θαλαα χωροῦσαν δύο μετρητάς σπέρματος κυκλόθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. (Rahlfs)
Et aedificauit lapides et restituit altare domini, quod dissipatum fuerat, et fecit foueam, quae caperet duas metretas sem<in>is²¹¹ in gyro altaris Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,36–38)
- 1 Kgs 18:32.1 ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου = MT] > $L^{-19'}$ 328 Luc; sub ast Syh
- 1 Kgs 18:32.2 καὶ ἰάσατο τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ κατεσκαμμένον] > A CII⁻³²⁸ s^{-130.488} = MT
 Cf. 18:30.2 above
- 1 Kgs 18:32.3 θυσιαστήριον] + Κυρίου L 328 246 554^{II} Luc: cf. v. 30 MT
- 1 Kgs 18:32.4 τὸ κατεσκαμμένον] > 245 707
- 1 Kgs 18:32.5 ἡγῃ θαλαα (vel sim) L d 246 158 554^{m8}] θάλασσαν rel; *foueam* Luc
 Cf. 1 Kgs 18:35.1 ἡγῃ θαλαα L 44-106 246 92^c 158 554*] θάλασσαν rel; *foueam* Luc
 Cf. 1 Kgs 18:38.5 ἡγῃ θαλαα (vel sim) L 44-125 246 158 554^c] θαλάσση rel; *altare* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:32.6 χωροῦσαν] pr χωροῦν L^{-82} ; χωροῦντες 82; (*foueam*) *quae caperet* Luc

I will first provide an analysis of variation units 2 and 4–6 and turn to variation units 1 and 3 after that. The omission of the clause “and repaired the altar that had been thrown down” in A et cetera (2) is Hexaplaric; Lucifer does not follow. The minus of “that had been thrown down” (4) in 245 707 results from a simple homoioteleuton error: τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ κατεσκαμμένον. The transcription θαλαα (5: L etc.) for the Hebrew ἡγῃ “trench, watercourse” is found only three times in the LXX (1 Kgs 18:32, 35, 38). Rahlfs chose it as the original reading: in the majority of the witnesses it has been made into a similar-sounding Greek word θάλασσα “sea” (B etc.). Lucifer appears to follow θαλαα every time: *fouea* “small pit” can hardly be a rendering for θάλασσα. Rahlfs suggests cautiously that in verse 38 the rendering *altare* may be a corrupted form of a Latin transcription **taala*.²¹² Lucifer may have simply guessed the meaning or he may have known an interpretative tradition explaining the meaning. Such was known to, at least, Theodoret of Cyr (393–458 CE) who uses the word δοχεῖον (PGL: “cistern”) and informs his readers that Josephus (*Ant.* 8.341)

211. Diercks: seminis *LatHart* semis VG, Til.

212. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 285; 149.

used the word *δεξαμενή*, “receptacle for water, tank, cistern.”²¹³ I did not locate any Latin authors who had used a word **taala*, **thaala*, or the like. In the next variation unit (6) the *L* group regard the transcription *θααλα* as a neuter (82: masculine plural). Since Lucifer uses the rendering *fovea*, he is bound to use the feminine (as do the majority since they read *θάλασσα*): thus, Lucifer's testimony concerning a possible interpretation of the gender of *θααλα* must be disregarded.

The minus of the words “in the name of the Lord” in variation unit 1 may have literary-critical implications that pertain to verse 30 as well and deserve to be explained at some length. The MT and the LXX differ somewhat in verses 30, 32:

NRSV	NETS
<p>30 Then Elijah said to all the people, “Come closer to me”; and all the people came closer to him. First he repaired the altar of the Lord; that had been thrown down; 31 Elijah took twelve stones, according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob, to whom the word of the Lord came, saying, “Israel shall be your name”; 32 with the stones he built an altar in the name of the LORD.</p>	<p>30 And Eliou said to the people, “Come closer to me,” and all the people came closer to him. [and repaired the altar (+ of the Lord that had been thrown down A <i>CII</i> -³²⁸ etc.) A V 247 <i>CII</i> -³²⁸ 121 etc.] 31 And Eliou took twelve stones according to the number of the (+ twelve <i>L</i> 246 489 460^c) tribes of Israel, as the Lord had spoken to him, saying, “Israel shall be your name,” 32 and he built the stones in the name of the Lord (omit line <i>L</i> -^{19'} Luc) and repaired the altar (+ of the Lord <i>L</i> 328 246 554 Luc) that had been thrown down and made a thaala around the altar, holding two measures of seed.</p>
<p>Then he made a trench around the altar, large enough to contain two measures of seed.</p>	

According to Schenker, the LXX presents here faithfully the words of its Hebrew *Vorlage* which contains a different narrative logic than the MT. There are four interesting deviations between the texts:

213. Theodoret, *Quaest.* 3.52: ... δοχεῖον ἐποίησεν ὕδατος. Τοῦτο ὁ μὲν Ἑβραῖος «θααλά» προσηγόρευεν, Ἰώσηπος δὲ «δεξαμενή».

1. The notion of repairing an altar that has been thrown down is found in verse 30 in the MT but in verse 32 in the LXX.
2. In the sentence in question in verse 32, most LXX manuscripts do not specify that it was “the altar of the Lord” that was repaired. The Lucianic text and Lucifer’s quotation as well as some other manuscripts, however, provide the expression “of the Lord.”
3. In the LXX there is no correspondence for the word “altar” of the MT in verse 32a (“with the stones he built an altar”).
4. A part of the LXX tradition, including the *L* text and Lucifer’s quotation, does not attest the clause “in the name of the Lord” in verse 32.

Schenker outlines the actions concerning the altar in the narrative of the *Vorlage* of the LXX as follows:

1. The prophets of Baal build an altar (v. 26).²¹⁴
2. When the prophets of Baal end their attempt to get a response from their god, Elijah remains standing by the altar commanding them to leave (v. 29 LXX).
3. Elijah tells the people to come forward (v. 30).
4. With twelve stones Elijah carries out a rededication (“*Neu- oder besser Umweihung*”) of this originally pagan altar (vv. 31–32).²¹⁵

The details in the LXX point to the conclusion that Elijah carries out his sacrifice on the very same altar that the prophets of Baal used—or, at least, the altar re-dedicated by Elijah is located on the same spot as the first altar. In the MT, by contrast, Elijah builds another altar which he dedicates to Yahweh, or rebuilds an old altar of Yahweh. In the MT there even seems to be a tendency to avoid mentioning an altar of Baal: in verse 23 Elijah instructs the prophets of Baal to prepare the sacrifice, but he does not

214. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 16: “Die Baalspropheten hatten einen Altar gebaut (V. 26 LXX, nicht MT!).” Presumably, Schenker points to the reading of the Codex Leningradensis in v. 26: עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה “on the altar which **he** [= **Elijah**] had built.” The reading of Leningradensis, however, must be corrupt. For עָשָׂה the BHS advises reading עָשׂוּ “**they** had built” as several other Masoretic manuscripts do.

215. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 15–17. Similarly Stefan Timm, *Die Dynastie Omri*, FRLANT 124 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 78.

explicitly instruct them to build an altar for their god—after all, that would be quite unexpected of a prophet of Yahweh!²¹⁶

Schenker builds much of his argument on the hypothesis that the words “in the name of the Lord” are not part of the original LXX.²¹⁷ Indeed, the minus of the words “in the name of the Lord” (1) in *L*^{-19'} 328 and Lucifer seems to be a good candidate for the original reading: there would be little reason for the Lucianic reviser to omit the notion. Moreover, the plus corresponds to the MT, and it is marked with an asterisk in the Syrohexapla.²¹⁸ Rahlfs included the minus in his list of *Vorlucianisches Gut* although he kept the plus in his critical text.²¹⁹ However, Schenker does not note that the same witnesses that omit “in the name of the Lord” attest the plus “of the Lord” along with the rest of the Lucianic manuscripts, 19', and 328 246 554^{II} (3). Treballe suggests that the omission of the word *Kυρίου* in most of the LXX witnesses could be related to the presence of the same term in the expression *ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου*.²²⁰ Treballe and Torijano follow *L*^(-19') in both of the readings: *καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν τοὺς λίθους καὶ ἱάσατο τὸ θυσιαστήριον Κυρίου*.²²¹ According to their reconstruction, the LXX *Vorlage* does, indeed, speak of “the altar of the Lord.” If that is the original reading, it explains the agreement between *L* and Lucifer. The wide attestation to the omission of *Kυρίου* suggests the word should be an early interpretative variant that removes any possibility of the embarrassing interpretation that the prophets of Baal used an altar of Yahweh for their attempt to make an offering to a foreign god.

While this is possible, I wonder if it is the most straightforward explanation. If the shorter form (without “of the Lord”) is original, the addi-

216. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 17–18.

217. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 16 n. 26.

218. Law, *Origenes Orientalis*, 238, with a note: “This is a rare case where B = MT with a reading that is marked sub * [in Syh]. Instead, the OG is preserved in *L*^{-19 108} Luc.” Law builds on considerations put forward by Hugo, *Les deux visages*, 232–33, who cautiously suggests that the OG did not have any reference to the Lord in this verse. Šanda, *Könige*, 438, is hesitant: “יהוה בשם יְהוָה paßt hier nicht gut ... Vielleicht ist nur יהוה ursprünglich.”

219. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 285.

220. Treballe, *Centena*, 141: “On the other hand, the (same) Antiochian text and the OL [= Lucifer] attest the presence of the term *Kυρίου* in the following phrase. Its omission in the rest of the LXX could be related to the presence of the same term in the expression added before, *ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου*.”

221. Private communication 27 May 2014.

tion of the word Κυρίου could be a Hexaplaric correction motivated by the presence of the same clause in the MT, not here in verse 32 but in verse 30; it is not inconceivable that the Lucianic reviser could introduce a correction from a passage located a couple of verses earlier. Of course, if the plus is Hexaplaric, there is the problem of how it is attested by Lucifer. There is a slight possibility of polygeny: since Lucifer's base text did not have the, likely secondary, plus "in the name of the Lord" in verse 32, Lucifer might have supplied the word *domini* after "and repaired the altar"; after all, an altar is not mentioned in the passage but if it can be "repaired" (Lucifer: *et restituit altare*²²² *domini, quod dissipatum fuerat*) it must be an altar known from some previous context. A likely interpretation is that it was an ancient altar for Yahweh which the Baal-worshippers had thrown down. There are other occasions, too, in which Lucifer provides a short explicating plus against his general shortening tendency (see Conclusion after v. 46). Another possible solution for the agreement could be that the plus was a kaige-type correction that made its way into the base text of the Lucianic recension and Lucifer's biblical text independently. As it is lacking in B, I find that solution the least likely.

- 1 Kgs 18:33 καὶ ἐστοίβασεν τὰς σχίδακας ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὃ ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἐμέλισεν τὸ ὀλοκαύτωμα καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὰς σχίδακας καὶ ἐστοίβασεν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον. (Rahlf's)
et constipauit scizas super altare quod fecit, et demembrauit holocaustum et inposuit scizam et stipauit super altare, Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,40–42)
- 1 Kgs 18:33.1 תָּרַבְּ עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה 1° Luc (*constipauit*)] ἐπέθηκε(ν) L⁻⁸² 246; ἐπέθηκαν 82
 Cf. below עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה עֲשֵׂה inposuit Luc (no variants)
 Cf. below ἐστοίβασεν 2° Luc (*stipauit*)] > 527
- 1 Kgs 18:33.2 καὶ 2° – fin] > 460
- 1 Kgs 18:33.3 ἐπὶ 2° = MT] > B x 318 372 Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:33.4 καὶ ἐστοίβασεν 2°] > 527: cf. MT

If we assume that Lucifer applied some consistency in rendering the verbs στοιβάζω (GELS: "to place large quantities of sth on sth large one on top of the other") and ἐπιτίθημι "to place on," we can suppose that *constipo* "to press or crowd closely together" in variation unit 1 reflects the B reading ἐστοίβασεν. The Hebrew verb תָּרַבְּ "to arrange in order" is found eight times in Samuel-Kings. In the other occurrences, the Greek equivalent is παρατάσσω "to place side by side" (1 Sam 4:2; 17:2, 8; 2 Sam 10:8, 9, 10,

222. Sic; *altare* is an alternative nom./acc. neuter form for *altaria*, see Lewis-Short.

17). In other books the renderings include στοιβάζω (with any prefix: Lev 1:7, 8, 12; 6:5; Jos 2:6) and τίθημι (with any prefix: Gen 22:9; Exod 40:4, 23; Lev 24:8). Thus, there is no evidence for ἡγε-στοιβάζω being a kaige-type rendering, and it is best to consider ἐπιτίθημι in *L* 246 as recensional. The minus of the second ἐπὶ in *B* x 318 372 and Lucifer (3) alters the logic somewhat: “he cut the whole burnt offering and placed the (Luc: a) firewood and piled [them?] on the altar.” The vast attestation to the plus in the nonkaige section does not point to a Hebraizing origin. Rather, an anomalous error in an early exemplar seems to be the best explanation for the minus and the witnesses sharing the minus are probably interdependent.

- 1 Kgs 18:34 καὶ εἶπεν Λάβετέ μοι τέσσαρας ὑδρίας ὕδατος καὶ ἐπιχέετε ἐπὶ τὸ ὀλοκαῦτωμα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς σχίδακας· καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως. καὶ εἶπεν Δευτερώσατε· καὶ ἐδευτέρωσαν. καὶ εἶπεν Τρισώσατε· καὶ ἐτρίσευσαν. (Rahlfs)
et dixit: accipite mihi quattuor hydrias aquae et effundite super holocaustum et super scizam. Et dixit: iterum adferte. Et iterum adtulerunt. Et dixit: repetite tertio. Et repetierunt tertio, Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,42–45)
- 1 Kgs 18:34.1 εἶπεν 1^o Luc] + Ἠλίας *L*
- 1 Kgs 18:34.2 τέσσαρας Luc = MT] δύο *L* 246
- 1 Kgs 18:34.3 ἡγε-ἐπιχέετε Luc] ἐπιχεέτωσαν *L*^{-19'} 328 246
- 1 Kgs 18:34.4 ἐπὶ 1^o Luc = MT] pr ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον (+ καὶ 328) *L* 328
- 1 Kgs 18:34.5 καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως] > *A L* 460 Luc = MT

Lucifer does not share the Lucianic explication “Elijah (said)” (1). It is hard to see a reason for a recensional change from “four” (*B* and majority) to “two” (2), but the *B* reading is too widely spread to pass as a kaige reading in the nonkaige section. Perhaps the reading in *L* 246 originates in a confusion between β' and δ'. Whatever the origin of the third-person plural in *L*^{-19'} 328 246 (3), Lucifer follows the second-person of *B* and the majority. The Antiochian text reads “pour it **on the altar** on the whole burnt offering” (4). The plus in *L* 328 is likely a recensional addition. The clause “and they did so” (5) is attested by the overwhelming majority, and it is marked with an obelos in the Syrohexapla.²²³ The omission in *A L* 460 may be Hexaplaric—it corresponds to the MT—but a homoioteleuton error from καὶ to καί could explain it as well. Lucifer's minus is best explained with the latter possibil-

223. Law, *Origenes Orientalis*, 139.

ity, or Lucifer might omit the notion himself. Thus, the agreement between Lucifer and A L 460 in a possible Hexaplaric reading is dubious at best.

- 1 Kgs 18:35 καὶ διεπορεύετο τὸ ὕδωρ κύκλῳ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ τὴν θαλαα ἔπλησαν ὕδατος. (Rahlfs)
et manabat aqua in circuitu sacrarii, et foueam impleuerunt aqua. Luc
 Athan. 1.17 (31,45–46)
- 1 Kgs 18:35.1 ἡγῃ θαλαα (vel sim) L 44-106 246 92^c 158 554*] θάλασσαν rel; *foueam* Luc
 Cf. 18:32.5 ἡγῃ θαλαα L d 246 158 554^{ms}] θάλασσαν rel; *foueam* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:35.2 ἡγῃ ἔπλησαν] ἔπλησεν V 19' C^{731.328} 134-610 92-130-314-762 244
 245 707: cf. MT; ἐπλήρωσαν 799 158; ἐπλήρωσεν L^{-19'} 246 489 71: cf.
 MT; *impleuerunt* Luc

On the reading θαλαα (1) see verse 32 above. In variation unit 2 the majority attest the rendering πίμπλημι “to fill” for the Hebrew פִּיל (piel “to fill”), either in the plural (A B 247 *b* etc.) or singular (V 19' etc.). A part of the Antiochian text along with a few other manuscripts attest the verb πληρόω “to make full”—again, either in the plural (799 158) or singular (L^{-19'} 246 489 71). The verb πίμπλημι does not seem to be a kaige rendering: it is found elsewhere in the nonkaige sections without significant variants (1 Sam 16:1; 1 Kgs 8:10, 11; 20:27; kaige-section: 2 Kgs 3:17, 20; 4:6; 10:21; 21:16; 23:14; 24:4). The Latin verb *impleo* (Lucifer) is a good rendering for either one. Thus, Lucifer may attest either verb but clearly in the plural which is an agreement with B against L. The variation in the Greek witnesses may well go back to transcriptional reasons: the graphical similarity is significant. The variation between the singular and plural does not have to be connected with the singular in the MT; rather, if the Lucianic reviser is at work here, a change to the singular may have been motivated by understanding Elijah as the subject.²²⁴

Elijah's Sacrifice and Victory (18:36–46)

Elijah's prayer on Mount Carmel (1 Kgs 18:36–37) has a different formulation in the MT, the B-text, and the Antiochian text.

224. Differently Montgomery, *Kings*, 311, who regards the singular as original.

	MT (NRSV)	B-text (NETS)	L-text (NETS with my modifications)
36aα	At the time of the offering of the oblation, the prophet Elijah	And Eliou cried aloud to heaven	And Eliou cried aloud to heaven
	came near and said, “O Lord, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel,	and said, “O Lord, God of Abraam and Isaak and Israel,	and said, “O Lord, God of Abraam and Isaak and Israel,
36aβ		heed me, O Lord, heed me today with fire,	heed me, O Lord, heed me today with fire,
	let it be known this day that you are God in Israel, that I am your servant,	and let all this people know that you are Lord, God of Israel, and I am your slave,	and let all this people know that you alone are Lord, God of Israel, and I am your slave,
36b	and that I have done all these things at your bidding.	and I have done these works on your account.	and I have done all this on your account,
37aα	Answer me, O Lord, answer me,	Heed me, O Lord, heed me with fire,	
37aβγ	so that this people may know that you, O Lord,	and let this people know that you are	
37b	are God, and that you have turned their hearts back.”	Lord God and that you turned the heart of this people back.”	and that you turned the heart of this people back.”

In his analysis of this passage, Schenker deals mainly with the question of for whom Elijah is praying. In the LXX, the ones who “may know that you, O Lord, are God” are “this people” (v. 36; v. 37 in the B-text). In the MT, by contrast, in verse 36 Elijah says “let it be known” in the passive without identifying the subject. According to Schenker, this formulation includes the non-Israelites: the prophets of Baal and, more implicitly, Queen Jezebel who was of foreign birth. This notion, in turn, does not fit well in the overall narrative, which is mainly interested in the relationship between Yahweh and the Israelites, not between him and the non-Israelites.²²⁵

225. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 25: “Diese Perspektive stimmt nicht ganz mit der Erzählung überein, die es allein mit der Treue Israels zu JHWH zu tun hat,

Schenker notes that in verses 36–37 some literary growth has taken place that has resulted in a “doubling” (*Verdoppelung*) of several elements of the prayer. He suggests that the double reading was already in the *Vorlage* of the LXX.²²⁶

However, the textual and literary-historical situation does not seem that straightforward when we take a look at all the witnesses of the LXX. I will first go through all the textual evidence for verses 36–37a and then turn to the most substantial differences. In the following, the witnesses that do not attest the half-verse 37a (*L* 125 246 71 342; see below) are underlined>.

- 1 Kgs 18:36 *καὶ ἀνεβόησεν Ἡλίου εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ εἶπεν Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἀβρααμ καὶ Ἰσαακ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ, ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε, ἐπάκουσόν μου σήμερον ἐν πυρί, καὶ γνώτωσαν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ὅτι σὺ εἶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἀγὰρ δοῦλός σου καὶ διὰ σέ πεποίηκα τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα.* (Rahlfs)
Et clamavit Helias in caelum et dixit: dominus deus Abraham et Isaac et Israel, [37] exaudi me, domine, exaudi me hodie in igne, ut sciant omnis populus hic quoniam tu es dominus deus Israel et ego servus tuus, et propter te feci hoc opera, Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,46–50)²²⁷
- 1 Kgs 18:36.1 *init Luc* | *pr καὶ ἐγένετο κατὰ ἀνάβασιν τοῦ δώρου (τὸ ὕδωρ A) A 127**
 (sub ast 127) = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:36.2 *יְהוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל* 1° *Luc* | *Ἰακωβ A 19' 44-125 372*
 1 Kgs 18:31.2 *יְהוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל* τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ *Luc* | τοῦ Ἰακωβ *A*: cf. MT
- 1 Kgs 18:36.3 *ἐπάκουσόν* 1° – *πυρί*] > *A V* = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:36.4 *ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε*] > *44-125 381 130 55 245 707*
- 1 Kgs 18:36.5 *ἐπάκουσόν μου 2°*] > *71*; tr post *σήμερον* by 107-610
- 1 Kgs 18:36.6 *μου σήμερον*] > 106

nicht mit dem Verhältnis von Nicht-Israeliten zu JHWH. LXX kennt diese leise Spannung zwischen der Gesamterzählung und V. 36 nicht.... Nach alledem fügt sich die doppelte Bitte Elias für das Volk Israel in LXX V. 36–37 fugenlos in die narrative Gesamtkonzeption der Erzählung von 1 Kön 18:19–40 ein, während die erste Bitte von MT, V. 36, sich leicht dagegen sperrt.”

226. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 25–26: “Wahrscheinlich sind V. 36 und 37 eine literarisch gewachsene Verdoppelung von Elias Gebet, die [i.e., the “doubling”] in der hebräischen Vorlage der alten LXX und in der prae- oder protomassoretischen Vorlage von MT schon gegeben war.”

227. In addition to Lucifer, there is a Latin quotation by Irenaeus: *Domine Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Iacob, exaudi me hodie; et intellegat omnis populus hic quoniam tu es Deus Israel* (*Haer.* 3.6.3). Irenaeus’s quotation is, however, too inaccurate to be used as a textual witness.

- 1 Kgs 18:36.7 γνώτωσαν Luc (*sciant*)] pr σήμερον A V CI 64*-381 55 71 244 245 372
707 = MT; γνώτω L(127^c Pr m) 106 246 158 342 (cf. נִתְּנָה MT)
- 1 Kgs 18:36.8 πᾶς ὁ λαὸς οὗτος] > A 328 = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:36.9 πᾶς] > 127* 106
Cf. 37.4 ἅπλη ὁ λαός] pr πᾶς 46'-313 92-314-489 460 = ἅπλη (2 Mss
Pesh) BHS^{app}
- 1 Kgs 18:36.10 εἶ Luc] pr μόνος 246; > B 242-530 44 318: cf. MT
- 1 Kgs 18:36.11 κύριος Luc] pr μόνος L 342

There are several secondary readings that Lucifer, expectedly, does not follow: Hexaplaric corrections attested by A and some other witnesses (1, 3, 7, 8) and parablepsis errors or deliberate shortening (4, 6) as well as other types of confusion brought about by the recurring blocks of similar words (5). The reading “Jacob” in A 19' 44-125 372 (2) may be Hexaplaric as well, as it corresponds to the same reading in A in 18:31.2. Hebraizing correction at some stage of the textual transmission may account for two further minuses. The first one is πᾶς “all” in 127* 106 (9); the MT does not have a corresponding clause here, but in the next verse there is a parallel expression without the word “all” in most of the Masoretic witnesses. Either the omission is a Hebraizing attempt motivated by the next verse or it results from anomalous corruption. The minus of “(you) are” (10; B 242-530 44 318) in the clause “let all this people know that you **are** Lord” may go back to the Hebrew text but it could be attributed to early copyists preferring the nominal clause in such a solemn statement (the following “I am your slave” is a nominal clause in Greek). The same witnesses that omit the verb here omit it in the similar clause in verse 37 as well. Lucifer’s attestation to the verb “are” is not striking since Christian Latin is highly intolerant of the nominal clause. The variation between the plural (B rel Luc) and singular (L 106 246 158 342) in the verb “let (all this people) know” (7) probably goes back to the Lucianic reviser—the subject ὁ λαός is formally singular—and the singular form in the MT does not have to play a role. The plus of μόνος in the clause “let all this people know that you **alone** are Lord, God of Israel” is very likely a Lucianic addition (11). MS 246 attests it a word earlier (10).

It can be noted that the witnesses that do not attest the half-verse 37a have little in common in verse 36: the omissions in 125 (2, 4) should be ignored as 125 is a manuscript notorious for its frequent omissions, but in variation units 5, 7, 10, and 11 there certainly are genuine disagreements between them.

- 1 Kgs 18:37a עֲנִי יְהוָה עֲנִי יְדַעוּ הָעָם הַזֶּה כִּי־אֶתָּה יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים (BHS)
ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε, ἐπάκουσόν μου ἐν πυρί, καὶ γνώτω ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ὅτι
σὺ εἶ κύριος ὁ θεός (Rahlfs)
 — Luc *Athan.* 1.17 (31,50)
- 1 Kgs 18:37.1 ἐπάκουσόν 1^o – θεός = MT] > L 125 246 71 342 Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:37.2 ἐν πυρί] > A 46^A = MT
 Cf. 36.3 ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε, ἐπάκουσόν μου σήμερον ἐν πυρί] > A V = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:37.3 γνώτω] γνώτωσαν A 46'-313 92-314-489-762 (cf. יְדַעוּ MT)
 Cf. 36.7 γνώτωσαν Luc] γνώτω L(127^c Pr^m) 106 246 158 342 (cf. יְדַעוּ MT)
- 1 Kgs 18:37.4 ὁ λαός = MT] pr πᾶς 46'-313 92-314-489 460 = עַם־בָּל (2 Mss Pesh)
 BHS^{app}
 Cf. 36.8–9 πᾶς ὁ λαὸς οὗτος] > A 328 = MT; om πᾶς 127* 106
- 1 Kgs 18:37.5 οὗτος = MT] > A 379
 Cf. 36.8 πᾶς ὁ λαὸς οὗτος] > A 328 = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:37.6 עִלְ] > B CI 44 244 318 372 460: cf. MT
 Cf. 36.10 עִלְ Luc] > B 242-530 44 318: cf. MT
- 1 Kgs 18:37.7 ὁ θεός = MT] > 44; + Ἰσραήλ 318; + μόνος A
 Cf. 36.10–11 עִלְ] pr μόνος 246; + μόνος L 342

The most noteworthy difference between the witnesses is that *L*, 246, and 342 together with Lucifer do not attest the half-verse 37a (1). As this may have literary-critical implications, I will first go through the less noteworthy variants and then return to that issue.

The omission of “with fire” in A 46^A is Hexaplaric (2). The plural predicate for the subject (πᾶς) ὁ λαός “(all) the people” is found in the B-text in verse 36 and in A and a handful of other witnesses in 37.3. The fluctuation between the singular and plural predicate when the subject is a collective noun (λαός “people”) is in most cases of little consequence. In variation unit 3 it should be noted, however, that the MT provides the singular in verse 36 (יְדַעוּ) but the plural in verse 37 (יְדַעוּ). To be sure, in verse 36 the Hebrew expression is passive: “let it be known.” Nevertheless, the Greek variants in verse 37 may go back to Hebraizing correction motivated by verse 36. In 36.9 the word πᾶς is omitted by two witnesses only but in 37.4, by contrast, the same word is added in a handful of witnesses. This may be due to conformation with the Greek text in verse 36 or correction according to a Hebrew witness attesting the word בָּל, found in two Masoretic manuscripts and in the Peshitta. Curiously enough, several of

the witnesses that add the word $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ (46'-313 314-489-762) are the same that join A in changing the predicate "to know" to plural (37.3). The word $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\text{o}\varsigma$ "this" may have dropped out by a homoioteleuton error ($\lambda\alpha\delta\varsigma \text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\text{o}\varsigma$) in A 379 (5), but as the similar clause in verse 36 is completely lacking in the MT and, accordingly, omitted by A (and 328), there may be a connection between the readings. On the omission of the verb "(you) are" in variation unit 6, see 36.10 above. Here the omission is joined by a handful of witnesses other than those in verse 36. While in verse 36 the addition of $\mu\acute{o}\nu\text{o}\varsigma$ was considered Lucianic, in 37.7 the attestation—A alone—does not point to that conclusion. Whatever the explanation for the plus, Lucifer does not follow it.

The analysis suggests that Rahlfs quite probably made the correct choices in verse 36. There Lucifer follows the OG word for word. However, his text does not attest the half-verse 37a, thus agreeing with *L* 125 246 71 342. In both *L* and Lucifer this could be explained as a stylistic omission:²²⁸ Lucifer, for certain, could easily omit a needless repetition. However, a comparison between all the Hebrew and Greek forms reveals that the situation is quite complex and it is reasonable to suppose some literary development between the LXX *Vorlage* and the proto-MT. In addition, there must have been some revision in the Greek witnesses. The following table compares the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin texts in verses 36 and 37.²²⁹

228. Thus, e.g., Montgomery, *Kings*, 311: "to avoid duplication." Similarly Hugo, *Les deux visages*, 239 n. 69.

229. For exact information on the variant readings, see above.

BHS v. 36	BHS v. 37	Rahlfs v. 36	Rahlfs v. 37	Ant v. 36 (om. 37a)	Lucifer v. 36 (om. 37a)
היום יָדַע בְּיָמֵהָ אֱלֹהִים בְּיָמֵהָ	עֲנֵי יְהוָה עֲנֵי יְהוָה הָעַם הַזֶּה בְּיָמֵהָ הָאֱלֹהִים (+ כִּלְיָ 2 MSS)	ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε, ἐπάκουσόν μου σήμερον ἐν πυρί, καὶ γνώτωσαν πάντες ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ὅτι σὺ εἶ (> B+) κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ	ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε, ἐπάκουσόν μου ἐν πυρί, καὶ γνώτωσαν (+ πάντες pauci) ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ὅτι σὺ εἶ (> B+) κύριος ὁ θεός (μόνος Α) (+ Ἰσραὴλ 318)	ἐπάκουσόν μου, Κύριε, ἐπάκουσόν μου σήμερον ἐν πυρί, καὶ γνώτωσαν πάντες ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος Κύριος ὁ θεός Ἰσραὴλ , ...	<i>exaudi me, domine, exaudi me</i> hodie <i>in igne, ut sciant omnis populus hic quoniam tu es dominus deus Israel</i> ... heed me, O Lord, heed me today <i>with fire, and let</i>
... this day let it be	Answer me, O Lord, answer me, so that	heed me, O Lord, heed me today <i>with fire, and let</i>	Heed me, O Lord, heed me <i>with fire, and let</i>	... heed me, O Lord, heed me today <i>with fire, and let</i>	

BHS v. 36	BHS v. 37	Rahlfs v. 36	Rahlfs v. 37	Ant v. 36 (om. 37a)	Lucifer v. 36 (om. 37a)
known that you are God in Israel , ... (NRSV with my modifi- cations)	(<u>all</u>) this people may know that you, O Lord, are God, ... (NRSV)	... <u>all</u> this people know that you are Lord, God ... of Israel , ... (NETS)	(+ <u>all</u> <i>pauci</i>) this people know that you are Lord God ... (+ of Israel 318) (NETS)	<u>all</u> this people know that you are the only Lord, God of Israel , ... (NETS with my modifications)	<u>all</u> this people know that you are Lord, God of Israel , ... (NETS with my modifica- tions)

There are commentators who maintain that the form of the MT is the original one on the grounds that “liturgical language is diffuse.”²³⁰ Hugo, by contrast, takes seriously both the textual evidence and the literary and theological implications of the different text forms. After a deep analysis, he suggests that the form retained in the LXX is, after all, the older one.²³¹ While I am not directly against that suggestion, what I find especially intriguing is that the Greek text in verse 36 (third column from the left above) is clearly a translation of a Hebrew sentence akin to that found in verse 37 in the MT, but with readings deriving from verse 36: “today” and “(God) in/of Israel.” Moreover, the Greek text has the plus “with fire”—absent in the MT—included in *both* sentences. Thus, I would like to very cautiously offer yet another theory that might explain the complex textual situation, namely, that the minus of verse 37a in *L* 125 246 71 342 and Lucifer represents the oldest form. Following this, the development might have happened in the following stages:

1. An older Hebrew form in verse 36 was: “Answer me, O Lord, answer me (**today?**) *with fire*, so that (all?) this people may know that you are Lord, God of **Israel**.” Whether the plusses “today” and “all” were there already or were added in the second stage has no impact on my general argument.²³²
2. That form, possibly after the addition of “today” and “all,” was the *Vorlage* of the LXX and was translated accordingly. This is the form of the text now found in Lucifer (the right-most column above).²³³

230. So Montgomery, *Kings*, 305. Other noteworthy commentators who follow the structure of the MT, while not necessary in all the details, include Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 369; DeVries, *1 Kings*, 225; Kittel, *Könige*, 148; Šanda, *Könige*, 439; Winfried Thiel, *Könige*, BKAT 9.2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2002), 84, 92–93.

231. Hugo, *Les deux visages*, 240–43, 246–47.

232. This is close to what Timm, *Dynastie*, 81, suggests as the oldest form. Timm leaves out the words “today,” “with fire,” and “all.”

233. It may be that the verb “to know” was in the singular in the OG (cf. *L*, v. 37 B); Lucifer changed it to the plural as the subject is “all this people.” A change to the plural in the B text in v. 36 may be similarly motivated or it reflects the Hebrew plural in v. 37. Not too much should be built on such variants that can easily happen in both directions.

3. The Hebrew text was doubled, either by a simple dittography, or in order to emphasize Elijah's prayer (v. 37a). The expression "today" was dropped out in verse 37a as there is no need to repeat the expression of time.
4. The fuller text was used as reference by an early Hebraizing corrector who doubled the Greek text using the same expressions as in the old translation.²³⁴ This form of the text is now found in B (the third and fourth columns from the left).²³⁵
5. Later still, possibly as late as around the turn of the era, some final changes were made in the proto-MT. The expression "with fire" was omitted as sounding too magical. Verse 36 was edited to sound less like a desperate cry and more like a declaration of something that will happen with great certainty: "Answer me" was omitted, as in the doubled form it is more appropriate in verse 37a, and "so that this people may know" was changed to a certain and universal "let it be known."²³⁶

I find the entire scenario only slightly more likely than an omission in Lucifer and *L*. I do not put it forward as the definitive solution but as a possible alternative that takes into account both the textual evidence and the literary-critical problems.

234. Cf. Benzinger, *Könige*, 111: "36^b und 37 sind Dubletten, was in LXX noch deutlicher hervortritt dadurch[.]" Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 155, consider the LXX form in v. 36 "a scribal expansion derived from v. 37." Burney, *Notes*, 227 considers ἐπάκουσόν 1^o – πυρὶ in v. 36 a gloss.

235. Contrast Montgomery, *Kings*, 311: "In the Grr. v.³⁶ has been contaminated from v.³⁷."

236. Reading the word יִדְּבָר as jussive; if it is an imperfect, the translation is "it will be known." According to Jan Joosten, "Imperative Clauses Containing a Temporal Phrase and the Study of Diachronic Syntax in Ancient Hebrew," in *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and of Other Contemporary Sources*, ed. teven Ellis Fassberg, Mosheh Bar-Asher, and Ruth Clements, STDJ 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 123, the sequence *temporal phrase-imperative* ("this day let it be known") is a LBH phenomenon. This is a corroborating factor in seeing the formulation in v. 36 in the MT as a very late development in the text.

- 1 Kgs 18:37b καὶ σὺ ἔστρεψας τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου ὀπίσω. (Rahlfs)
et tu uersasti cor populi huius retro. Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,50–51)²³⁷
- 1 Kgs 18:37.8 ἔστρεψας] ἐπέστρεψας A L 246 342; *uersasti* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:37.9 ὀπίσω Luc = MT] + σου L 44 246 158 244 342 372 460 554; + μου 328

Other things being equal, Lucifer's *verto* without a prefix can be assumed to attest the simple στρέφω "to turn" in B and the majority (8).²³⁸ The addition of σου "(back) to you" in L and others (9) is likely recensional.²³⁹

- 1 Kgs 18:38 καὶ ἔπεσεν πῦρ παρὰ κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατέφαγεν τὸ ὀλοκαύτωμα καὶ τὰς σχίδακας καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὸν χοῦν ἐξέλειξεν τὸ πῦρ. (Rahlfs)
Et cecidit ignis a domino de caelo, et comedit holocausta et scizas et aquam quae erat in altare, et lapides et terram linxit ignis. Luc Athan. 1.17 (31,51–53)
- 1 Kgs 18:38.1 παρὰ κυρίου Luc] > 19
- 1 Kgs 18:38.2 τὸ ὀλοκαύτωμα = MT] τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα A B CI 244 372 Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:38.3 καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ / καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὸν χοῦν B L CI 246 o 244 372 460 Luc] tr rel = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:38.4 τὸ ὕδωρ Luc] + τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶν (αὐτῶ 19') καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ L⁻⁸² 328
- 1 Kgs 18:38.5 ἡῶν θαλάσῃ (vel sim) L 44-125 246 158 554^c] θαλάσση rel; *altare* Luc
 Cf. 1 Kgs 18:32.5 ἡῶν θαλάσῃ L d 246 158 554^{mg}] θάλασσαν rel; *foueam* Luc
 Cf. 1 Kgs 18:35.1 ἡῶν θαλάσῃ L 44-106 246 92^c 158 554*] θάλασσαν rel; *foueam* Luc

Lucifer follows B in all the details, including the plural "whole burnt offerings" in variation unit 2. The only exception is probably the reading *altare* (5): above in verse 32 it was noted that Lucifer appears to follow θαλάσῃ and that Rahlfs already suggested that in verse 38 the rendering *altare* may be a corrupted form of a Latin transcription **taala*.²⁴⁰ In any case, *altare* cannot

237. In addition to Lucifer, there is a Latin quotation by Irenaeus: *Domine Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Iacob, exaudi me hodie; et intellegat omnis populus hic quoniam tu es Deus Israel* (Haer. 3.6.3). Irenaeus's quotation is, however, too inaccurate to be used as a textual witness.

238. In my *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 107, I argue that ἐπιστρέφω is not a clear case of Lucianic recensional tendencies and point out that another Latin witness, Tertullian, has a clear tendency to favour *converto* for ἐπιστρέφω.

239. Montgomery, *Kings*, 311: "an exegetical aid."

240. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 285, 149.

Since Lucifer has the habit of rendering historical presents with a past tense (see part 3), his agreement with L in the past tense (1) cannot be considered striking.

- 1 Kgs 18:41 Καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου τῷ Ἀχααβ Ἀνάβηθι καὶ φάγε καὶ πίε, ὅτι φωνὴ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ ὑετοῦ. (Rahlfs)
et dixit ad Achab: manduca et bibe, quoniam uox est pedum pluuiæ. Luc
Athan. 1.17 (31,57–32,58)
- 1 Kgs 18:41.1 Ἡλίου] > 242 Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:41.2 τῷ] πρὸς A; *ad* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:41.3 ἀνάβηθι] ἀνάστηθι L 71; > 246 Luc
 Cf. below 18:42.1 ἀνέβη 1^o] ἀνέστη L 71; *ascendit* Luc
 Cf. below 18:42 ἀνέβη 2^o] *ascendit* Luc (no variants)
- 1 Kgs 18:41.4 καὶ 2^o] > 44 245 372 460 Luc

In variation unit 1, MS 242 and Lucifer omit the subject independently. Lucifer's *ad* may reflect either the definite article in the dative (majority) or the preposition πρὸς in A (2). The omission of the verb “to go up” (3) in Lucifer's text is easily explained by his shortening tendency, even though it might be more natural for Lucifer to omit either of the latter instances of the same verb in the next verse. The agreement with 246 is probably coincidental: 246 does not omit the following καί (4). In Lucifer's text that omission is related to the omission of the verb and thus, again, no connection with the manuscripts omitting καί 2^o should be supposed.

- 1 Kgs 18:42 καὶ ἀνέβη Ἀχααβ τοῦ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν, καὶ Ἡλίου ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν Κάρμηλον καὶ ἔκυψεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἔθηκεν τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν γονάτων ἑαυτοῦ. (Rahlfs)
Et ascendit Achab, ut manducaret et biberet. Et Helias ascendit in Carmelum, et inclinavit se in terram et posuit faciem suam inter genua Luc
Athan. 1.17 (32,58–60)
- 1 Kgs 18:42.1 ἀνέβη 1^o] ἀνέστη L 71; *ascendit* Luc
 Cf. above 41.3 ἀνάβηθι] ἀνάστηθι L 71; > 246 Luc
 Cf. below 18:42 ἀνέβη 2^o] *ascendit* Luc (no variants)
 Cf. 18:43.1 ἀνάβηθι] ἀνάστηθι 236–242–530; *ascende* Luc
 Cf. 18:44 ἀνάβηθι] *ascende* Luc (no variants)
- 1 Kgs 18:42.2 πιεῖν Luc] ποιεῖν 246 130* 460
- 1 Kgs 18:42.3 שָׁמַרְתָּ עָלַי 1^o] εἰς A L 246 318 460; *in* Luc
 Cf. below ἐπὶ 2^o] *in* Luc (no Greek variants; מִן MT)

In all probability, Lucifer's *ascendo* (Lewis-Short: “in eccl. Lat. simply *to go up*”) attests the verb ἀναβαίνω in verse 42–44 rather than ἀνίστημι “to stand up” found as a variant in two instances (42.1, 43.1). A natural Latin equivalent for the latter would be (*re*)surgo. Formally, Lucifer's *in* corresponds better to the preposition εἰς in A L 246 318 460 (3), but the choice

of the preposition may fully be regulated by the Latin usage: in the literal sense the normal usage is *ascendo in* + acc.²⁴¹ Thus the possible agreement is best disregarded.

- 1 Kgs 18:43 καὶ εἶπεν τῷ παιδαρίῳ αὐτοῦ Ἀνάβηθι καὶ ἐπιβλεψον ὁδὸν τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ ἐπέβλεψεν τὸ παιδάριον καὶ εἶπεν Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐθέν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου Καὶ σὺ ἐπίστρεψον ἐπτάκι· [44] καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν τὸ παιδάριον ἐπτάκι. (Rahlfs)
et dixit puero suo: ascende et prospice uiam maris. Et respexit puer, et dixit puer: non est nihil. Circumage te septies. Luc Athan. 1.17 (32,60–62)
- 1 Kgs 18:43.1 ἀνάβηθι] ἀνάστηθι 236-242-530; *ascende* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:43.2 θαλάσσης B L 44 460 Luc] + καὶ ἀνέβη rel = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:43.3 ἐπέβλεψεν] ἀνέβλεψε(ν) 247 L 44 488; *respexit* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:43.4 ἡἰῶν καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου] > Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:43.5 ἡἰῶν καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου] > 44; om καὶ σύ L = MT; om καὶ Luc; om σύ d⁻⁴⁴
- 1 Kgs 18:43.6 σὺ ἐπίστρεψον] tr Luc; + καὶ ἐπιβλεψον L 328
- 1 Kgs 18:43.7 ἐπτάκι 1° Luc] + καὶ ἀπόστρεψον ἐπτάκι B
- 1 Kgs 18:43.8 καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν τὸ παιδάριον ἐπτάκι] > 82 731* 92-130 318 Luc = MT: homoiot.?

On variation unit 1, see 42.1 above. Lucifer agrees with B L 44 460 in not attesting the, likely Hexaplaric, addition of “and he went up” (2)—although omitting such an expression would be within Lucifer’s habits. It is likely but far from certain that Lucifer attests ἐπιβλέπω “look upon” against ἀναβλέπω “look up” in 247 L 44 488 (3); Lucifer uses *respicio* for ἐπιβλέπω twice elsewhere (1 Sam 2:29, 24:9 // *Athan.* 1.10, 14) and once for ἀποβλέπω (Ps 10:8 [9:29] // *Athan.* 1.23), but never for ἀναβλέπω. The omission in variation unit 4 is shortening by Lucifer. In variation units 5 and 6 it is best to accept that Lucifer follows the B text with minor modifications. There are two agreements between Lucifer and B against L: the

241. According to Lewis-Short, this is Cicero’s usage and that of the Vulgate “very freq.” This appears to be Lucifer’s usage too (e.g., 1 Kgs 12:28, 32, 33 // *Luc Reg.* 3). The alternative, *ascendo ad* + acc., is not found in a strictly literal sense (*Athan.* 1.10, 12, 17; *Parc.* 7, 16). The construction with *super* is found only when the meaning is clearly “over”: to mount a donkey (1 Kgs 13:13 // *Conv.* 3), to come up against (Judg 6:3 // *Reg.* 1), to ascend above all the heavens (Eph 4:10 // *Athan.* 2.29).

latter omits “and you” (5) and adds “and look” (6). There is a curious plus of “and go again seven times” in B alone (7). It probably originates in a dit-tography of *καὶ σὺ ἐπίστρεψον ἑπτὰκι* with some modifications or corruption. Lucifer appears not to attest the plus. By contrast, his text lacks the fulfilment of the command: “And the lad returned seven times” with several Greek manuscripts (8).²⁴² The minus corresponds to the MT, but the question may be of a homoioteleuton error that took place independently in several Greek textual traditions as well as in the proto-MT.

- 1 Kgs 18:44 *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ καὶ ἰδοὺ νεφέλη μικρὰ ὡς ἵχνος ἀνδρὸς ἀνάγουσα ὕδωρ· καὶ εἶπεν Ἀνάβηθι καὶ εἰπὸν τῷ Ἀχασαβ Ζεῦξον τὸ ἄρμα σου καὶ κατάρβηθι, μὴ καταλάβῃ σε ὁ ὑετός.* (Rahlfs)
Et factum est in septimo, et ecce nubs pusilla quasi uestigium hominis adducens aquam de mari. Et dixit illi Helias: ascende et dic ad Achab: iunge currum tuum et ascende, ne comprehendat te pluuiā. Luc Athan.
 1.17 (32,62–65)
Adducens aquam de mari. La^M
- 1 Kgs 18:44.1 מִיָּם ὕδωρ A B V 245 460 707] + ἀπὸ (> 44; + τῆς CI 244) θαλάσσης rel
 La^M Luc: cf. MT (doublet)
- 1 Kgs 18:44.2 εἶπεν] + *illi Helias* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:44.3 κατάρβηθι] *ascende* Luc

The MT reads *עֹלָה מִיָּם* “is rising from the sea.” In all probability, the LXX translator read *מִיָּם* as *מִיָּם* “water” and interpreted the expression as “bringing water.”²⁴³ The addition of “from the sea” (1) in the majority, including Lucifer, is best explained as an early Hebraizing correction.²⁴⁴ The result is a double translation for one and the same Hebrew word. Lucifer makes two small modifications: he adds the subject “Elijah” (2) and changes the command to Ahab from “go down” to “go up” (3) or, rather, to “get on” the chariot: “harness [the horses to] your chariot and get on!”

- 1 Kgs 18:45 *καὶ ἐγένετο ἕως ὧδε καὶ ὧδε καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς συνεσκότασεν νεφέλαις καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ ἐγένετο ὑετὸς μέγας· καὶ ἔκλαιεν καὶ ἐπορεύετο Ἀχασαβ εἰς Ἰεζραελ.* (Rahlfs)

242. Some commentators consider the plus original: Otto Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1873), 228; Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 370; Burney, *Notes*, 228. Similarly but with some hesitation: Benzinger, *Könige*, 111; Thiel, *Könige*, 84, 94. Differently Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 156; Hugo, *Les deux visages*, 283–84.

243. This is pointed out by many commentators, e.g., Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 370; Gray, *I and II Kings*, 389.

244. Montgomery, *Kings*, 312: “The doublet is ... ancient.”

Et factum est hinc et inde, et caelum contenebricauit nubibus et uentis, et facta est pluuiā magna. Et plorabat et ibat Achab in Israel, Luc Athan. 1.17 (32,65–67)

- 1 Kgs 18:45.1 ἕως 1° = MT] ὥς L 246 158; > Luc
 1 Kgs 18:45.2 καὶ ὥδε] *et inde* Luc; > 242 44 130 460 (homoiot.)
 1 Kgs 18:45.3 καὶ 2° B 247 L 246 o 488 527 158 Luc] + ἕως rel = MT
 1 Kgs 18:45.4 νεφέλαις Luc (*nubibus*)] pr ἐν V L 328 246 o 489 245 460
 1 Kgs 18:45.5 εἰς A B L 460 Luc] ἕως rel
 1 Kgs 18:45.6 Ιεζραελ] Ιεσραελ 379 106 55; Ἰσραήλ B 247 19 121 488 527-799^{mg} 158
 318 460 Luc; Ιεζαβελ (vel sim) 127* 313

Lucifer makes small modifications at the beginning of the verse (1, 2). Along with B, L, and other witnesses he does not attest the, likely Hexaplaric, plus of ἕως “until” (3). In variation unit 4, Lucifer does not attest the preposition ἐν, probably added by the Lucianic reviser and, possibly independently, in a few other lines of transmission. Again, Lucifer agrees with both B and L in reading εἰς against ἕως of the majority (5). The latter is probably an early corruption. In variation unit 6, “Israel” (B 247 19 etc., Lucifer) is a corrupted form of Ιεζραελ.²⁴⁵

- 1 Kgs 18:46 καὶ χεῖρ κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡλίου, καὶ συνέσφιγξεν τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ ...
 (Rahlfs)
et manus domini erat in Heliam. [paragraph ends] Luc Athan. 1.17
 (32,67–68)
 1 Kgs 18:46.1 κυρίου B 460] + ἐγένετο rel = MT; + *erat* Luc
 1 Kgs 18:46.2 ἔπ[ε] in Luc

Lucifer ends this long quotation with the words “and the hand of the Lord was in [favour of]/within Elijah.” It is possible but far from certain that Lucifer’s *erat* reflected the plus of ἐγένετο in the vast majority of the witnesses (1): if Lucifer had had the reading of B 460 in front of him, he would probably have supplied the verb. If Lucifer is counted as a witness for the minus, the plus can be regarded as secondary as Rahlfs did. It is not obvious what Lucifer means with the preposition *in* but it does not have to reflect a now lost Greek reading.

245. Differently Hugo, *Les deux visages*, 285 n. 96, who maintains that Ιεζραελ is a Hexaplaric correction (thus J. W. Wevers, “A Study in the Textual History of Codex Vaticanus in the Books of Kings,” *ZAW* 64 [1952]: 189).

Jezebel's Oath (19:2)

After ending the long quotation from 1 Kgs 18 Lucifer applies it in the contemporary situation in chapter 1.18 of *De Athanasio*: Constantius II, in his favour for the Arrians, is comparable to Ahab who favoured the prophets of Baal. Jezebel is introduced by quoting 1 Kgs 19:2:

King Ahab persecuted Elijah like you are now persecuting Athanasius. As everybody knows, Jezebel said to the prophet of the Lord, having found out what powers Elijah had demonstrated and how he had killed the disorderly prophets and the priests of the religious images: “These are what the gods may do to me and these are what they may add, if on this hour tomorrow I will not put your life like the life of one of them.” (Luc *Athan.* 1.18 [33,34–40])

- 1 Kgs 19:2 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ἰεζαβελ πρὸς Ἡλίου καὶ εἶπεν Εἰ σὺ εἶ Ἡλίου καὶ ἐγὼ Ἰεζαβελ, τότε ποιῆσαι μοι ὁ θεὸς καὶ τότε προσθείη, ὅτι ταύτην τὴν ὥραν αὐρίον θήσονται τὴν ψυχὴν σου καθὼς ψυχὴν ἐνὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν. (Rahlfs)
Dixit nempe Iezabel, ...: *Haec mihi faciant dii et haec mihi adaugeant, si non in hac hora cras posureo animam tuam, quemadmodum animam unius ex illis.* Luc *Athan.* 1.18 (33,35–36, 38–40)
Et dixit: Si tu es Elias, et ego sum Iezabel. Et dixit: Haec faciant mihi Dii
... La^M
- 1 Kgs 19:2.1 ποιῆσαι B 460] ποιήσασαν rel La^M Luc (*faciant*) = MT
- 1 Kgs 19:2.2 μοι La^M Luc (tr)] με 328 74 158 245
- 1 Kgs 19:2.3 ׀ִהְיֶה ׀ִהְיֶה ׀ִהְיֶה ὁ θεός B 460] οἱ θεοί rel La^M Luc (*dii*)
- 1 Kgs 19:2.4 προσθείη B] προσθήσει 460; προσθείησαν rel; *mihi adaugeant* Luc
- 1 Kgs 19:2.5 ὅτι] *si non* Luc
- 1 Kgs 19:2.6 ταύτην τὴν ὥραν] ταύτη τῇ ὥρᾳ 460; *in hac hora* Luc
- 1 Kgs 19:2.7 θήσονται] θήσω 460; *posureo* Luc
- 1 Kgs 19:2.8 ψυχὴν 2^o Luc] > 247 381 488 x
- 1 Kgs 19:2.9 ἐξ αὐτῶν Luc] τούτων 245; + τῶν ἱερέων 460

Since Lucifer begins the quotation only with the words τότε ποιῆσαι μοι ὁ θεός *Haec mihi faciant dii* we cannot tell whether his text contained the clause “If you are Eliou and I am Iezabel,” attested by the Greek witnesses and La^M but absent in the MT and probably part of the oldest attainable text.²⁴⁶

246. See, e.g., P. Hugo, “Text and Literary History: The Case of 1 Kings 19 (MT

Variation units 1, 3, and 4 concern whether Jezebel talks about God/gods in the singular (B 460) or plural (majority and Lucifer). Since in the MT the verbs are in the plural, the Greek plural forms may result from Hebraizing correction. In addition, considering Jezebel's extremely bad reputation, it is natural if she is made to take an oath by foreign gods. A change from the plural to the singular would make less sense. In variation unit 2, Lucifer's dative probably reflects the Greek dative "to me"; the accusative in some witnesses results from itacism. Lucifer is alone in attesting the word order *mihi faciant*. Lucifer opens up the construction of the oath: "if ... I will not" (5). In the issue of the singular versus plural before, MS 460 sided with B, although with a minor difference in the latter verbal form (4). It does, however, go its own way in three further readings (6, 7, 9). In one of them Lucifer might follow: abl. for the Greek dat. (6). Whether Lucifer's *posureo* attests the middle (majority) or the active (460) form is impossible to tell (7). In variation unit 9, however, it is clear that Lucifer does not attest the explicative plus "of the priests" in 460. In the light of the several special readings in 460 in this verse, it might be questioned whether the singular in it is actually dependent on B: obviously, the copyist of 460 or its exemplar was capable of exercising some freedom of copying. Lucifer's support for the latter ψυχῇν "life" (8) makes it clear that it is the original reading; its omission in a handful of witnesses is understandable since the notion is implied even if the word is not explicited.

Conclusion: Rahlfs analysed the passage 1 Kgs 18:17–46 with minimal comments on the readings with the following conclusion: "Here Lucifer takes again a mediate position between \mathfrak{G} and \mathfrak{L} , but leans more toward \mathfrak{G} ."²⁴⁷ As a general statement, this corresponds to what has been observed above. Since the number of readings treated here is quite high, a detailed breakdown of Lucifer's agreement patterns might be more than is called for here. The big picture becomes quite clear by observing which side Lucifer takes in the 35 readings that, with at least some probability, result from the Lucianic recension. In about half of these (19) Lucifer clearly sides with B (18:21.3, 6; 22.3; 24.5; 25.4; 25.5; 26.1, 4 [or $L = OG?$]; 29.7, 10;

and LXX)," in *Soundings in Kings: Perspectives and Methods in Contemporary Scholarship*, ed. Mark Leuchter and Klaus-Peter Adam (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010), 18, 25–26.

247. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 150: "Auch hier nimmt Lucifer eine Mittelstellung zwischen \mathfrak{G} und \mathfrak{L} ein, doch neigt er sich mehr zu \mathfrak{G} hinüber."

31.1; 34.1, 2 [error in *L*?], 4; 37.8, 9; 38.4; 43.5, 6), whereas he attests the *L* reading only four times with some probability. Every one of those cases, however, is somehow dubious: in 17:1.1 it is uncertain whether the minus of δ 1° – *Ισραηλ* in *L*⁻¹²⁷ and Lucifer is recensional at all, and a minus in Lucifer is always doubtful; 17:1.5 (*στόματος λόγου*] tr *L* 246 Luc) is a small word-order issue; 18:29.3 (*δειλινόν*] *μεσημβρινόν* *L* La¹¹⁵ Luc) is a particularly complex case and Lucifer's reading might be explained by issues other than genuine agreement with *L*; and 18:34.5 is a Hexaplaric omission in a clause that Lucifer might leave out himself. The remaining twelve cases are even more doubtful one way or the other: either it is unclear if the reading is recensional, or Lucifer's agreement pattern is unclear (18:18.1; 19.1; 21.1, 7; 22.5; 23.1; 25.7, 9; 27.1–2 [counted as one], 3; 40.1; 43.3). All in all, it is clear that Lucifer is not following a Lucianic type of text, but a small number of readings may be explained by supposing some Lucianic contamination.

There is one especially noteworthy agreement between Lucifer and *L*: the large minus in verse 37a. There I suggested that the shorter text may be original. Because it is a question of a minus in Lucifer's text, caution must be exercised. However, there are literary-critical considerations involved, and, in light of these, Lucifer's testimony should not be easily dismissed.

In addition to his usual shortening tendency, Lucifer makes small clarifying additions against the Greek witnesses: 19.7; 22.1, 2; 23.3, 4; 44.2 (verbs "to be" excluded).

1 Kgs 20[21 LXX]:13–14, 17, 19–20 (*Reg.* 7)

In the MT and the LXX, the locations of the story of Naboth's vineyard (1 Kgs 21) and the story of Ben-Hadad's campaign against Ahab (1 Kgs 20) are interchanged. Thus, chapter 20 in the MT (Ben-Hadad's campaign) is 21 in the LXX and vice versa. The order of the LXX is considered the more original by several textual historians: it keeps together the stories involving both Elijah and Ahab (the drought, ch. 17; Elijah on Mount Carmel, ch. 18; Elijah flees to Horeb, ch. 19; Naboth's vineyard, MT ch. 21, LXX ch. 20).²⁴⁸ Since Lucifer quotes chapters 20 and 21 (according to the Masoretic order) in different contexts (*Reg.* 7 and *Athan.* 1.18–19 respectively), he

248. E.g., Shenkel, *Chronology*, 88 n. 2; Burney, *Notes*, 210.

does not give us any direct evidence concerning the order of the stories. We can assume that his text followed the order of the LXX.

Lucifer quotes altogether five verses from the story of Ben-Hadad's campaign against Ahab (20[21]:13–14, 17, 19–20). He explicitly skips verses 15–16 (“et infra” [150,43]), but makes no mention of shortening the text when he omits verse 18. In addition, there is somewhat more freedom of quotation in the exact wording than usual.

1 Kgs 20[21]:13 Καὶ ἰδοὺ προφῆτης εἷς προσῆλθεν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰσραηλ καὶ εἶπεν Τάδε λέγει κύριος Εἰ ἐόρακας πάντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν μέγαν τοῦτον; ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ δίδωμι αὐτὸν σήμερον εἰς χεῖρας σάς, καὶ γνώσῃ ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος. (Rahlfs)
et ecce, inquit scriptura sacra, prophetae unus accessit ad regem Israel et dixit: haec dicit dominus, si uidisti sonum magnum istum? Ecce ego hodie tradam eum in manus tuas, et scies quoniam ego sum dominus.
 Luc Reg. 7 (149,38–150,41)
Trado eum in manus tuas, ut scias quoniam ego sum deus[.] Luc Reg. 7 (150,52–3)

1 Kgs 20[21]:13.1 βασιλεῖ B L⁻⁸² 318 Luc] pr Ἀχαάβ rel (post Ἰσραηλ 55) = MT

1 Kgs 20[21]:13.2 πάντα = MT] > B 245 Luc; tr post ὄχλον 527

1 Kgs 20[21]:13.3 ῥῖμῃ ὄχλον] pr ἤχον καὶ τὸν 244; ἤχον 247 L⁻⁸² 243^{mg}.379^{mg}.731^{mg} 121 488* 554^c Luc (sonum)

1 Kgs 20[21]:13.4 δίδωμι αὐτὸν / σήμερον] om σήμερον 707; tr Luc Reg. 7 (150,40); αὐτὸν δίδωμι σήμερον 242-530 610; δίδωμι σήμερον αὐτόν 46'; tr σήμερον post σάς A; inc Luc Reg. 7 (150,52)

1 Kgs 20[21]:13.5 γνώσῃ Luc (scies/scias)] γνώθι 242-236-530

1 Kgs 20[21]:13.6 κύριος 2^o Luc Reg. 7 (150,41)] deus Luc Reg. 7 (150,53)

Lucifer agrees with B L⁻⁸² 318 in not attesting the Hebraizing addition of “Ahab” (1). The agreement with B 245 in the minus of “all” (2) could be coincidental, as such an omission would be what Lucifer is prone to do. However, if Lucifer's support is considered genuine, the minus might be original and the plus in the majority a Hebraizing correction. Variation unit 3 is an exceptionally curious case. The Hebrew word רִימָה can mean either “roar” or “crowd” and thus both ὄχλος “crowd” (B and majority) and ἤχος “noise” (L etc. and Lucifer) are possible renderings. While there is a slight graphical similarity between the Greek readings, the replacement of one by the other is unlikely to result from corruption: one or the other must be a Hebraizing attempt. The attestation for ἤχον might point to Hexaplaric origin, but Lucifer's support for it speaks against that. The conflate reading ἤχον καὶ τὸν ὄχλον in 244 is certainly the latest reading,

but the order ἡχος-ὄχλος might hint that, at least in the exemplar of 244, ἡχος was the older reading: it is more likely that the alternative reading is appended after the old reading. In the light of the usage elsewhere in the LXX²⁴⁹ and Lucifer's support for ἡχον, I very tentatively suggest it was the original reading. However, there is a good chance that ἡχον is a Hexaplaric reading which, unexpectedly, is supported by Lucifer.

Lucifer quotes the last sentence “Behold, I will give it to your hand today, and you shall know that I am the Lord” (NETS) in two different wordings. Lucifer's word order in the first quotation (on l. 40) does not correspond to any of the Greek forms and in the latter (l. 52) the issue is uncertain (“inc[ertus]”). The word order issue (4) is best disregarded and *deus* for *dominus* (6) in Lucifer's latter quotation would hardly go back to a now lost Greek reading. In variation unit 5 Lucifer clearly attests the indicative future γνώση against the imperative aorist in three interrelated manuscripts.

- 1 Kgs 20[21]:14 καὶ εἶπεν Αἰααβ 'Ὑν τίνι; καὶ εἶπεν Τάδε λέγει κύριος 'Ὑν τοῖς παιδαρίοις τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν χωρῶν. καὶ εἶπεν Αἰααβ Τίς συνάψει τὸν πόλεμον; καὶ εἶπεν Σύ. (Rahlfs)
Et dixit rex: in quo? Et dixit propheta: in pueris principum regionum.
Et dixit rex: quis committet pugnam? Et dixit propheta: tu. Et infra: Luc Reg. 7 (150,41–43)

1 Kgs 20[21]:14.1 Αἰααβ 1° et 2°] *rex* Luc

1 Kgs 20[21]:14.2 εἶπεν 2° et 4°] + *prophetes* Luc

1 Kgs 20[21]:14.3 τάδε λέγει κύριος] > 125 Luc

1 Kgs 20[21]:14.4 תַּיִן־יָמֵי הַחֹרֹן Luc] χορῶν B 247 93 44-106-107-125-610; χωρον 158; πόλεων A; πολεμῶν 71
 Cf. below 17.3 תַּיִן־יָמֵי הַחֹרֹן Luc (?)] χορῶν B 247 44-106-125 71
 Cf. below 19.4 תַּיִן־יָמֵי הַחֹרֹן Luc] χορῶν B 106-107-125-610 71

Lucifer's freedom of quotation is clearly visible in variation units 1–3. In the last one the agreement with MS 125 is probably coincidental: both witnesses share the shortening tendency, 125 more strongly than Lucifer.

In variation unit 4, the MT reads “(the young warriors of the commanders) of the provinces.” The majority Greek reading χωρῶν “of the regions” agrees with this whereas B 106-125 consistently (in bold above)—and a few others less consistently—read χορῶν (from χορός “band of danc-

249. In addition to the present case, ὄχλος for תַּיִן־יָמֵי is found 1x (2 Chr 20:15, no variants) and ἡχος 7x (1 Sam 14:19; Ps 42:5; Jer 47:3; 51:16, 42; Joel 4:14; Amos 5:23).

ers"). Schenker prefers the B reading here as well as in 1 Kgs 20[21]:15, 17, 19 and maintains that the expression "the young ones of the leaders of the choir" actually means "young dancers." He brings up interesting considerations regarding the plausibility of the competing readings and interpretations of the whole passage 1 Kgs 20:10–22. Many of Schenker's observations on the details of the text can be noted with approval, but his overall conclusion seems to be very fragile. If the original LXX reading was $\chi\omicron\rho\tilde{\omega}\nu$, probably translating the Hebrew מְחֹלֵה "dancing,"²⁵⁰ rather than $\chi\omega\rho\tilde{\omega}\nu$ (or $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\omega\nu$, from $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ "region"), the variation in the Greek witnesses must be because of corruption ($\omicron \rightarrow \omega$) or Hebraizing correction—both possibilities accidentally resulting in the same reading! Moreover, the MT reading הַמְּדִינֹת should still be accounted for. Schenker maintains that the word is postexilic and that the change of the word turns the story of the assault from the besieged Samaria from a stratagem ("Kriegslist") to a simple surprise attack.²⁵¹ Again, I appreciate Schenker's effort, but from a text-critical point of view it must be concluded that the textual evidence does not allow us to suppose that a competing Hebrew reading for הַמְּדִינֹת ever existed: the simplest explanation for the variation in the Greek witnesses is that B has a corrupt reading ($\omega \rightarrow \omicron$)²⁵² and the majority, including Lucifer, preserves the original reading which is a rendering of the same reading as preserved in the MT.

Lucifer does not attest verse 18, and it is somewhat unclear whether after "et infra" (150,43) he actually starts to quote verse 17 and mixes it up with verse 19, or whether he means to proceed directly to verse 19 and quotes there a longer reading with *L* and the majority. While the latter seems more likely, in order to not leave out information, I give the readings for verse 17 as well for verse 19 and sum up the evidence with a comparative table.

250. Adrian Schenker, "Junge Garden oder akrobatische Tänzer? Das Verhältnis zwischen 1 Kön 20 MT und 3 Regn 21 LXX," 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 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 24.

251. Schenker, "Junge Garden," 25, 27.

252. Similarly some commentators, e.g., Gray, *I and II Kings*, 419.

- 1 Kgs 20[21]:17 καὶ ἐξῆλθον παιδάρια ἀρχόντων τῶν χωρῶν ἐν πρώτοις. καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ Συρίας λέγοντες Ἄνδρες ἐξεληλύθασιν ἐκ Σαμαρείας. (Rahlfs)
 ... Et infra: *et exierunt pueri de ciuitate principum regionum* [19]²⁵³ Luc Reg. 7 (150,43–44)
 Cf. [16] *exiuit in pugnam et*, [17?] *dispositis his in primis, iussit sequi virtutem reliquam, et videntes speculatores regis Syriae indicauerunt ei* ... La^M 254
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:17.1 ἐξῆλθον Luc (?) + οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ L 328 246
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:17.2 ἀρχόντων] *pr de ciuitate* Luc (?); > B 707(||)
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:17.3 תַּיִדִּיָּהָ חַוֻּרִים Luc (?) χορῶν B 247 44-106-125 71
 Cf. 1 Kgs 20[21]:14.4 תַּיִדִּיָּהָ חַוֻּרִים Luc] χορῶν B 247 93 d; χωρον 158; πόλεων A; πολεμῶν 71

If Lucifer really means to quote verse 17 here, he can be cited as attesting the majority text in variation units 1 and 3 (of which see 14.4 above). Lucifer's addition of "from the city" could be considered a special reading. It is precisely that reading, however, that makes it look like Lucifer is actually quoting verse 19 (see directly below).

In verse 19 Lucifer's text can be compared with La^M.

- 1 Kgs 20[21]:19 καὶ μὴ ἐξεληθάτωσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὰ παιδάρια ἀρχόντων τῶν χωρῶν. καὶ ἡ δύναμις ὀπίσω αὐτῶν (Rahlfs)
 [19?] *et exierunt pueri de ciuitate principum regionum* [19]²⁵⁵ *et exer-citus qui post illos*, Luc Reg. 7 (150,43–45)
Et exierunt ex ciuitate pueri principum regionum et uirtus de post illos, La^M
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:19.1 καὶ μὴ ἐξεληθάτωσαν] καὶ ἐξῆλθον L La^M Luc (cf. below)
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:19.2 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως / τὰ παιδάρια La^M] tr A Luc
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:19.3 τὰ παιδάρια V 46'-242 d^{-44.125} t x 372 554] *pr καὶ ἔρχονται L*; *pr ἄρχοντα B*; *pr καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως rel*: cf. MT
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:19.4 תַּיִדִּיָּהָ חַוֻּרִים La^M Luc] χορῶν B d⁻⁴⁴ 71
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:19.5 δύναμις La^M] + *qui* Luc

253. The edition places the change of verse here.

254. Moreno places the text cited here in v. 15. Treballe, "Text-Critical Use," 294–96, on the other hand, places it between vv. 16 and 17 on the basis of the words *exiuit*, *in primis*, and *indicauerunt* that correspond to similar words in the Greek text. Neither the alignment with the Greek text nor Treballe's analysis has an impact on my analysis of Lucifer here.

255. The edition places the change of verse here.

Assuming that both La^M and Lucifer are quoting verse 19 here, they agree with *L* in reading “and (the servants) came out (of the city)” in variation unit 1. This changes the meaning somewhat: in the B text most of verse 19 is still a part of Ben-Hadad's order, this is suggested by the form of the beginning of the verse and Rahlfs's punctuation reflects that. The change from the negative imperative to the positive indicative ends Ben-Hadad's order and moves on to describe the events. The Latin witnesses disagree on the word order (2) in which Lucifer may follow A or it may be his own mistake: having copied or translated *pueri*, he noticed that he missed *de civitate* and decided to supply it after *pueri*. The result is hardly a meaningful notion: “the lads came out of the city of the governors of the districts.”²⁵⁶

Rahlfs's decision was that V and a minority of the witnesses have retained the original short form of the text in variation unit 3. The addition “and they went out from the city” in the majority (rel) is easy to explain as Hebraizing correction: perhaps an alternative reading in the margin that became a doublet in the main text. The plus of καὶ ἔρχονται “and they are coming” (3) in *L* is curious as it is a historical present which the reviser generally avoids. Here it is appropriate, however: after Ben-Hadad's order the “coming out” is repeated and the historical present focuses the narration on the moment when “lads of the district governors” are coming out of Samaria and the action begins (v. 20).²⁵⁷ It is especially striking that B appears to attest the plus, although through corruption: καὶ ἐρχονται → ἀρχοντα. Klostermann suggests that the OG reading was καὶ ἄρχονται, which, in turn, renders יִחְלוּ (from חָלַל *hiphil* “begin”), which was the original Hebrew reading.²⁵⁸ Admittedly, Klostermann's solution neatly explains both the historical present in *L* and the reading in B. Lucifer's form of the text remains unexplained, however. It is possible that his quotation is not, after all, accurate enough to decide which Greek form he actually follows. This can be visualized with a table comparing the different text forms for verses 17–19.

256. Cf. Ugenti's remark (39): “La transposizione *pueri de ciuitate* è attestata anche da alcuni codici greci della traduzione dei LXX, come il cod. Alex. ed altri minori.”

257. Although I find it unlikely, it is possible that the Lucianic reviser forgot who was in the city and meant that the subject of καὶ ἐξῆλθον were Ben-Hadad's retainers on their way to apprehend “the lads.” In this case it would be necessary to provide another verb and the change of tense would help the reader perceive that the subject changes.

258. Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 377.

	Rahlfs	Ant	La ^M	Lucifer
17	καὶ ἐξῆλθον παιδάρια ἀρχόντων τῶν χωρῶν ἐν πρώτοις. καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ Συρίας λέγοντες "Ἄνδρες ἐξεληλύθασιν ἐκ Σαμαρείας.	καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ τὰ παιδάρια τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν χωρῶν ἐν πρώτοις. καὶ ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ Συρίας (> 19') λέγοντες "Ἄνδρες ἐξῆλθον ἐκ Σαμαρείας.		Et infra:
18	καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Εἰ εἰς εἰρήνην οὗτοι ἐκπορεύονται, συλλάβετε αὐτοὺς ζῶντας, καὶ εἰ εἰς πόλεμον, ζῶντας συλλάβετε αὐτούς.	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Συρίας αὐτοῖς Εἰ εἰς εἰρήνην αὐτοὶ ἐκπορεύονται, συλλάβετε αὐτοὺς ζῶντας, καὶ εἰ εἰς πόλεμον, συλλάβετε αὐτούς ζῶντας.		
19	καὶ μὴ ἐξελθάτωσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως (+ κ. ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τ. π. Majority) (+ ἄρχοντα B) τὰ παιδάρια ἀρχόντων τῶν χωρῶν. καὶ ἡ δύναμις ὀπίσω αὐτῶν	καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἔρχονται τὰ παιδάρια τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν χωρῶν, καὶ ἡ δύναμις ὀπίσω αὐτῶν.	<i>Et exierunt</i> <i>ex ciuitate</i> <i>pueri</i> <i>principium</i> <i>regionum</i> <i>et uirtus</i> <i>de post</i> <i>illos,</i>	<i>et exierunt</i> <i>pueri</i> <i>de ciuitate</i> <i>principum</i> <i>regionum</i> [19] <i>et exercitus</i> <i>qui post illos,</i>

In addition to the remarks above, it can be observed that the Antiochian version is revised at least to some extent: the changes vis-à-vis Rahlfs in verses 17–18 are typical Lucianic improvements. In the light of that, it is possible that the Antiochian text in verse 19 is revised as well. Together with the possibility that Lucifer may treat the text somewhat freely here, it is best not to make strong conclusions about Lucifer's possible Greek base text.

- 1 Kgs 20[21]:20 ἐπάταξεν ἕκαστος τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδευτέρωσεν ἕκαστος τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔφυγεν Συρία, καὶ κατεδίωξεν αὐτοὺς Ἰσραηλ· καὶ σφάζεται υἱὸς Ἀδερ βασιλεὺς Συρίας ἐφ' ἵππου ἱππέως. (Rahlfs)
et percussit unusquisque quem inuenit secus se, et fugerunt Syri, et persecutus est Israel. [quotation ends] *Luc Reg. 7 (150,45–46)*
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:20.1 ἐπάταξεν A B V 121 *d*^{-106c.125} o 488 t x z 71 372 554] > 247; pr καὶ rel Luc
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:20.2 τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ 1^o] *quem inuenit secus se* Luc
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:20.3 καὶ ἐδευτέρωσεν ἕκαστος τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ] > A V 379 125 (245)²⁵⁹ 318 627 707 Luc = MT: homoiot.?
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:20.4 רָחֵם וַיִּפְּגֶה עָלֵיהֶם ἔφυγεν Συρία] ἔφυγον οἱ Σύροι *L* Luc
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:20.5 αὐτούς] > Luc

Lucifer starts the verse with “and” in agreement with *L* and a number of other witnesses (1). Lucifer makes two small modifications: “(and smote, each the one) whom he found beside himself” (2) and the omission of the object “them” in the last clause of the quotation (5). If the clause “and he repeated, each the one beside him” is regarded as a genuine part of the main text proper, it is easy to see why it had been omitted (3): that can have happened either by a homoioteleuton error²⁶⁰ or by Hebraizing correction. In addition to the chance of a parablepsis, Lucifer is prone to omit just this kind of clause, especially in a quotation such as this in which he takes much liberty. Montgomery, however, offers another explanation: the word ἐδευτέρωσεν “is a gloss, noting that ‘he (the scribe) repeated’ the phrase *εκαστος τον παρ αυτου*—an early bit of textual criticism in a confused passage.”²⁶¹ In other words, there was an early dittography which a reader noticed and wrote the comment “he repeated” in the margin, perhaps with a mark before the repetition. A copyist thought this was a necessary addition between the recurring phrases and adopted it supplying the word καί. However, even if the latter explanation is preferred, the agreement between Lucifer and A, V, and others may be secondary and coinci-

259. MS 245 omits καὶ 1^o – Ἰσραηλ.

260. Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 377, appears to suggest that such an error has taken place in the MT: “H[ebraisch] hat den Satz ... verloren.”

261. Montgomery, *Kings*, 327. Thenius, *Könige*, 240–41 (and Benzinger, *Könige*, 119, following him) offers another explanation: the Greek plus goes back to a Hebrew reading which is a corrupted doubling of the Hebrew phrase וַיִּפְּגֶה אִישׁ אֶישׁ. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 160, suggest, instead, that καὶ ἐδευτέρωσεν – αὐτοῦ is the OG reading and the former clause is a Hebraizing addition.

dental: some of the witnesses may have accidentally restored the possibly original shorter text. The agreement with *L* in reading “and the Syrians fled” (4) is not much more convincing: the reading is a clear recensional improvement in *L*, and Lucifer might do the same.

Conclusion: Lucifer’s freedom of quotation in this short passage of five verses can be seen in two omissions (14.3 [= 125], 20.5), three additions (14.2, 19.5, 20.2), and four other small changes (13.4, 6; 14.1; 19.2 [= A]). His agreements with some Greek witnesses against others are few and no pattern emerges. In three instances, Lucifer may attest the original reading against B and/or most of the other witnesses: 13.2 πάντα] > B 245 Luc (very uncertain), 3 ὅχλον] ἦχον 247 *L*⁻⁸² *pauci* Luc (or Hexaplaric?); and counting 14.4, 17.3, 19.4 χωρῶν Luc] χορῶν B 106-125 *pauci* as one. There are two possible agreements between Lucifer and *L* in a secondary reading (19.1 [= La^M], 20.4) but the agreement is very doubtful. At least for Lucifer’s readings for verse 17, it seems quite uncertain which verse(s) Lucifer actually means to quote. I do not want to completely rule out that in verses 17–19 Lucifer might genuinely attest a slightly different Greek version of the text than those preserved in B and *L*, but in the light of the great degree of freedom, it is probably best not to cite his text as a witness for a shorter form. At least, the total lack of any correspondence for verse 18 must be explained by Lucifer’s shortening tendency.

1 Kgs 21[20 LXX]:9–10, 17–24 (*Athan.* 1.18–19)

In his defence of Athanasius, Lucifer refers to the incident concerning Queen Jezebel and Naboth’s vineyard (1 Kgs 21 [20 LXX]). The emperor has set false witnesses against Athanasius, just as Jezebel did to Naboth (*Athan.* 1.18 [33,46–48]).

1 Kgs 21[20]:9 Νηστεύσατε νηστείαν καὶ καθίσατε τὸν Ναβουθαι ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λαοῦ·
(Rahlfs)
Ieiunate ieiunium, et sedeat Nabutheus in primo populo, Luc *Athan.* 1.18
(33,48–49)

1 Kgs 21[20]:9.1 καθίσατε τὸν Ναβουθαι] *sedeat Nabutheus* Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:9.2 τοῦ λαοῦ] *populo* Luc

There are no significant Greek variants. Lucifer modifies the verse somewhat: “and Nabutheus shall sit in the first [part of the] people.”

- 1 Kgs 21[20]:10 καὶ ἐγκαθίστατε δύο ἄνδρας υἱοὺς παρανόμων ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταμαρτυρησάτωσαν αὐτοῦ λέγοντες Ἡὺλόγησεν θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα·
(Rahlfs)
et conlocat duos uiros filios iniquorum contra eum, et testentur aduersus eum dicentes: maledixisti dominum et regem, Luc Athan. 1.18 (33,49–51)
Maledixit Nabuthae Deum et regem, La^M
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:10.1 ἡὺλόγησεν] εὐλόγηκας (-γησας ο x) V 247 121 246 o 488 x z 55 71 158 244 245 318 342 707; εὐλόγηκε 93-108; εὐλογήκαμεν 19; *maledixit* La^M; *maledixisti* Luc; – v. 13 λέγοντες sub ast 127
Cf. Job 2:9e תְּרַבֵּץ εἰπὸν τι ῥῆμα] + βλασφημιον Dam I 1328 (= John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela* [PG 95])²⁶²
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:10.2 θεόν] pr Ναβουθαί L 328 La^M (*Nabuthae*); *dominum* Luc

Almost all the witnesses give the false accusation against Naboth by Jezebel as follows: “You have / he has *blessed* [תְּרַבֵּץ ἡὺλόγησεν] God and the king.” Modern translations do, however, tend to change the verb to “blaspheme” (KJV) or “curse” (NRSV). Commentators explain that the verb “bless” was used here as a euphemism for cursing since the object was God. The usage was understood even by a few ancient commentators. Augustine, for instance, explains:

This tropical expression reaches even to what is called antiphrasis, as when a thing is said to abound which does not exist.... Of which kind is that in holy Scripture, “If he will not bless Thee to Thy face;” [Job 2:5] which the devil saith to the Lord concerning holy Job, and the meaning is “curse.” By which word also the feigned crime of Naboth is named by his calumniators; for it is said that he “blessed the king,” that is, cursed.²⁶³

The only witnesses actually giving the word “curse” in the text are the Targums, the Peshitta, La^M, and Lucifer’s quotation of the passage. Natalio Fernández Marcos suggests that here “the Old Latin ... bears witness to a text prior to the emendations of the scribes: ... Only the Targum and the Peshitta support the reading of the Old Latin which is probably the original.”²⁶⁴ Moreno acknowledges both logical options: either La^M and

262. Joseph Ziegler, *Iob*, SVTG 11.4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982).

263. Augustine, “To Consentius: Against Lying 24,” in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff, vol. 3 (Buffalo: Christian Literature, 1887), 481–500.

264. Natalio Fernández Marcos, *Scribes and Translators: Septuagint and Old Latin*

Lucifer retain a lost Greek reading or the reading is an explication brought about by the Latin translators. According to Moreno, if the latter holds true, it is unlikely that the two witnesses were independent in this reading.²⁶⁵ Against that, it can be pointed out that the very short marginal note in La^M corresponds otherwise to *L*: it explicates “Naboth.” Since the aim of the Latin marginal readings is to give the reader information not found in the Vulgate, *maledixit* might serve that purpose: whether that reading was found in a Greek witness is probably not that relevant; the main idea is that “curse” is what is meant. Perhaps the reading originates in an exegetical tradition as witnessed by Augustine (see above). Thus, while interdependence between La^M and Lucifer here cannot be ruled out, it is not the only possible solution.

It is clear, of course, that what the author meant was, indeed, “to curse.” If the euphemism “to bless” was not coined by the author himself, then there at one point of the textual transmission existed a Hebrew reading *נָבֹת׃ “(Naboth) has cursed,” *אַתָּה נָבֹת׃ “you have cursed,” or the like. However, Lucifer’s testimony for the existence of such a reading is, at a closer look, ambiguous. First, Lucifer gives the reading in the second-person singular. While there are a number of witnesses attesting that verbal form (V 247 121 246 etc.), both the B²⁶⁶ and the *L* texts—that Lucifer usually follows—read the verb in the third-person. Second, Lucifer appears to make small modifications later in the same verse:

1 Kgs 21[20]:10 Ηὐλόγησεν θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα· καὶ ἐξαγαγέτωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ
 λιθοβολήσάτωσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀποθανέτω. (Rahlfs)
maledixisti dominum et regem, et deducite eum, et lapidetur et moriatur.
 [quotation and par. end] Luc *Athan.* 1.18 (33,51–52)

1 Kgs 21[20]:10.3 ἐξαγαγέτωσαν] ἐξαγάγετε *L* 328 Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:10.4 αὐτόν 1° Luc] + ἔξω *L* 328

1 Kgs 21[20]:10.5 λιθοβολήσάτωσαν] λιθοβολήσατε *L* 328; *lapidetur* Luc

in the *Books of Kings* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 75.

265. Moreno, *Glosas*, 255: “La variante *maledixit* puede igualmente proceder de una lectura griega no conservada o deberse a una polarización introducida por la mediación de los traductores. En este segundo caso resulta poco probable que el proceso se produjera independientemente en dos traducciones aisladas.” Concerning the relationship of La^M and Lucifer, see also 1 Kgs 13:20.4 (*pseudopropheta*) above.

266. Codex Vaticanus actually does not attest the latter part of v. 10 and vv. 11–12; they have been omitted by a homoioteleuton error.

1 Kgs 21[20]:10.6 αὐτόν 2°] > 242-530 Luc

Lucifer reads “you have cursed the *Lord*” against “God” of all the other witnesses (variation unit 2 above), chooses the passive *lapidetur* “let him be stoned” against the imperative active in the Greek witnesses, which, by turn, makes any correspondence for the latter pronoun αὐτόν (6) unnecessary. Moreover, Lucifer fluctuates between B and L: his quotation agrees with B in not attesting the words “Naboth” and “outside (the town)” (readings found in L 328; 2, 4) but agrees with L in reading the verb “take out” in the second-person plural (L 328; 3). This fluctuation is easiest to explain by supposing that Lucifer follows the B text but makes some small changes himself. The evaluation of his reading “you have *cursed*” should take this into account. Since Lucifer’s rhetorical need requires clarity, it would be natural for him to explicate “cursing” to make it clear that Naboth was accused falsely.²⁶⁷

After having introduced the incident concerning Naboth in chapter 18, Lucifer argues that the accusations against the Athanasians by “you Arrians” are backed up only by false witnesses (33,1–3). Just as God avenged the unjust death of Naboth, so he would avenge Athanasius if he was killed by his persecutors (34,6–9). This is illustrated with a quotation from 1 Kgs 21[20]:17–24 where Elijah delivers an oracle concerning the fates of Ahab and Jezebel.

1 Kgs 21[20]:17 Καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Ἡλίου τὸν Θεσβίτην λέγων (Rahlfs)
Et dixit dominus ad Heliam Thesbitem dicens: Luc Athan. 1.19 (34,9)

No significant variants.

267. I do not see it as a real option that, given the choice, Lucifer would have preferred the verb “to bless” in order to make Naboth’s accusers seem even more ungodly as they tried and convicted somebody for blessing God! Admittedly, that could make a parallel with Athanasius being tried for orthodoxy, but Lucifer knows only too well that the passage in Kgs 21 is about an actual judicial murder for blasphemy and *lèse-majesté*.

1 Kgs 21[20]:18 ἡ ἀνάσθητι καὶ κατὰβηθι εἰς ἀπαντὴν Ἀχααβ βασιλέως Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ· ἰδοὺ οὗτος ἐν ἀμπελῶνι Ναβουθαί, ὅτι καταβέβηκεν ἐκεῖ κληρονομήσαι αὐτόν. (Rahlfs)
surge et descende in obuiam Achab regi Israel, qui est in Samariam, quia hic in uineam Nabuthei descendit, ut possideat eam. Luc Athan. 1.19 (34,9–11)

1 Kgs 21[20]:18.1 ἰδοὺ = MT] ὅτι A B 318; *quia* Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:18.2 (— MT) οὗτος Luc] αὐτός L

1 Kgs 21[20]:18.3 ἡ ἀνάσθητι > A 74 Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:18.4 ἐκεῖ = MT] > A 44 Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:18.5 κληρονομήσαι pr ut Luc

The interesting variants in the latter part of verse 18 concern small details, but it is highly noteworthy that Lucifer appears to side with Codex Alexandrinus (A) specifically. Lucifer tends to reproduce the interjection ἰδοὺ faithfully with *ecce* and thus his reading *quia* very likely corresponds to ὅτι in A B 318 (1). In the majority of the witnesses (incl. B and L) the words οὗτος ἐν ἀμπελῶνι Ναβουθαί “this one (is) in the vineyard of Nabouthai” form a nominal clause whereas the minus of ὅτι (3) makes the following verb the predicate in A 74 and Lucifer’s quotation. This small syntactic change makes the following “there” somewhat awkward and it, too, is omitted by A and Lucifer (4).²⁶⁸ While all such changes could have been made by Lucifer himself, the three agreements with Codex Alexandrinus (1, 3, 4) are perhaps too much to be explained as mere coincidence.

1 Kgs 21[20]:19 καὶ λαλήσεις πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ὡς σὺ ἐφόνευσας καὶ ἐκληρονόμησας, (Rahlfs)
Et dices ad eum: haec dicit dominus: quomodo occidisti Nabutheum et possedisti uineam eius, Luc Athan. 1.19 (34,11–13)
Occidisti Nabuthaeum ut in pretium sanguinis possideres vineam eius ... La^M (sentences in a different order; see below)

1 Kgs 21[20]:19.1 λαλήσεις] ἐρεῖς L; *dices* Luc
 Cf. 18:29.7 ἐλάλησεν Luc (*locutus est*)] εἶπεν L 125 246 La¹¹⁵ ([*dixit*])

1 Kgs 21[20]:19.2 λέγων] > L 328 Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:19.3 ὥς σύ] > L 328 158; *quomodo* Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:19.4 ἐφόνευσας] + *Nabutheum* La^M Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:19.5 καὶ ἐκληρονόμησας Luc] *ut in pretium sanguinis possideres* La^M

268. MS 74 retains ἐκεῖ but has a transposition, reading κληρονομήσαι αὐτόν ἐκεῖ καταβέβηκεν.

The usual pattern is to translate λαλέω with *loquere* and thus *dices* probably corresponds to ἐρεῖς in *L* (1; see 18:29.7 above). Because the verb *dico* has been used directly before, it is natural to omit any correspondence for the following **dicens* (2). If Lucifer is dependent on *L* in variation unit 1, the same will hold true for 2. Lucifer appears to agree with *B* against *L* in attesting ὡς σύ (3), even though the expression is modified somewhat. The agreement between Lucifer and *La^M* in the explication of Naboth (4) is probably coincidental: Lucifer is prone to make such modifications and the Latin marginal glosses are explicative by their nature. It is significant that Lucifer does not agree with the following different formulation and a plus in *La^M*: “so that you could take hold of [it] *with a price of blood*”²⁶⁹ (5). Fernández Marcos attributes this plus to the Latin translator, allowing, of course, that there might have been a now lost Greek or even Hebrew base text.²⁷⁰

1 Kgs 21[20]:19 διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ὃ ἔλειξαν αἱ ὕες καὶ οἱ κύνες τὸ αἷμα Ναβουθαι, ἐκεῖ λείξουσιν οἱ κύνες τὸ αἷμά σου, καὶ αἱ πόρναι λούσονται ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου. (Rahlfs)
propter hoc haec dicit dominus: in loco in quo linxerunt canes et sues sanguinem Nabuthaei, ibi lingent canes sanguinem tuum, et fornicariae lauabunt in sanguine tuo. Luc Athan. 1.19 (34,13–16)
*Propterea haec dicit Dominus: Loco in quo linxerunt porci et canes sanguinem Nabuthaei, ibi lingent canes sanguinem tuum, [par. break] Occidisti Nabuthaeum ut in pretium sanguinis possideres vineam eius ... [par. break] Et fornicariae lavaburunt in sanguine tuo, *La^M**

1 Kgs 21[20]:19.6 διὰ – κύριος Luc] > 106 71; om τάδε λέγει κύριος *d*⁻¹⁰⁶

1 Kgs 21[20]:19.7 παντὶ A B 318] τῷ rel; > Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:19.8 αἱ ὕες καὶ] > *d*⁻¹⁰⁶ = MT

1 Kgs 21[20]:19.9 αἱ ὕες *La^M*] et οἱ κύνες 1° tr A Luc

Cf. 1 Kgs 22:38 αἱ ὕες καὶ οἱ κύνες] om αἱ ὕες καὶ *L* *d*⁻¹⁰⁶ 245; om καὶ οἱ κύνες 342

1 Kgs 21[20]:19.10 οἱ κύνες 2° Luc] > A

1 Kgs 21[20]:19.11 καὶ αἱ πόρναι Luc] pr ἀλλά *L*²⁷¹ 328 246; om αἱ A

269. Or, possibly: “with blood-money”?

270. Natalio Fernández Marcos, “La Vetus Latina de Reyes: ¿Vorlage distinta o actividad creadora?,” in *Philologia Sacra: Biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann J. Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Roger Gryson, vol. 1, AGLB 24.1 (Fribourg: Herder, 1993), 67; Fernández Marcos, *Scribes and Translators*, 71–72.

271. MS 127 gives the clause τὸ αἷμά σου καὶ αἱ πόρναι λούσονται *sub obelo*, Syh obelizes καὶ αἱ πόρναι λούσονται ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου; see Law, *Origenes Orientalis*, 144.

Lucifer follows the majority text in most of these readings (6–8, 10, 11), departing from B in not attesting the word παντί “every” (7) and from L in not providing ἀλλά before the last clause (11). As was seen in verse 18 (see above), Lucifer again agrees with A in a reading that might not be merely coincidental: the transposition of “the swine” and “the dogs” (9).²⁷² It must be noted, however, that A attests two special readings: omissions of the latter “dogs” and the definite article before the word πόρναι “prostitutes” (10, 11).

1 Kgs 21[20]:20 καὶ εἶπεν Ἀχααβ πρὸς Ἡλίου Εἰ εὐρηκάς με, ὁ ἐχθρός μου; καὶ εἶπεν Εὐρηκα, διότι μάτην πέπρασαι ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου παροργίσαι αὐτόν. (Rahlfs)
Et dixit Achab ad Heliam: si inuenisti me, inimicus meus? Et dixit Helias: inueni, quoniam cogitasti facere maligne ante conspectum domini, ut exacerbares eum. Luc Athan. 1.19 (34,16–18)

1 Kgs 21[20]:20.1 v.] pr καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἡλιάς πρὸς Ἀχαάβ 19'; pr καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἡλίου ἀπῆλθεν ἐλέγξει αὐτόν 106; pr καὶ ἀνέστη Ἡλιάς ὁ προφῆτης καὶ ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως 71

1 Kgs 21[20]:20.2 εἶπεν 2°] + Ἡλιάς L 246 Luc; + Ἡλίου 71

1 Kgs 21[20]:20.3 μάτην πέπρασαι] tr L; cogitasti Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:20.4 τὸ πονηρὸν] maligne Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:20.5 παροργίσαι] exacerbares Luc

Lucifer exercises some freedom of quotation near the end of the verse (3–5) which may point to the conclusion that even the addition of the subject Elijah (2) may be independent of the corresponding L reading. The least that can be said is that Lucifer does not attest any of the schoolmaster-like additions at the beginning of the verse (1).

1 Kgs 21[20]:21 τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ σὲ κακά (Rahlfs)
haec dicit dominus: ecce ego induco super te mala, Luc Athan. 1.19 (34,18–19)

1 Kgs 21[20]:21.1 τάδε λέγει κύριος Luc] > A B = MT

1 Kgs 21[20]:21.2 ἐγὼ Luc] > 247 19-82-93 44-74 488-489 158 245 342 554

Lucifer follows the majority text faithfully throughout the verse (of which only a part is quoted above), resisting the omissions found in A and B (1),

272. On a textual basis, I see no grounds for Thenius's (*Könige*, 250) suggestion that αἱ ὕες καὶ was not a part of the original *Greek* text on the grounds that in the latter part of the verse “nur οἱ κύνες steht.” Burney, *Notes*, 249: “the addition is of the nature of a gloss.”

on the one hand, and in a part of the Antiochian witnesses (19-82-93; 2), on the other.

1 Kgs 21[20]:22 καὶ δώσω τὸν οἶκόν σου ὡς τὸν οἶκον Ιεροβοαμ υἱοῦ Ναβατ καὶ ὡς τὸν οἶκον Βαασα υἱοῦ Αχια περὶ τῶν παροργισμάτων, ὧν παρώργισας καὶ ἐξήμαρτες τὸν Ἰσραηλ. (Rahlfs)
Et dabo domum tuam sicut domum Hieroboam filii Nabath, sicut domum Saba filii Acia, pro omnibus exacerbationibus quibus exacerbasti et peccatum dedisti in Israel. Luc Athan. 1.19 (34,21–24)

1 Kgs 21[20]:22.1 καὶ 2° > Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:22.2 Βαασα] βασα 242; Saba Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:22.3 Αχια] αχεια B 82-127; Acia Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:22.4 περὶ = MT] + πάντων L Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:22.5 ἐξήμαρτες] *peccatum dedisti in* Luc

There are no major variants in the verse, but Lucifer makes two small modifications: he omits the conjunction before “like the house of Baasa” (1) and uses his own formulation for the expression “you made Israel sin” (5). The name *Saba* for King Baasha of Israel (1 Kgs 15–16; 2) is simply an error. Despite a certain freedom of quotation, it is best to accept the agreement between Lucifer and *L* in adding the word “all (the provocations)” (4) as genuine.

1 Kgs 21[20]:23 καὶ τῇ Ιεζαβελ ἐλάλησεν κύριος λέγων Οἱ κύνες καταφάγονται αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ προτειχίσματι Ιεζραελ. (Rahlfs)
Et ad Iezabel locutus est dominus dicens: canes manducabunt eam ante murum Iezrahel, Luc Athan. 1.19 (34,24–25)

1 Kgs 21[20]:23.1 καταφάγονται] φάγονται *L*; *manducabunt* Luc

Cf. 1 Kgs 21[20]:24.3 φάγονται 1°] καταφάγονται **A L 328** 134 246 71 **318**; *manducabunt* Luc

Cf. 1 Kgs 21[20]:24.5 φάγονται 2°] καταφάγονται (-γεται 82-93-127) **A L 328 318**

While far from certain, Lucifer probably attests the verb ἐσθίω in 23.1 (*L*) and 24.3 (B and majority): in his biblical quotations *manduco* regularly corresponds to ἐσθίω (about 25x, e.g., 1 Kgs 13:8, 9, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23 // *Conv.* 3) whereas elsewhere κατεσθίω is rendered with *comedo* five times (1 Kgs 12:24m twice // *Reg.* 5, 18:38 // *Athan.* 1.17, Isa 1:20 // *Athan.* 1.39, Jer 10:25 // *Athan.* 2.3) and only once with *manduco* (Dan [θ'] 7:23 // *Parc.* 30). While *manduco* is perhaps the one more easily associated with animals (“to chew, to devour”), Lucifer’s usage of the verb in 1 Kgs 13 shows that he had no trouble with using that verb for “dining.” The Hebrew cannot play

any role here: the corresponding reading in the MT is the same in each case (יִלְכָּדוּ). In the three variation units (23.1, 24.3, 5) only A 328 318 keep a consistent pattern: καταφάγονται-καταφ.-καταφ.—all the others change the verb in one instance (φάγονται-καταφ.-καταφ. *L*; καταφ.-καταφ.-φ. 134 246 71; καταφ.-φ.-φ. *B* rel). As far as we can tell, Lucifer's pattern in the two cases (23.1, 24.3) corresponds to no Greek witness. The possibility of a genuine agreement with *L* alone in 23.1 should not be ruled out, but it should not be considered a weighty piece of evidence.

1 Kgs 21[20]:24 τὸν τεθνηκότα τοῦ Ἀχααβ ἐν τῇ πόλει φάγονται οἱ κύνες, καὶ τὸν τεθνηκότα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ φάγονται τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. (Rahlfs)
et mortuos tuos in ciuitate manducabunt uolucres caeli. Quid tu, Constanti, dicis ad haec? Luc *Athan.* 1.19 (34,25–27)

1 Kgs 21[20]:24.1 τὸν τεθνηκότα 1^o *et mortuos tuos* Luc; – καὶ om 46-236-242-313-530 (homoiot.)

1 Kgs 21[20]:24.2 τοῦ Ἀχααβ] *tuos* Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:24.3 φάγονται 1^o καταφάγονται *A L* 134 246 71 318 328; *manducabunt* Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:24.4 οἱ κύνες – φάγονται 2^o] > Luc (homoiot.?)

1 Kgs 21[20]:24.5 φάγονται 2^o] καταφάγονται (-γεται 82-93-127) *A L* 318 328

The change from “the (one) dead of Ahab” to “your (many) dead” (1, 2) is probably an adaptation by Lucifer. Lucifer may shorten the text deliberately, especially since the quotation is about to end. However, his omission of “the dogs shall eat,” and “his dead on the plain” (4) looks like a homoioteleuton error: the result—“your dead in the city the birds of the sky shall eat”—is not nonsensical, but odd since in the town the bodies are more likely to be eaten by the dogs and on the plain by the birds. Piras suspects that the error has taken place in the transmission of Lucifer's works and restores the sentence as “*manducabunt canes et mortuum eius (mortuos tuos?) in campo.*”²⁷³ A homoioteleuton error has caused the majority of the greater Catena group (*CII*) to lose the first part of the verse (1), but Lucifer's form of the text cannot go back to that since those Catena manuscripts attest the better fitting sequence “on the plain”-“the birds” (τὸν τεθνηκότα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ φάγονται τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).

273. Piras, “Kritische,” 62. Cf. Diercks: “‘*deest versiculus*’ adnotat *Lat*; mortuum de Achab in ciuitate comedent canes *suppl. cens. Gal*.” Piras calls Gallandi's (Diercks: “*Gal*”) emendation “unglücklich.”

Conclusion: Lucifer mainly follows the B text but makes many small adaptations (9.1, 2; 10.2, 5–6; 18.5; 19.3, 4 [= La^M], 7; 20:3–5; 22.1, 5; 24.1–2, 4 [homoiot. in Lucifer's works?]). His agreements with the *L* text are far from striking: 10.3, 19.1–2, 20.2, 23.1, 24.3; the agreement 22.4 is somewhat more noteworthy. Then again, Lucifer has four agreements with A against most other witnesses (18.1, 3, 4; 19.9), and taken together they must be considered striking. Of course, as a whole, Lucifer's text is far from the A text: he does not follow the other special readings of A (19.10, 11; 21.1 [= B!]). Finally, there may be a genuine agreement with La^M in the reading *maledixit/-isti* (10.1) but that is far from certain; it is not impossible that the reading goes back to a genuine, possibly original, Greek reading, but a contextual change in the Latin witnesses remains the best solution.

Part 2: Lucifer's Readings in the Kaige Section

In the kaige section of Kings (1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs) the underlying assumption is that the original reading may have been preserved in the Antiochian text as well as in the B text. Of course, an Antiochian reading is not likely to be the OG reading unless it can be demonstrated that the B reading may result from Hebraizing correction. While in principle any reading in accordance with the MT might be a Hebraizing reading, in practice the kaige readings tend to follow certain patterns. I have proposed a brief set of general characteristics that increase the likelihood that a reading should be attributed to the kaige revision:

A kaige reading is likely to fulfil one or more of the following criteria:

Lexicographical criteria

1. The Greek word produces the basic meaning of the Hebrew word or a rendering that might be theologically meaningful.
2. The same rendering is found more often in the kaige sections than outside them.
3. The same rendering can be found in Aquila's or Theodotion's translation or in the Naḥal Ḥever Minor Prophets scroll.
4. The reading produces the same number of elements (particles and lexemes) as the corresponding Hebrew reading.
5. The competing reading in *L* is likely to be the OG reading or a slightly revised version of it.

External criteria

1. In the kaige sections, the reading is found in the B text and the vast majority of the witnesses, but not in *L*.
2. In the nonkaige sections the reading is typically found in the B text with some support in the minuscules, but not in *L* and the majority.

3. The reading in *L* is supported by pre-Lucianic witnesses or other witnesses that are known for being mostly free from kaige influence.¹

From the point of view of establishing Lucifer's text-historical position, three considerations are of importance:

1. As a good, early witness that bears no traces of the Hexaplaric revision and has been contaminated with Lucianic recensional readings only to a very small extent, it can be assumed that Lucifer should attest only a minimal number of kaige readings. Whenever there is the slightest chance that such a case could be found, it should be subjected to the closest scrutiny: any such case may reveal significant information about both the kaige revision and Lucifer's biblical text.
2. The less we find kaige readings in Lucifer's text, the more reliable a witness he should be considered to be in those cases in which the Antiochian text may preserve the original reading against B. Of course, in the kaige section it must be checked especially carefully whether Lucifer attests the recensional readings of *L*: if Lucifer attested a fully developed Antiochian text, it would be of little consequence if his text had escaped the kaige revision. Once it can be established that Lucifer does not follow a fully developed Antiochian text, his testimony can be used when bringing to light new kaige readings.
3. It is possible that the base text of the Antiochian text (the proto-Lucianic text) contained a very small number of kaige readings. If such a case is found in *L* in the passages attested by Lucifer, it would be highly interesting to see whether Lucifer shares the kaige reading or not. Because of the expected number of kaige readings in *L* is very low indeed, and the total amount of text Lucifer witnesses to in the kaige section is limited to sixty-one verses (ca. 8 percent), the possibility of finding such a reading is low. Then again, it is more likely to encounter a variation unit in which the B text has lost the original reading under the kaige revision and the Antiochian text under the Lucianic revision. In such a case, Lucifer

1. Kauhanen, "Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision," 147.

might retain the reading closest to the OG reading—unless there happens to be corruption or free modification in Lucifer's reading.

With these considerations in mind I will provide an analysis of Lucifer's quotations in the kaige section of Kings (1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs).

1 Kgs 22:5–6, 7–8, 18, 27 (*Reg.* 8)

Lucifer started with King Ahab in *Reg.* 6 and 7 ended with a rather lengthy exposition of Constantius being surrounded by idol-worshippers and false prophets. At the beginning of chapter 8, Lucifer continues the exposition:

That you may believe that men of God have always been hated by apostates, who, in turn, have loved the enemies of the true worship of God, that is, the devil worshippers, hear now whom Ahab loved and whom he hated. *Luc Reg.* 8 (151,1–4)²

After this follow some quotations of the incident involving Jehoshaphat, Ahab, and the prophet Micaiah.

- 1 Kgs 22:5 καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσαφατ βασιλεὺς Ἰουδα πρὸς βασιλέα Ἰσραὴλ Ἐπερωτήσατε δὴ σήμερον τὸν κύριον. (Rahlfs)
Et dixit Iosafat rex Iuda ad regem Israel: interrogate nunc hodie dominum. *Luc Reg.* 8 (151,4–5)
- 1 Kgs 22:5.1 πρὸς Luc] + Ἀχαὰβ *L* 158
- 1 Kgs 22:5.2 שָׁמַיִךְ ἐπερωτήσατε Luc] ἐπερωτήσωμεν *L* 328 158 = Treballe-Torijano
Cf. 22:7 ἐπερωτήσωμεν
- 1 Kgs 22:5.3 הַיּוֹם שְׁמַיִךְ Luc] > *L*^{-19'} = Treballe-Torijano

The Antiochian text supplies the name of the Israelite king as a recensional explication (1). The change to the first person for the verb “to inquire” (2) is very likely recensional as well. Even though there are no obvious palaeographic reasons for an accidental omission of σήμερον “today” in the archetype of 82-93-127 (3), it should be considered whether that would be

2. My trans.; Ugenti, 102: “E perché tu possa credere che gli uomini di Dio sono stati sempre odiati dagli apostati, mentre sono stati da loro amati i nemici del retto culto di Dio, cioè gli adoratori del diavolo, senti un po' chi Acab amò e chi invece ebbe in odio.”

the best explanation for the minus. While corresponding to the Hebrew, the B reading, attested by Lucifer, is probably not a kaige reading.³

- 1 Kgs 22:6 καὶ συνήθροισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ πάντας τοὺς προφῆτας ὡς τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς Εἰ πορευθῶ εἰς Ρεμμαθ Γαλααδ εἰς πόλεμον ἢ ἐπίσχω; καὶ εἶπαν Ἀνάβαινε, καὶ διδοὺς δώσει κύριος εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ βασιλέως. (Rahlfs)
Et conuocauit rex Israel omnes prophetas quasi quadringentos uiros, et dixit illis rex Achab: si ibo in Remma ad Galaath in pugnam aut cessabo? Et dixerunt: ascende. Et infra: ... Luc Reg. 8 (151,5–8)
Et convocavit rex Israel omnes prophetas suos, quasi quadringentos uiros, La^M
- 1 Kgs 22:6.1 ὁ βασιλεὺς 2^o] > 381 z = MT; + Ἰσραὴλ L 328 158; + Achab Luc
- 1 Kgs 22:6.2 Ρεμμαθ Γαλααδ (vel sim) Luc^{Ugenti}] Remma ad Galaath Luc^{Diercks}
- 1 Kgs 22:6.3 ἐπίσχω Luc] ἐπέχω B V
- 1 Kgs 22:6.4 ἰῆπαν/εἶπον Luc] εἶπεν 247 108 121 488

This is the only verse in chapter 22 in which Lucifer's text can be compared with La^M. They agree word for word except for a minor detail: *prophetas* Luc] + *suos* La^M. Moreno rightly considers the plus in La^M an interpolation by the translator. However, his claim that the great agreement between Lucifer and La^M confirms that both witness a genuine OL translation here⁴ is, to my mind, unjustified: given the literal mode of the translation and the straightforward syntax of Christian Latin, there would be not much choice in rendering the Greek phrase καὶ συνήθροισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ πάντας τοὺς προφῆτας ὡς τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας; the only rendering that might look different in Christian Latin is *convoco* “to call together” for συναθροίζω “to gather”—*congrego* “to collect” (Vg. here) would serve equally well.⁵

While Lucifer has mentioned the name of Ahab in the introduction to the quotation (151,3), the first king mentioned in the passage is Jehoshaphat of Judah (v. 5). Even though the context makes it clear that Ahab is the king gathering the prophets (“the king of Israel gathered the prophets together”), Lucifer felt it appropriate to explicate the name (1), while the Lucianic recensor added “of Israel” to the same effect. The pres-

3. See Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 151–52.

4. Antonio Moreno Hernández, “Nuevos Textos de *Vetus Latina*,” *Emérita* 58.2 (1990): 281–82.

5. It is perhaps appropriate to note that, except for the Vulgate, of course, there are no other Latin witnesses for this verse.

ent form ἐπέχω “I refrain” in B V (3) instead of the expected aorist subjunctive in the majority is probably a transcriptional error. The same holds true for the singular εἶπεν “he said” in 247 108 121 488 (4).

- 1 Kgs 22:7 καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσαφατ πρὸς βασιλέα Ἰσραὴλ Οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε προφήτης τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐπερωτήσομεν τὸν κύριον δι’ αὐτοῦ; (Rahlfs)
Et dixit Iosafat ad regem Israel: non est hic propheta domini, et interrogabimus dominum? Luc Reg. 8 (151,8–10)
- 1 Kgs 22:7.1 κυρίου Luc] + οὐκ ἔτι A: cf. MT (טִינ)
- 1 Kgs 22:7.2 δι’ αὐτοῦ] > Luc
 Cf. 22:8.7 δι’ αὐτοῦ] > Luc

Lucifer does not follow the Hexaplaric addition in A (1) and otherwise only shortens the text a little (2).

- 1 Kgs 22:8 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς Ἰωσαφατ Ἔτι ἔστιν ἀνὴρ εἷς τοῦ ἐπερωτήσαι τὸν κύριον δι’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγὼ μεμίσηκα αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐ λαλεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ καλὰ, ἀλλ’ ἢ κακὰ, Μιχαίας υἱὸς Ἰεμλὰ. (Rahlfs)
Et dixit Achab rex Israel ad Iosafat regem: unus est per quem interrogemus dominum, sed ego odi illum, quoniam non loquitur de me bona. Item, ... Luc Reg. 8 (151,10–12)
- 1 Kgs 22:8.1 ὁ (1°) – Ἰωσαφατ] pr Achab Luc; Ἀχαάβ 71; > d⁻¹⁰⁶
- 1 Kgs 22:8.2 πρὸς Ἰωσαφατ] > 381; + regem Luc
- 1 Kgs 22:8.3 טִינ ἔτι A 74] ὅτι εἷς x 245 554; εἷς B Luc; εἰ 158 460; > L 372 = Treballe-Torijano; + εἷς V 247 C’ 121 d 246 o s t⁻⁷⁴ z 55 71 244 318 342 627 707
- 1 Kgs 22:8.4 ἔστιν Luc] + εἷς 372^(c); + ὧδε L = Treballe-Torijano
 Cf. 22:7 פֹּה הֵאֵין οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε (no variants)
- 1 Kgs 22:8.5 שֶׁרָשָׁהּ לְהַדְרִיךְ אִישׁ-אֶחָד ἀνὴρ εἷς τοῦ ἐπερωτήσαι] per quem interrogemus Luc
- 1 Kgs 22:8.6 εἷς τοῦ L 328 = MT] > 44-125; εἷς τό rel
- 1 Kgs 22:8.7 δι’ αὐτοῦ] > Luc
 Cf. above 22:7.2 δι’ αὐτοῦ] > Luc
- 1 Kgs 22:8.8 טֹב καλὰ] ἀγαθὰ L Tht = Treballe-Torijano; bona Luc
 Cf. 22:13
 Cf. 22:18 καλὰ] bona Luc

Again, Lucifer wants to explicate the name Ahab (1), likely without any connection to the same name in MS 71 which omits the words “the king of Israel to Jehoshaphat” with some other manuscripts. In addition, Lucifer provides Jehoshaphat’s title (2). Variation units 3–6 are interrelated. Rahlfs’s solution to them is ingenious and I will try to explain what I think he may have thought. The different text forms, slightly simplified, are as follows:

A 74	L	158 460	B	372	Majority	Lucifer
ἔτι ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος εἰς	ἔστιν ὧδε ἄνθρωπος εἰς	εἰ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος εἰς	εἰς ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος εἰς	ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος εἰς	ἔτι (ὅτι x 245 554) εἰς ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος εἰς (εἰς 328; > 44-125)	<i>unus est per quem</i>

It seems that Rahlfs assumed that the *Vorlage* was what we now find in the MT: אֶחָד שָׁמַיִם וְיָד. The translator rendered this as can be expected: ἔτι ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος εἰς “there is still one man.” Before the diacritics were introduced, the copyists could not make a distinction between εἰς “one” and the preposition εἰς (here: “in order to”), and since the following expression τοῦ ἐπερωτῆσαι is an infinitive, they took εἰς as a preposition and, accordingly, changed the article τοῦ to the accusative (6). This must have happened very early as only L 328 attest the original reading in variation unit 6. (That they really attest εἰς instead of εἰς is revealed by the genitive article.) This way the expression “one” was lost, and it was provided after the word ἔτι either due to early Hebraizing correction or *ad sensum* (3). The only witnesses that escaped that change are A L 74 372—with the probable addition of 158 460; they either attest the loss of ἔτι⁶ and the addition of εἰς in a corrupted form, or, more likely, simply a corruption from ἔτι to εἰ. Furthermore, in x 245 554 ἔτι was corrupted to ὅτι, and it was lost completely in B. The word ὧδε “here” in L (4) is clearly a recensional addition in conformation with the previous verse. Thus Rahlfs, according to my reasoning.

Lucifer possibly follows B in variation unit 3, but he might have omitted ἔτι himself. Lucifer straightens out the words “one man to inquire” to “(one) through whom we can inquire,” omitting the word “man” against all the Greek witnesses and eliminating the infinitive form (5). Thus, it is difficult to say whether Lucifer follows L or B and the majority in the following variation unit 6. Lucifer probably attests the early addition of εἰς with B and the majority against A and L (3), avoids the Lucianic addition of ὧδε (4), and with some probability attests the early variant εἰς τό (6). Even if the addition of εἰς in variation unit 3 is accepted as a kaige reading,

6. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 168, suggest that the omission of וְיָד “was intentional: the 400 prophets are thus divested of the distinction of being prophets of JHVH.” They note that it is characteristic of A to follow the MT וְיָד in both instances in vv. 7 and 8, probably implying that A had a Hebraizing reading in both instances.

this is far from a clear case of Lucifer attesting a kaige reading: the addition in Lucifer's text may be simply *ad sensum*—or, the entire clause is a free reformulation and *unus* may even reflect the word εἷς after ἀνὴρ as found in *L*. Lucifer's form could even be explained on the basis of Rahlfs form of text, ἔτι ἔστιν ἀνὴρ εἷς, not preserved in any witness in its entirety: neither ἔτι nor ἀνὴρ is really needed and Lucifer is free to move the verb “to be” to any place in the sentence.

In the light of the freedom already observed in Lucifer's quotation, it is easy to attribute the omission of δι' αὐτοῦ “through him” to Lucifer (7)—note the same variant in the previous verse. Regarding variation unit 8, the extant Latin witnesses do not make a distinction between ἀγαθός and καλός in Samuel-Kings: 1 Sam 25:3 ἀγαθή ... καλή *bono ... bona* La^M, 1 Kgs 18:24 καλὸν *bonum* La¹¹⁵.⁷ Lucifer's *bona* (8) may reflect either Greek word. The rendering καλός for the root כוּב in the B text in 1 Kgs 22:8.8 as well as in every Greek witness in 1 Kgs 22:18 is unlikely a kaige reading: according to Walter Ray Bodine, the standard kaige rendering for the root כוּב is ἀγαθός.⁸

After the words “he does not speak anything good about me, but only evil” (NETS) Lucifer breaks the quotation to explain what happened when Mic-iaiah son of Imlah was summoned to the kings (vv. 9–17). Then he moves directly to verse 18.

- 1 Kgs 22:18 καὶ εἶπεν βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς Ἰωσαφατ βασιλέα Ἰουδα Οὐκ εἶπα πρὸς σέ Οὐ προφητεύει οὗτός μοι καλὰ, διότι ἀλλ' ἢ κακὰ; (Rahlfs)
Item, posteaquam dixisset propheta domini ad illum Michaeas, ne ascenderet, quoniam si ascendisset, non esset reuersurus: *Dixit rex Israel ad Iosafat regem iuda: nonne dixi ad te quoniam prophetat mihi hic non bona, sed magis mala?* Luc Reg. 8 (151,12–16)
- 1 Kgs 22:18.1 תִּזְכֹּר לְפָנַי πρὸς σέ Luc] σοι *L*; ὅτι 530
- 1 Kgs 22:18.2 אֵלֹהִים οὐ] pr ὅτι *A L* 328 o 71 Luc; ὅτι 246
- 1 Kgs 22:18.3 οὗτός μοι] tr 44 318 460 707 Luc

7. Words other than *bonus* appear to have been used only in the context of a good-looking woman: 2 Sam 11:2 καλή τῷ εἶδει *speciosa* La¹¹⁵; 2 Sam 13:1 *decora facie* Rufinus, *Orig. Comm. Cant.* prol.; 2 Sam 14:27 καλή *bona specie* La^M. In Judges the word καλός is not found, which makes comparison with La¹⁰⁰ impossible.

8. Walter Ray Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments*, HSM 23 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 48–52; see also Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 158.

1 Kgs 22:18.4 𐤁𐤃𐤔𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕] 𐤔𐤓𐤕 530* 245 707; > L 52 328 (*d*⁻¹⁰⁶) 381 372 460 Luc

1 Kgs 22:18.5 ἀλλ' ἢ] ἀλλὰ 82 130 *t* 707; πάντα 106; *sed magis* Luc

The Hebrew preposition 𐤁𐤃𐤔𐤓𐤕 with a second-person singular suffix is regularly rendered as πρὸς σέ in Samuel-Kings (37x). This practice prevails even when the predicate is a verb of saying (1 Sam 16:3, 24:5; 2 Sam 7:20, 14:10; 1 Kgs 12:10, 13:22; 2 Kgs 5:13, 9:5, 20:14). In cases of the latter type, however, the rendering with the Greek dative σοι is used about six times but only in 1 Samuel (3:17⁹; 8:7¹⁰; 9:17, 23; 10:2; 28:8). Since the normal Greek usage is to express the one spoken to with a dative, the reading σοι in L (1) is likely recensional.

Ahab's words contain a reference to what he said to Jehoshaphat in verse 8: "Did I not tell you that this one does not prophesy anything good to me, for on the contrary evil?" (NETS). A conjunction is in order ("that" is added in both NRSV and NETS), but could the OG translator have provided one? In Samuel-Kings there are rather clear cases where 𐤔𐤓𐤕 is found in the OG but there is no correspondence in the MT.¹¹ One can suppose either that in all these cases the *Vorlage* of the LXX had the word 𐤁𐤃𐤔𐤓𐤕 or that the translators of Samuel-Kings added 𐤔𐤓𐤕 when they deemed it necessary. On the other hand, the Lucianic reviser is prone to add such a conjunction, but it is difficult to explain how it ended up in A and 71 in variation unit 2. If the reading 𐤔𐤓𐤕 was original, the kaige revision omitted it in conformation with the MT. Lucifer has already made some explicating additions in this passage (6.1, 8.1), but since there is manuscript evidence for the plus of 𐤔𐤓𐤕, it is best to accept that Lucifer's *quoniam* reflects that reading.

The transposition of the words οὗτός μοι in Lucifer (3) might be his own formulation since he also moves the negation towards the end of the sentence: "does prophesy ... *not* good but evil"; thus, the agreement with four manuscripts is not significant. The reading διότι in the majority (4) is probably a kaige addition; the OG translators of Samuel-Kings favoured the rendering ἀλλ' ἢ for the adversative 𐤁𐤃𐤔𐤓𐤕 (e.g., 1 Sam 8:19; 1 Kgs 8:19, 17:12), and the kaige revisers added 𐤔𐤓𐤕 or διότι to reflect the

9. Aejmelaeus: λαληθέντων] + προς σε 121 68'; + σοι A B O 509 107-120'-610 *f* Ra = MT.

10. Aejmelaeus: σοι A B O 509 *d*^{-68'} *f* 554] προς σε rel.

11. E.g., 1 Sam 1:8, 5:7, 11:12 (om 𐤔𐤓𐤕 *L*^{-19'} *d* *s*^{-64'}), 13:13; 2 Sam 1:16 (om 𐤔𐤓𐤕 *L* 107' 64'), 5:6 (om 𐤔𐤓𐤕 2° *O L a*⁻⁵²⁷ 64' 489 244 460 707), 11:10 (om 𐤔𐤓𐤕 1° *L* 64' | om 𐤔𐤓𐤕 2° *CII* 527 *d*⁻³⁷⁰ *s*^{-64'} 342 554), 12:18 (n.v.), 13:20 (n.v.), 19:3 (om 𐤔𐤓𐤕 2° *a*); 1 Kgs 10:21; 2 Kgs 1:4 (𐤔𐤓𐤕 1°) διὰ τοῦτο *L*), 5:11 (om 𐤔𐤓𐤕 *L*⁻⁸² 460).

Hebrew כִּי.¹² While Lucifer might use a suitable adversative expression regardless of the underlying Greek, it is likely that he attests the OG reading retained in *L* and some other witnesses.¹³

1 Kgs 22:27 εἰπὸν θέσθαι τοῦτον ἐν φυλακῇ καὶ ἐσθίειν αὐτὸν ἄρτον θλίψεως καὶ ὕδωρ θλίψεως ἕως τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι με ἐν εἰρήνῃ. (Rahlfs)
 Michaeas uero propheta domini recluditur in carcerem, et dicitur:
Manducet panem doloris donec redeam; Luc Reg. 8 (152,23–25)

1 Kgs 22:27.1 יהי־כִּי־הָיָה] ἐσθίειν αὐτόν] om αὐτόν 530 44 74 460; ἐσθιέτω A L 381 342
 Luc

1 Kgs 22:27.2 καὶ ὕδωρ θλίψεως] > 19 246 Luc

In this very short quotation it is best not to cite Lucifer as attesting either of the variant readings: Lucifer is likely to change the Greek *accusativus cum infinitivo* construction to a finite verb (1) and the mention of the “water of affliction” (NETS; 2) is not needed for the argument.

For the verses 1 Kgs 22:43–44, for which Diercks reports a quotation by Lucifer in *Reg.* 6, see 1 Kgs 16:28b above.

Conclusion: Lucifer does not attest any of the obvious Lucianic recensional readings (5.1, 2; 6.1; 8.4; 18.1). Lucifer's own modifications are omissions (7.2, 8.7, 27.2) or small clarifying additions (6.1, 8.1 [cf. 71], 2), once a reformulation of a short clause (8.5). Furthermore, Lucifer escapes an error in B V (6.3) and a Hexaplaric reading retained in A only (7.1). Once he may attest an early variant (8.3) which is not necessarily Hebraizing, and Lucifer's accuracy in the whole clause can be called into question. Lucifer may attest an original reading with *L* against B and the majority in 18.2, but the case is doubtful.

2 Kgs 2:11–12 (*Athan.* 1.20)

Lucifer claims that Emperor Constantius persecutes Athanasius like King Ahab persecuted the prophet Elijah. Elijah was taken into eternal joy whereas Ahab ended up in eternal pain; similar fates are waiting for Athanasius and Constantius (*Athan.* 1.20). Lucifer describes Elijah's ascension with a short quotation from 2 Kgs 2:11–12.

12. Julio Trebolle Barrera, “From the ‘Old Latin’ through the ‘Old Greek’ to the ‘Old Hebrew’ (2 Kings 10:25–28),” *Text* 11 (1984): 25–26.

13. See also Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 153.

- 2 Kgs 2:11 καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν πορευομένων ἐπορεύοντο καὶ ἐλάλουν, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄρμα πυρὸς καὶ ἵπποι πυρὸς καὶ διέστειλαν ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ ἀνελήμφθη Ἡλίου ἐν συσσεισμῷ ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. (Rahlfs)
Euntibus autem illis et loquentibus ecce currus igneus et equi ignei, et separavit inter utrosque. Et ascendit Helias in commotionem quasi in caelum. Luc Athan. 1.20 (36,13–16)
Et ascendit Helias in commotione quasi in caelum. La^M
Et ascendit, inquit, Elias in commotionem quasi in coelum Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermons*¹⁴ 1,7,13
ascendit quasi usque in caelum Bede, *Hom. Gosp.* 2,15
et ascendit Elias in commotione quasi usque in caelum Orig *Comm. Matth.* 13,2 (179,26)
et ascendit Helias per turbinem in caelum Vg.
- 2 Kgs 2:11.1 רָכַבְתִּי הָיִלִּי ἐπορεύοντο καὶ ἐλάλουν] pr καὶ 98^c CII f 92-314-489-762 119; καὶ λαλούντων L-700¹⁵ 372 460 Luc; om ἐπορεύοντο 245
- 2 Kgs 2:11.2 וַיִּרְדּוּ דִּיעֲסַתֵּילַן] διέστειλαν B CI⁻⁹⁸ 121 f o 488 134 799 z 71 244 318 342 460; διεχώρισεν L-700 372; *separavit* Luc Athan. 1.20
- 2 Kgs 2:11.3 הָיִלִּי ἀνελήμφθη] *ascendit* La^M Luc = Vg.
 Cf. 2 Kgs 2:1 ἐν τῷ ἀνάγειν κύριον τὸν Ἡλίου¹⁶
- 2 Kgs 2:11.4 ἐν συσσεισμῷ] *in commotione(m)* La^M Luc Ps-Aug Bede Orig; *per turbine* Vg.
 Cf. 2 Kgs 2:1 ἐν συσσεισμῷ] *in commotione(m)* La^M *Glossarium Biblicum* [AN glo B]
 Cf. 1 Kgs 19:11–12 συσσεισμός (3x in different cases)] *commotio* Vg.; *terrae motus* Iren *Haer.* 4.20.10 Cf. Nahum 1:3 συσσεισμῷ] *turbine* Vg.; “*turbine ... commotionem LXX transtulerunt*” Jerome, *Comm. Nahum* Cf. Jer 23:19 συσσεισμόν] *tempestas* Vg.; *motu* La¹⁷⁷ 17
- 2 Kgs 2:11.5 ὡς Luc]¹⁸ ἕως 19-108*; > A 93 CI s⁻⁴⁸⁸ t z 71 342: cf. MT
 Cf. 2 Kgs 2:1 ὡς] > A 247 93-700 44 488*-489 71 245

14. Information on the possible OL witnesses for this verse is taken from the Vetus Latin Database (used via Brepolis online publications). The marking in the square brackets is the abbreviation of the database.

15. In Treballe and Torijano's manuscript grouping (see the beginning of the book), MS 700 belongs to *L* in 2 Kings. In order to be explicit, I attach 700 in *L* with a hyphen.

16. No significant variants.

17. La¹⁷⁷ = Codex Wirceburgensium; see Roger Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, 272.

18. MSS *d* have the word ὡς before the words ἐν συσσεισμῷ.

The change from the indicative to the participle λαλούντων in the verb “to speak” (1) may be attributed to the Lucianic reviser—the reading ἐλάλουν of the B text is hardly a kaige feature. The omission of the word ἐπορεύοντο is probably recensional as well: “walking” is mentioned directly before with the participle and, combined with that, the *L* reading produces a smooth text καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν πορευομένων καὶ λαλούντων “and it happened as they were walking and talking.” Lucifer would possibly favour such a formulation regardless of the underlying Greek, but the simplest explanation is that he follows the recensional Lucianic text. Lucifer probably attests the verb διαχωρίζω with *L* (2): there is only little evidence of Lucifer's renderings of the competing Greek verbs, but διαστέλλω is always rendered with *distinguo* (2 Chr 19:10 // *Athan.* 1.21; Ezek 3:18–21 [6x] // *Parc.* 10), whereas *separo* is used as a rendering for ἀφορίζω (Matt 13:49 // *Athan.* 2.17; 2 Cor 6:17 // *Conv.* 13), διαχωρίζω (Sus 51 // *Athan.* 2.10), and χωρίζω (Rom 8:35 // *Mor.* 6). Counting in Lucifer's probable attestation to διαχωρίζω we may cautiously suggest that διαστέλλω for פָּרַד is a kaige feature: the verb פָּרַד (*hiphil* “separate”) is found twice in Samuel-Kings, the other instance in *niphal* in 2 Sam 1:23 (nonkaige) where it is rendered with διαχωρίζω (no significant variants). The verb διαστέλλω “set apart,” on the other hand, is found twice outside the present occurrence, both instances in the nonkaige sections. In those, διαστέλλω renders verbs other than פָּרַד (1 Sam 3:1 פָּרַץ *niphal* “be separated,” 1 Kgs 8:53 בָּדַל *hiphil* “separate”).¹⁹

The Latin witnesses cited favour the active form *ascendit* “he went up” over the passive ἀνελήμφθη “he was taken up” of the Greek witnesses (3). I find it very improbable that the active Latin form reflected the Hebrew *qal* (וָיַעַל); rather, the question is of difference in the linguistic usage between the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages. Thus, the Latin witnesses here do not help us evaluate the Greek reading ἀνελήμφθη, which is held to be an exegetical interpretation by some²⁰ or resulting from a *hophal* vocalization וָיַעַל* by others.²¹ The word συσσεισμός (4; *GELS*: “commotion”) is not found in pre-LXX Greek or in the New Testament. Thus, there is little evidence of how it has been translated into Latin, but the possible

19. See Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 158–59. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 182, prefer the reading διέστειλεν on the grounds that “the chariot is mentioned first.”

20. E.g., T. R. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, WBC 13 (Waco: Word, 1985), 15.

21. E.g., Gray, *I and II Kings*, 473.

OL readings for 1 Kgs 19:11–12, Nah 1:3, and Jer 23:19 cited above suggest that *commotio* “moving, motion; rousing, exciting, agitation, commotion” is not the only possibility. The choice of that word combined with the nearly exact wording for the latter part of the verse in Lucifer, La^M, Pseudo-Augustine, and Origen may suggest that those witnesses shared a common Latin source for this verse.

- 2 Kgs 2:12 καὶ Ἐλισαίε ἐώρα καὶ ἐβόα Πάτερ πάτερ, ἄρμα Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἱππεὺς αὐτοῦ· καὶ οὐκ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἔτι (Rahlfs)
Et Helisaeus uidebat, et ipse clamabat et dixit: pater, pater, agitator Israel. Et non uidit eum amplius. Luc Athan. 1.20 (36,16–17)
Et Heliseus uidebat et ipse clamabat: Pater, pater, agitator Israel, qui [cui 91 94 95] me dereliquisti? La^M
et Elisaeus intuebatur, et ipse exclamauit et dixit: pater, pater, agitator Israel, et non uidit eum amplius. Orig Comm. Matth. 13.2 (179,28)
pater, pater, agitator Istrahel et eques ipsius, Ambrose, On Naboth 64
Pater, Pater, agitator Israel Pseudo-Fulgentius, Sermons [PS-FU s] 20 (PL 65:886D)
- 2 Kgs 2:12.1 καὶ 2^o] + αὐτός L-700 372 La^M Orig Luc (*ipse*) = MT; + οὕτως 530
- 2 Kgs 2:12.2 ἐβόα] ἀνεβόα 527; clamabat La^M Luc; exclamauit Orig
- 2 Kgs 2:12.3 πάτερ 1^o] pr et dixit Orig Luc
- 2 Kgs 2:12.4 וְפָרְשָׁיו יִשְׂרָאֵל רָכַב ἄρμα Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἱππεὺς αὐτοῦ] agitator Israel La^M
 Orig Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 13:14 ἄρμα Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἱππεὺς αὐτοῦ (no variants)] rector israel
 et | eques eius La¹¹⁵; agitator Israel et dux eius La^M

In this verse the only significant Greek variant is the plus of αὐτός in L (1), shared by La^M, Origen, and Lucifer. The rest of the variation is found in the Latin witnesses only. Origen and Lucifer agree in the plus *et dixit* (3), which may well be a contextual addition. The most noteworthy reading is *agitator* “driver, charioteer” for ἄρμα ... καὶ ἱππεύς, found in La^M, Origen, and Lucifer. Fernández Marcos observes that *agitator* cannot be a translation of פָּרְשָׁיו “its horsemen”; in the parallel expression in 2 Kgs 13:14 the Hebrew word is reflected by *dux eius*. He suggests that *agitator* goes back to a reading of the Hebrew consonants as a participle רָכַב “rider.”²² But what would be the underlying Greek? The words *agitator* and *rector* “helmsman; horseman; governor” (13:14 La¹¹⁵) could render ἀρματηλάτης

22. Natalio Fernández Marcos, “The Vetus Latina of 1–2 Kings and the Hebrew,” in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 155; Fernández Marcos, *Scribes and Translators*, 76–77.

“charioteer,”²³ but not the simple ἄρμα “chariot.” The underlying Greek reading in 2:12.4 could be *ἰππεὺς Ἰσραηλ or *ἄρμα τηλάτης Ἰσραηλ but it is not easy to see how the variation between either of those and the reading ἄρμα Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἰππεὺς αὐτοῦ came about. A Latin translator could have chosen *agitator* for ἄρμα in order to avoid the notion of Elijah as a chariot, but the loss of a correspondence for ἰππεὺς αὐτοῦ should still be accounted for. Nevertheless, the Latin readings probably go back to an already existing OL translation, whatever its relation to the OG.

Conclusion: Within two verses we encounter both two probable Lucianic recensional readings (11.1, 12.1) and an agreement with *L* against a likely kaige reading in *B* (11.2). The great degree of uniformity between Lucifer, *La*^M, and a few other possible OL witnesses in translational choices that are not obvious, may suggest that in these verses Lucifer is following an actual OL source. The same conclusion is corroborated by Lucifer's agreement with Origen in two small plusses (12.1 [= *L*], 3 [≠ *La*^M]) and with *La*^M and Origen in the curious reading *agitator Israel* (12.4).

2 Kgs 6:32b (*Parc.* 4)

In the fourth chapter of *De pariendo*, Lucifer explains how Jehoshaphat, although being generally a pious king, was condemned for making alliances with the apostate kings Ahab and Ahaziah. For this purpose, Lucifer cites several passages from 2 Chr 18–20. Near the end of this long chapter, Lucifer observes that a king of Israel (probably Joram; see 2 Kgs 3:1, 6:26) is said to be “as a son of a murderer”:

Being full of the Holy Spirit, the prophet calls the king of Israel “a son of a murderer,” that is, “son of the devil,” not in order to say that his father was a physical murderer but the devil.... As you now uncover yourself by your acts, he [= the king] also demonstrated being that [= a son of the devil] by persecuting the servants of God. (202,59–63)

This explanation follows directly a short quotation from 2 Kgs 6:32:

23. Or, as Matthieu Richelle, “Elie et Elisée, auriges en Israël,” *RB* 117 (2010): 330, finds more likely, ἡνίοχος “charioteer” or ἐπιβάτης “rider.” On the basis of the OL readings he suggests that the original Hebrew phrase was simply רכב רכב, vocalized as רָכַב or רָכַב.

- 2 Kgs 6:32ba Εἰ οἴδατε ὅτι ἀπέστειλεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ φονευτοῦ οὗτος ἀφελεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν μου; (Rahlfs)
 ... si minime legisses dixisse Helisaeum ad eos qui se cum fuissent:
Si uidistis quoniam filius homicidae illius misit ad auferendum caput meum?, merito ut reum me iniuriarum peteres. *Luc Parc.* 4 (202,57–59)
- 2 Kgs 6:32.1 εἰ B L^{-19'} f71 158 342 460 Luc: cf. MT (מִיָּדָהּ)] > 19'; + μὴ ο 318 372; μὴ rel
- 2 Kgs 6:32.2 מִיָּדָהּ οἴδατε (ἤδείτε B^{txt} 56 707)] ἐωράκατε L 246 342 460 Luc; ἤδειτε ἐωράκατε μὴ οἴδατε 71; + ἐωράκατε μὴ οἴδατε 158
- 2 Kgs 6:32.3 ἀπέστειλεν] + ὁ βασιλεὺς 19; post οὗτος tr 318 Luc
- 2 Kgs 6:32.4 οὗτος] τούτου d⁻¹⁰⁶ Luc (*illius*); του 460²⁴; > B 530

The Hebrew counterpart for the verb οἶδα in the B text (2) can hardly be הָיָה, but, rather, יָדָע. It is possible, nevertheless, that the Greek readings οἴδατε/ἤδειτε and ἐωράκατε go back to Hebraizing revision, whatever its direction.²⁵ While Lucifer appears to support the *L* reading, it must be taken into account that his quotation is very short; Lucifer may make small adaptations in short quotations. Such freedom can be seen in the transposition of the verb “sent” (3) as well as in the genitive form of the pronoun *illius* which makes *homicidae* the correlate: “son of this murderer” (4). This is just the kind of error than can be expected to happen if copyists (like those of d⁻¹⁰⁶) or a quoter is in haste: the case of the pronoun is made to conform to the closest word that is somehow connected with the correlate, not to the case of the actual correlate itself.

2 Kgs 10:30 (*Parc.* 5)

Having established that a king of Israel (Joram; see above) can be called “a son of the devil,” Lucifer then asks how another king of Israel—this time Jehu (2 Kgs 9–10)—can get a positive evaluation and a promise that even his “sons of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel” (10:30). The answer is that Jehu was brave enough to destroy the idolaters, as told in 2 Kgs 10. Lucifer alludes to many verses in the Jehu passages in a paraphrastic manner but quotes verse 10:30 word for word.

24. MS 460 may be following the reading τούτου, although in a corrupted form: the result is a definite article for the following infinitive: τοῦ ἀφελεῖν “to ...” While Lucifer reads *ad auferendum*, it is unlikely that his *ad* reflected the Greek article.

25. Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 411–12, prefers the verb “to know”; see also Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 159.

- 2 Kgs 10:30 Ἐνθ' ὧν ὅσα ἡγάθυνας ποιῆσαι τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου, ἐποίησας (Rahlfs)
Eapropter quod fecisti bona coram me et fecisti secundum cor meum Luc Parc. 5 (202,2–4)
quia fecisti be|ne coram me et fecisti secun|dum cor meum La¹¹⁵
- 2 Kgs 10:30.1 ῥῥῥ ἔν' ὧν ὅσα 1^o] om ὅσα 247 L-700 121 488 318 460; ἄνθ' ὧν ὅτι 246; *quia* La¹¹⁵; *eapropter quod* Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 21:15 ῥῥῥ ἔν' ὧν ὅσα] om ὅσα A L 328 71 460; ἄνθ' ὧν ὅτι o 372; *quoniam* Luc Reg. 8
- 2 Kgs 10:30.2 καί Luc] > A B = MT
- 2 Kgs 10:30.3 πάντα ὅσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου / ἐποίησας = MT] tr L-700 460 La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 2 Kgs 10:30.4 πάντα] pr κατὰ A B L-700 460 = MT; *secundum* La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 2 Kgs 10:30.5 ῥῥῥ ὅσα 2^o] τὰ L-700 460; > La¹¹⁵ Luc; + ἐποίησας 527

According to Bodine, the rendering ῥῥῥ ἔν' ὧν ὅσα is a possible kaige feature in Judges.²⁶ Lucifer probably attests the *L* reading in the minus of ὅσα (plural of ὅσος “as much as, as long as”) both in 2 Kgs 10:30.1 and 21:15, although his rendering for ἄνθ' ὧν “because” varies: *eapropter quod* “for the reason that” and *quoniam* “since.”²⁷ Lucifer follows the *L* text in reading “you did” before the expression “all that was in my heart” (3), in attesting “according to” (κατὰ *secundum*) and in not attesting the second ὅσα (4, 5). However, Lucifer appears to agree with La¹¹⁵ in not having a correspondence for the word πάντα. This may indicate a common source, perhaps a slightly erratic one: ~~καταπαντατα~~. That Lucifer exercises some freedom of quotation can be observed in the latter part of the verse:

- 2 Kgs 10:30 πάντα, ὅσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου, ἐποίησας τῷ οἴκῳ Ἀχααβ, υἱοὶ τέταρτοι καθήσονται σοι ἐπὶ θρόνου Ἰσραὴλ. (Rahlfs)
fecisti secundum cor meum et secundum animam meam domui Achab, filii tui quarta progenie sedebunt tibi in throno Israel. Luc Parc. 5 (202,2–4)
fecisti secun|dum cor meum et secundū | animam meam domui acab | sedebunt tibi filii quarti in | throno israel La¹¹⁵
- 2 Kgs 10:30.5 μου (2^o) = MT] + *et secundum animam meam* La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 2 Kgs 10:30.6 υἱοί La¹¹⁵] + *tui* Luc
- 2 Kgs 10:30.7 τέταρτοι La¹¹⁵] *quarta progenie* Luc

26. Bodine, *Greek Text*, 18–19.

27. Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 153.

Lucifer is alone in variation units 6 and 7 and there his readings are explained as freedom of quotation. The explication of “*your sons*” (6) is hardly necessary because there is σοι *tibi* “for you” a few words later. By contrast, the explication of “sons of the fourth *generation*” (*progenie*, 7) is understandable and can be expected of Lucifer. The agreement with La¹¹⁵ in the plus “and according to my mind” (5) is striking. The probable biblical source for the plus can be found in 1 Sam 2:35: καὶ ἀναστήσω ἐμαυτῷ ἱερέα πιστόν ὃς πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μου ποιήσει “And I will raise up for myself a faithful priest who shall do all that is in my heart **and that is in my soul**” (NETS).²⁸ The agreement of the two otherwise independent Latin witnesses leads to the very cautious conclusion that the plus belonged to the original text and it was dropped out by a parablepsis from μου to μου. On the Hebrew level, however, I would suggest that the plus is secondary, motivated by the similar expression in 1 Sam 2:35.

In light of the certain freedom Lucifer exercises in this quotation that comprises only one verse, only the agreement with *L* in the transposition of “you did” (3) should be considered somewhat striking. Even in that case the agreement is in the easier reading: both the Lucianic reviser and Lucifer could do that without any interdependence.

2 Kgs 20:21–21:19 (*Reg.* 8)

In the eighth chapter of *De regibus*, Lucifer brings up his prime example of an apostate king, Manasseh of Judah (2 Kgs 21:1–18). According to the biblical chronology, Manasseh reigned ca. 685–630 BCE. Assyria was at the height of its power and Manasseh’s reign was peaceful time of a vassal of a great empire. Lucifer aims at refuting a—likely imaginary—argument by Constantius that if he had ruled badly, God would have removed him from being the emperor, *ergo*, since he is still the emperor he must have been right in his religious-political choices:

“Male, inquis, si fecissem, iam me deus amouisset de regno” ... Ne dixeris: “Nisi bene agerem, numquam tanto tempore imperarem, numquam adhuc uiuere fuisset permissus,” quando et Manassem cernas, filium

28. Lucifer nowhere quotes this verse directly: his quotation from the same context in *Athan.* 1.10 ends with 1 Sam 2:34. In 1 Sam 2:35 La¹¹⁵ is not extant.

Ezechiae regis, regem Iudae sedecim annorum suscepisse regnum et quinquaginta septem annis regnasse;

You say: "If I had done wrong, by this time God had removed me from rule" ... Do not say: "If I had not conducted myself well, I would never had been the emperor this long, neither would I had been allowed to live so long," when you consider that even Manasses—son of King Ezechias—king of Judah, was sixteen years when receiving the kingship and ruled for 57 years. (Luc Reg. 8 [152,35–36; 153,48–52]; my trans.)

Even though Manasseh is not introduced as "having done evil in the sight of the Lord more than all who were before him" (Omri and Ahab, 1 Kgs 16:25, 30) by the Josianic historian, he provides an excellent archetype of an apostate king because of his exceptionally long reign and his very long list of sins related to idolatry (2 Kgs 21:2–9). The exposition of the whole book *De regibus* is already near its end. This may be a contributing factor to the certain freedom which we find throughout the entire quotation. In the following comparison, the text of NETS for the passage in question is given with readings by Lucifer in the right-hand column *when they deviate from both the B text and the Lucianic text*. The readings of Lucifer correspond to the underlined passages in the left-hand column, for example, for "Manasses was a son of twelve years" (21:1) Lucifer reads "Manasses was sixteen years"; for "And he turned back" (v. 3) Lucifer has no correspondence at all ("om."). Plusses in Lucifer's text are in bold.

2 Kgs 20:21–21:19 // 4 Rgns 20:21–21:19 (NETS)

Lucifer, Reg. 8

20:21 And Hezekias slept with his fathers and was buried in the city of Daud, and Manasses his son reigned in his stead.

21:1 Manasses was a son of twelve years when he became king, and he reigned fifty-five years in Ierousalem. And his mother's name was Hopsiba. 2 And he did what was evil in the sight of the Lord, according to the abominations of the nations whom the Lord drove out from before the sons of Israel. 3 And he turned back and built the high places that Hezekias his father had pulled down, and he erected an altar to the goddess Baal and made groves, just as Achaab, king of Israel, had done, and did obeisance to all the host of heaven and was subject to them. 4 And he built an altar in the Lord's house, as he had said, "In Ierousalem I will put my name." 5 And he built an altar to all the host of heaven in the two courts of

1 ... sixteen ...
fifty-seven

3 om.

5 om.

2 Kgs 20:21–21:19 // 4 Rgns 20:21–21:19 (NETS)

Lucifer, *Reg.* 8

the Lord's house. 6 And he conducted his sons into fire, and he was acting as diviner and practicing ornithomancy, and he made

6 he practised divination

one who wills and people that know. And he multiplied to do what is evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger.

pythones and **many** p. himself ... the Lord God

7 And he put the carved image of the grove in the house of which the Lord had said to Daudid and to Salomon his son, "In this house and in Ierousalem, which I chose out of all the tribes of Israel, I will also put my name there forever.

7 made carved images of the groves **that he had made** om.

8 And I will not add to shake the foot of Israel from the land that I gave to

their fathers

8 [these (*hae*)] but if they will listen to me I commanded **them** the law

whoever will observe

everything that I commanded,

according to every commandment that my slave Moyses commanded them." 9 And they did not listen, and Manasses misled them to do what was evil in the sight of the Lord, more than the nations that the Lord had annihilated from before the sons of Israel.

9 om.

10 And the Lord spoke by the hand of his slaves the prophets, saying,

10 om.

11 "Forasmuch as Manasses, the king of Iouda, committed these abominations, evil things from all that the erstwhile Amorrite did, and indeed made Iouda sin with their idols.

11 since om.

12 Not so!

12 Because of this

This is what the Lord, the God of Israel, says, Behold, I am bringing evil upon Ierousalem and upon Iouda so that both his ears, of everyone who hears, will echo. 13 And I will stretch out over Ierousalem the measuring line of Samaria and the plummet of Achaab's house, and I will wipe Ierousalem as the alabaster jar is wiped, when it is wiped, and it is turned over on its face. 14 And I will cast off the remnant of my heritage and give them into the hands of their enemies, and they shall become rapine and plunder to all their enemies, 15 forasmuch as they did what is evil in my sight and were provoking me to anger, from the day that I brought their fathers out of Egypt, even to this day."

13 om.

15 **they were (put) behind me** and

16 And indeed Manasses shed very much innocent blood until he had filled Ierousalem mouth to mouth, besides some of his sins that he had made Iouda sin so that they

16 how he om. sin

2 Kgs 20:21–21:19 // 4 Rgns 20:21–21:19 (NETS)	Lucifer, <i>Reg.</i> 8
did what was evil <u>in the sight of the Lord</u> .	before the Lord God
17 And the rest of the histories of Manasses and all that he did <u>and his sin that he sinned</u> , are these things not written in a book of Histories of the Days for the Kings of Iouda? 18 And Manasses slept with his fathers <u>and was buried in the garden of his house, in the garden of Oza</u> .	17 and how he made Israel sin 18 om.
And <u>Amon</u> his son reigned in his stead.	om.
19 <u>Amon</u> was a son of twenty-two years when he became king, ...	19 when Amon was ...

Lucifer tidies up the text somewhat without sacrificing anything of the utterly condemnatory feeling of the narration: he omits the expressions “and he turned back” (v. 3), “there” (7), “in the sight of the Lord” (9), “saying” (10), “evil things” (11), “it is wiped” (13), and “and was buried in the garden of his house, in the garden of Oza” (18). Small changes, such as “the law” for “every commandment” (8), “because of this” for “not so!” (12), and “their fathers left” for “I brought their fathers” (15) serve the same purpose. Moreover, such changes give the impression that Lucifer is not copying a translation but translating himself: a translator may take somewhat more liberty than the one who quotes in the same language as the original.²⁹

Lucifer's quotation is quite long, and there are special literary-critical issues involved in the passage. Therefore I divide the analysis into four subsections: 20:21–21:1, 21:2–9, 21:10–15, and 21:16–19. After the second and the fourth subsections a literary-critical excursus is made. The text-historical conclusions for the whole passage are presented after the latter excursus.

29. There are no OL manuscripts available for this passage and, apart from Lucifer, no exact quotations by Latin patristic authors.

Manasseh's Reign Begins (20:21–21:1)

- 2 Kgs 20:21 καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἐζεκίας μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν πόλει Δαυιδ, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Μανασσης υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. (Rahlfs)
Et dormiuit, inquit scriptura, Ezechias cum patribus suis, et sepultus est in ciuitate Dauid, et regnauit Manasses filius eius pro eo, Luc Reg. 8 (153,57–59)
- 2 Kgs 20:21.1 καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν πόλει Δαυιδ Luc] > A B 245 = MT
- 2 Kgs 20:21.2 καὶ ἐτάφη Luc] > 328 44; + μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ L⁻⁸²; + μετ' αὐτῶν 460

Lucifer follows the OG in both readings. A, B, and 245 leave out the clause “and was buried in the city of Dauid” (NETS) probably due to Hebraizing correction (1). The Lucianic reviser duplicates the expression “with his fathers” after “he was buried” (2) in the manner of a *Schulmeisterkorrektur*.³⁰

- 2 Kgs 21:1 Ὑἱὸς δῶδεκα ἐτῶν Μανασσης ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ, καὶ ὄνομα τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Οὐψιβας. (Rahlfs)
cum esset rex sedecim annorum Manasses cum regnaret, et quinquaginta septem annis regnauit in Hierusalem, et nomen erat matris eius Ebsibas. Luc Reg. 8 (153,59–61)
- 2 Kgs 21:1.1 υἱός] *cum esset rex* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:1.2 δῶδεκα ἐτῶν Luc] tr L 530 460
- 2 Kgs 21:1.3 δῶδεκα] δέκα 19⁻⁸²; ἔξ καὶ δέκα 342 Luc (*sedecim*)
Cf. “sedecim annorum” Luc Reg. 8 (153,51)
Cf. 1 Kgs 12:24a.5 ἐκκαίδεκα Luc] 17 554^c; 41 L 246 V^c = 14:21 (Rehoboam)
- 2 Kgs 21:1.4 πέντε] ζ 530*; *septem* Luc
Cf. “quinquaginta septem ... quinquaginta septem” Luc Reg. 8 (153,51.56)
Cf. “Manassem ... quinquaginta septem annis regnasse; ... de Manasse, quod ... quinquaginta septem annis regnans” Luc Reg. 9
Cf. “Manassem, ... quod quinquaginta septem annis, ut saepe dixi, regnum tenuerit” Luc Reg. 10

30. Rahlfs uses this term in commenting what the Lucianic reviser did in 2 Kgs 4:37 (עֲלִיָּהוּ עָלִי עַל הַיָּדָא אֲדָמָא) πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα αὐτῆς L): “Eine richtige Schulmeisterkorrektur: ist das Nomen richtig, so muß die Präposition korrigiert werden; ist die Präposition richtig, so muß das Nomen korrigiert werden” (*Lucians Rezension*, 197).

2 Kgs 21:1.5 τῆς μητρί[ς] τῆς μητρός 19' Luc

2 Kgs 21:1.6 חֲפִצִּיבָהּ Ὀψιβά[ς] Ἐψιβά (vel sim) L 460; *Ebsibas* Luc; *Aphsiba* Vg

Lucifer is alone in the curious reading *cum esset rex* “when he was (a) king” (1). Nevertheless, in his introduction to the quotation Lucifer has stated that “sixteen” was Manasseh’s age when he received the kingship (“Manassem ... sedecim annorum suscepisse regnum”; see my translation above). Therefore the sentence must mean something like “Manasses being a sixteen-year old king when he began to rule.”³¹ Even though there are no apparent reasons for such a modification by Lucifer, it is hard to see how it could go back to a now lost Greek reading. In addition, Lucifer is the only witness attesting both the numbers 16 and 57 for the years of Manasseh (3, 4), although the former is supported by 342 and the latter by the original hand of 530.³² Lucifer mentions the latter figure altogether five times outside the actual quotation which excludes the possibility of a transcriptional error in the text of *De regibus*.³³ Lucifer does not appear to follow the word order ἐτῶν δώδεκα of the *L* text (2), but such word-order issues between Greek and Latin witnesses are generally best ignored. Then again, Lucifer may follow 19' in reading “mother” in the genitive (τῆς μητρός *matris*; 5), but using the genitive or dative when introducing the name of the person varies both in Greek and Latin. Thus the agreement is not striking. The name *Ebsibas* (or its variants, e.g., *Ephsiba*) with an initial *e* is found elsewhere in the Latin literature only in Jerome’s commentary on Isaiah and his treatise on the Hebrew proper nouns.³⁴ Lucifer can hardly have known it from other contexts and thus the agreement with *L* 460 is probably genuine (6).³⁵

31. Ugenti, 103: “*che aveva sedici anni quando salì al trono*” “who was sixteen years old when he ascended the throne.”

32. In minuscule script an *epsilon* (5) may look like a *zeta* with a prime (7) to a weary copyist. A corrector of 530 has spelled out the number: πέντε.

33. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 146 n. 1, notes the figures as “merkwürdige Sonderlesarten Lucifers” without further analysis.

34. Isa 62:4: בְּךָ יְהוָה יִחְפֹּץ יְיָ ... כִּי לְךָ יִקְרָא חֲפִצִּיבָהּ “but you shall be called My Delight Is in Her, ... for the LORD delights in you” (NRSV). Vg.: *sed vocaberis Voluntas mea in ea ... quia conplacuit Domino in te*. Jerome, *Comm. Isa.* 17,62,4: *Sed quae prius uocabaris Relicta, quod hebraice dicitur Azuba, uocaberis Ephsiba, quod interpretatur uoluntas mea in ea*. Jerome, *Nom. hebr.* 45,14: *Ebsiba: uoluntas mea in ea*.

35. Similarly Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 146.

The Guilt of Manasseh (21:2–9)

For the account of the guilt of Manasseh in 2 Kgs 21:2–9 we can find a near parallel in Chronicles (2 Chr 33:2–9). The parallel verses will be cited below according to Hanhart's critical text with the textual segments that correspond verbatim to the text of Kings underlined. In the apparatuses I cite some readings from Hanhart's apparatus. I will first go through the readings in the usual manner and then take up the literary-critical issues in the next subsection.

- 2 Kgs 21:2 καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου κατὰ τὰ βδελύγματα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὧν ἐξῆρεν κύριος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, (Rahlfs)
Et fecit quod malignum est ante conspectum domini secundum abominaciones gentium, quos eiecit dominus a facie filiorum Israel. Luc Reg. 8 (153,61–63)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:2 καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν βδελυγμάτων τῶν ἐθνῶν, οὓς ἐξωλέθρευσεν κύριος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. (Hanhart)
- 2 Kgs 21:2.1 ἐποίησεν Luc] + Μανασσῆς L 460
- 2 Kgs 21:2.2 יַעֲבֹד ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον L 125 71 460 (2 Chr A V 19' b² 55 60 119 527); *ante conspectum* Luc
 Cf. 21:6 יַעֲבֹד ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον L 460; *in oculis (animae suae)* Luc
 Cf. 21:9 — ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον L 44 460; > Luc
 Cf. 21:16 יַעֲבֹד ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον CI-242-530 71 244, *in conspectu* Luc
 Cf. 22:2 יַעֲבֹד ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον L 242-530 460; *ante conspectum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:2.3 κυρίου A B 82 328 f 55 71 158 245 Luc 2 Chr = MT] + καὶ ἐπορεύθη L⁻⁸² rel
- 2 Kgs 21:2.4 τὰ βδελύγματα Luc = MT] pr πάντα L 460: cf. 2 Chr (ἀπὸ) πάντων τῶν βδελυγμάτων] κατὰ παντα τα βδελυγματα 19' La¹⁰⁹ (*iuxta omnia abominamenta*)

The Lucianic reviser has made two explicative additions in this verse: the subject Manasseh (1) and the qualification “all the abominations” (4). Lucifer attests the shorter OG text in both of these variation units. The rendering ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς for יַעֲבֹד (2; B and the majority) has been defined as a kaige feature by Ralph W. Klein and James Shenkel.³⁶ In Lucifer's quotations of Kings the difference between B and L in this expression is found

36. Ralph W. Klein, “New Evidence for an Old Recension of Reigns,” *HTR* 60 (1967): 100; Shenkel, *Chronology*, 13–17.

altogether four times. In addition, Lucifer attests the reading ἐνώπιον with witnesses other than *L* (2 Kgs 21:16) on one occasion.³⁷ However, one should probably not suppose that *in conspectu* or *ante conspectum* was simply Lucifer's preferred expression since, on the whole, Lucifer renders the Greek expressions ἐνώπιον and ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς (or the like) rather faithfully.³⁸ Thus Lucifer may cautiously be accepted as witnessing the probable OG reading ἐνώπιον. In variation unit 3, Lucifer very likely supports the shorter reading of A and B since there are no real reasons why Lucifer should have omitted the expression "and he went (after)" (*L*⁻⁸² and the majority). Although we are dealing with the kaige section and the B reading is closer to the MT, the support for the short reading by MS 82 and Lucifer makes it seem doubtful that the B reading was a Hebraizing omission.³⁹ Moreover, if the longer reading was the original one, it should attest a *Vorlage* אַחֲרֵי תוֹעֲבוֹת יוֹלֵךְ* and it is not obvious how the MT reading בְּתוֹעֲבָת would have arisen from that. In light of the other Lucianic recensional additions in this verse (1, 4) and the un-kaige-like attestation to the minus, it seems safer to accept that the plus is a recensional explication by the Lucianic reviser.

37. The case 1 Kgs 22:43 (בְּעֵינַי ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον A CI 244 245; ἔναντι 460) where Lucifer (*Reg.* 6) ostensibly reads *in conspectu*, should not be included since, contra Diercks's edition, Lucifer is actually quoting the parallel passage 1 Kgs 16:28b where all the Greek witnesses attest ἐνώπιον (see above).

38. In my "Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision," 156, I demonstrate the issue with the seven faithful renderings of an expression with the word ὀφθαλμός found in Lucifer's biblical quotations: ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς *ante oculos* 1 Sam 24:5 // *Athan.* 1.14; 1 Sam 26:21, 24 // *Athan.* 1.15 (2x); κατέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν *ante oculos* Ps 26[25]:3 // *Conv.* 5; ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν *ante oculos* Ps 36[35]:2 // *Athan.* 1.23; Isa 1:16 // *Athan.* 1.39; ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς *oculis* Wis 3:2 // *Athan.* 1.32.

39. Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 472, appears to consider the longer reading secondary: "add. SL [= the Lucianic Septuagint], aber bloß, um die Verbindung zu erleichtern." Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 146, is noncommittal: "*secundum abominatio-nes* = κατα τα βδελυγματα BAeth, Hex u. a., pr. και επορευθη 26^{vulg}, auch fügt 2 παντα vor τα βδελυγματα hinzu."

- 2 Kgs 21:3 *καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν τὰ ὑψηλά, ἃ κατέσπασεν Ἐζεκίας ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνέστησεν θυσιαστήριον τῇ Βααλ* (Rahlfs)
Et aedificauit excelsa quae destruxerat Ezechias pater ipsius, et aedificauit sacrarium Baal Luc Reg. 8 (153,64–65)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:3 *καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν τὰ ὑψηλά, ἃ κατέσπασεν Ἐζεκίας ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔστησεν στήλας ταῖς Βααλίμ* (Hanhart)
- 2 Kgs 21:3.1 *καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν*] + *Μανασσῆς* L 460 (2 Chr 19' Arm^{II}); > Luc (2 Chr 71)
- 2 Kgs 21:3.2 *ὑψηλά* Luc] *θυσιαστήρια* 82-127 460
- 2 Kgs 21:3.3 *κατέσπασεν*] *κατέπαυσεν* 246; *κατεσκέπασεν* 247; *κατέστρεψεν* 55; *κατέσκαψεν* A L 460; *destruxerat* Luc
 Cf. 23:12.8 *καθεῖλεν ... κατέσπασεν*] tr L 460; *detraxit ... et expulit* Luc
 Cf. 23:15.6 *κατέσπασεν*] *καθεῖλε(ν)* L 460; *detraxit* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:3.4 *ἀνέστησεν*] *ἀπέστρεψεν* A

Again, the Lucianic reviser explicates the subject Manasseh (1; cf. 21:2.1 above) while Lucifer shortens the text a little. A part of the Lucianic tradition changes ὑψηλά “high places” to θυσιαστήρια “altars” (2). While Lucifer’s *destruo* (3) is theoretically closer to the verb κατασκάπτω “destroy utterly, raze to the ground” (LSJ) in L, in practice it may reflect κατασπάω “draw, pull down” (B) as well. The considerations relating to Lucifer’s translation technique are inconclusive: in all three cases where Lucifer may attest the verb κατασπάω in the B text, a variant is found in L (see 23:12.8 below).

- 2 Kgs 21:3 *καὶ ἐποίησεν ἄλσιν, καθὼς ἐποίησεν Ἀχααβ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ προσεκύνησεν πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐδούλευσεν αὐτοῖς,* (Rahlfs)
et fecit lucos sicut fecit Achab rex Israel, et adorauit omnem militiam caeli et seruiuit illis. Luc Reg. 8 (153,65–66)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:3 *καὶ ἐποίησεν ἄλσιν καὶ προσεκύνησεν πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐδούλευσεν αὐτοῖς.* (Hanhart)
- 2 Kgs 21:3.5 **נְצַח** δυνάμει] *στρατιᾷ* L 328 460 Did Tht Luc (*militiam*) 2 Chr
 Cf. 2 Kgs 21:5 **נְצַח** δυνάμει] *στρατιᾷ* L 460 Did Tht 2 Chr 33:5; > Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:5 **נְצַח** δυνάμει] *στρατιᾷ* L 460 Tht Luc *Parc.* 7 (*militiae*)

Dominique Barthélemy already noted that the rendering δύναμις “power” for the Hebrew word **נְצַח** “host (of heaven)” is a clear kaige feature.⁴⁰ Luci-

40. Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila: Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophète: Trouvés dans le désert de Juda, précédée d'une étude sur les traductions et recensions grecques de la Bible réalisées au premier siècle de notre ère sous l'influence du rabinat palestinien*, VTSup 10 (Leiden: Brill,

fer's word *militia* attests the Greek word *στρατιά* "army," which is the original reading; in the nonkaige sections both words appear as a rendering for **לְבָנָי** (δύναμις 7x, στρατιά 5x) in the B text, but in the kaige sections δύναμις prevails (16x against one rendering with στρατιά).⁴¹

- 2 Kgs 21:4 καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν θυσιαστήριον ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου, ὡς εἶπεν Ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ
 θήσω τὸ ὄνομά μου, (Rahlfs)
 — Luc Reg. 8 (153,67)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:4 καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν θυσιαστήρια ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου οὗ εἶπεν
 κύριος Ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά μου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. (Hanhart)
- 2 Kgs 21:4.1 verse] > 44-106 Luc; tr. after v. 5 460
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:4 verse] om 107 La¹⁰⁹(hab Or^{Lat}(Ruf) in Num 147):
 homoiot.

Lucifer does not attest verse 4. On the textual level this may be due to a transcriptional error, a slip of the eye from the words "and he built" (καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν / *et aedificauit*) in verse 4 to the same words in verse 5 (see below). This is what in all likelihood has happened in manuscripts 44-106, the only Greek witnesses omitting the verse. The same confusion probably explains why verses 4 and 5 have been transposed in MS 460. The probability of a pure transcriptional error is enhanced by the fact that not only do the words *et aedificauit* recur in verse 5 but they do so as part of a longer expression: *et aedificauit sacrarium in*. Moreover, the words *domus/domo domini* follow soon after. Accordingly, there is much repetition which may have caused a slip of the eye. In Hanhart's evaluation, the same has happened in the parallel story in Chronicles ("om 107 ... homoiot"). If Lucifer did not omit the verse, any later copyist of his works may easily have done so. There are, however, literary-critical issues involved too. I will come back to these issues after verse 9 and present

1963), 82–83. Barthélemy writes about the renderings of יהוה צבאות "Lord of Hosts" specifically, but the kaige feature can be expanded to many other occurrences of the word **לְבָנָי** as well. See also Trebelle, *Centena*, 200; Trebelle, "Agreements between LXX^{BL}, Medieval Hebrew Readings, and Variants of the Aramaic, Syriac and Vulgate Versions in *Kaige* and Non-*kaige* Sections of 3–4 Reigns," in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 59 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 196; Tuukka Kauhanen, "Lucifer of Cagliari and Literary Criticism in Kings," *ZAW* 125 (2013): 428 n. 40; Kauhanen, "Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision," 153–54.

41. Aquila uses both: Joseph Reider and Nigel Turner, *An Index to Aquila*, VTSup 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 61, 223.

considerations offered by other authors on why the minus might not be a transcriptional error at all.

- 2 Kgs 21:5 καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν θυσιαστήριον πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐν ταῖς δυσὶν αὐλαῖς οἴκου κυρίου (Rahlfs)
Et aedificauit sacrarium in duobus aedibus domus domini Luc Reg. 8 (153,67)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:5 καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν θυσιαστήρια πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐν ταῖς δυσὶν αὐλαῖς οἴκου κυρίου. (Hanhart)
- 2 Kgs 21:5.1 καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν] + Μανασσῆς 460
- 2 Kgs 21:5.2 θυσιαστήριον Luc (2 Chr 379 Syh Arm¹)⁴²] θυσιαστήρια L = MT
 Cf. 2 Kgs 21:3.2 ὑψηλά Luc] θυσιαστήρια 82-127 460
- 2 Kgs 21:5.3 πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] > Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:5.4 נצב δυνάμει] στρατιᾷ L 460 Did Tht
- 2 Kgs 21:5.5 ταῖς δυσὶν (δύο L 460) B 247 L CI 121 f o 488 x⁻⁵²⁷ z 55 71 244 318 372 460 554 Luc 2 Chr = MT] πάσαις (+ ταῖς 328) A V CII⁻³⁴² d s⁻⁴⁸⁸ t 158 245 707^S; > 527 342

The reading “an altar” in singular (B, Lucifer) must be the original one (2). Even though the plural in *L* formally corresponds to the MT, the Lucianic reviser probably used the plural because the altars were built “in the two courts of the Lord’s house”—accordingly, more than one altar had to be built. Moreover, in verse 3 the “high places” (“altars” 82-127 460) are in the plural. Again, the minus of “to all the host/army of heaven” in Lucifer’s quotation (3) can be considered at both the textual and the literary-critical level. From the former point of view it seems reasonable to suggest that Lucifer has shortened the quotation somewhat as he so often does. I will come back to the literary-critical issues below. Concerning the kaige reading δύναμις (4), see 21:3.5 above. The wide attestation to the reading ταῖς δυσὶν (5) suggests that it is not a Hebraizing correction but the OG reading that translates the Hebrew יְהִיבָּ, now found in the MT. There is enough graphical similarity between the readings ταῖς δυσὶν and πάσαις to suggest that the latter is an early corruption that ended up in a great number of witnesses. That two manuscripts (527 342) leave the words out altogether might hint that there probably was some blur or unevenness in this reading at an early stage of the textual transmission: some scribe thought the reading was πάσαις and another decided to leave the textual segment out.

42. Hanhart: “= Reg IV 215 6^L,” probably a mistake for “6^{-L}.”

- 2 Kgs 21:6 *καὶ διῆγεν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν πυρὶ καὶ ἐκκληδονίζετο καὶ οἰωνίζετο*
 (Rahlfs)
et induxit filios suos in ignem et augurabatur Luc Reg. 8 (153,67–68)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:6 *καὶ αὐτὸς διῆγεν* (δήγαγεν Ra) *τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἐν*
πυρὶ ἐν γῇ Βενεηνόμ καὶ ἐκκληδονίζετο καὶ οἰωνίζετο καὶ ἐφαρμακεύετο
 (Hanhart)
- 2 Kgs 21:6.1 *יְבִיחֵם* τοὺς υἱούς] *τὰ τέκνα* L 460 2 Chr; *filios* Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 16:3 τὸν υἱόν] τοὺς υἱούς L-700 460 554^{mg}
 Cf. 2 Kgs 17:17 τοὺς υἱούς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:10 ἄνδρα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ
- 2 Kgs 21:6.2 *ἐκκληδονίζετο καὶ οἰωνίζετο*] om καὶ οἰωνίζετο 158 318 (2 Chr 60 44);
augurabatur Luc

In general, the Latin reading *filios* may attest either “sons” (B) or “children” (L), but here (1) Lucifer is probably following B since the L reading seems to be recensional: in the expression “make pass through fire” the object is “son or daughter” in Deut 18:10 where the practice is forbidden and “sons and daughters” in 2 Kgs 17:17 and 23:10. Rather than adding “and his daughters” the Lucianic reviser has opted for the simpler solution and changed the expression to “children” to include the daughters. The Greek terms *κληδονίζομαι* “to act as diviner” and *οἰωνίζομαι* “to practise ornithomancy” (2) are not found in any other biblical passage quoted by Lucifer. Moreover, the corresponding term *augur-* with its derivatives is found nowhere else in all of Lucifer’s texts. Therefore we cannot deduce which of the Greek words his *augurabatur* is a rendering of. Although there are two witnesses (158 318; and two in 2 Chr) for the omission of the latter Greek term, this omission is probably only for transcriptional reasons: both words end with *-νίζετο* which easily causes a parablepsis in several independent witnesses. While the Greek text underlying Lucifer’s quotation may have suffered such an error, it is equally probable that Lucifer contents himself with just one word: the semantic field of *auguror* “to act as augur, predict, foretell” easily comprises the meanings of both of the Greek words.⁴³

43. See also Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and Literary Criticism,” 427–28.

- 2 Kgs 21:6 *καὶ ἐποίησεν θελητὴν καὶ γνώστας· ἐπλήθυνεν τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου παροργίσαι αὐτόν.* (Rahlfs)
et fecit pythones et diuinos multos, ut faceret quod malignum est in oculis animae suae, ut exacerbaret dominum deum. Luc Reg. 8 (153,68–70)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:6 *καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ ἐπαιδούς· ἐπλήθυνεν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ παροργίσαι αὐτόν.* (Hanhart)
- 2 Kgs 21:6.3 *בִּישׁ* θελητὴν] *στήλην* CII^{-52c} 92-314-488^c-489 462 707^S; ἐγγαστριμύθους L 460 Luc (*pythones*) 2 Chr
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:24 *תִּבְיֹא* θελητάς] ἐγγαστριμύθους L 460 Luc Reg. 8 (*pythones*) 2 Chr 35:19a
- 2 Kgs 21:6.4 ἐπλήθυνεν] *multos* Luc; + καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν L⁻⁸²
- 2 Kgs 21:6.5 τοῦ ποιεῖν] τοῦ ποιῆσαι 247 L⁻⁸² CI 121 ο 488 x z 244 318 372 460^c 2 Chr; καὶ ἐποίησε τοῦ πληθύναι 82; *ut faceret* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:6.6 *יִצְחָק* ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς Luc] ἐνώπιον L 460 (2 Chr 19' 554)
- 2 Kgs 21:6.7 κυρίου ... αὐτόν] *animae suae ... dominum deum* Luc

According to Klein and Muraoka, the rendering *θελητής* “one who wills” for the Hebrew *בִּישׁ* (3) is a kaige feature. The kaige reviser supposed that the Hebrew noun is related to the root *אבא* “be willing.”⁴⁴ In some manuscripts the kaige reading has been corrupted to *στήλην* “a stele” (cf. 2 Kgs 10:26 “the stele of Baal”). The OG rendering *ἐγγαστριμύθος* “ventriloquist” is confirmed by the usage in the parallel passage 2 Chr 33:6 as well as in the nonkaige section (1 Sam 28:3, 7, 8, 9). Moreover, the same phenomenon can be found in 2 Kgs 23:24 where the Chronicles parallel (2 Chr 35:19a), again, attests the word *ἐγγαστριμύθος*.⁴⁵ Lucifer’s reading *pythones* (from the Greek *πυθών*, participle of *πυνθάνομαι* “to learn”) clearly does not attest the reading *θελητὴν*, but it is not the obvious Latin rendering for the word *ἐγγαστριμύθος* either. In ancient mythology Python was the serpent Apollo slew near Delphi (*Homeric Hymns* 3.370–4). It seems that the loan-word *python* for someone who consults the spirits of the dead was adopted by Latin patristic authors or OL translators: it is frequent in the Vulgate (e.g.,

44. Klein, “New Evidence”; Takamitsu Muraoka, “Greek Texts of Samuel–Kings: Incomplete Translations or Recensional Activity,” *AbrN* 21 (1982–1983): 34: “Obviously relating the Hebrew word with the root *אבא*.”

45. See also Andrés Piquer, “Who Names the Namers? The Interpretation of Necromantic Terms in Jewish Translations of the Bible,” in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera: Florilegium Complutense*, ed. Andrés Piquer and Pablo A. Torijano, JSJSup 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 256–58.

Lev 20:27, Isa 8:19, Acts 16:16) and Origen explains it in one of his homilies on Numbers (Rufinus, *Origenis in Numeros homiliae* 16.7).⁴⁶

The Lucianic reviser has doubled the expression “he multiplied” (4) resulting in the following punctuation: “and ventriloquists he multiplied. And he multiplied to do”⁴⁷ While Lucifer produces an attribute to the previous word *divinos* rather than a verb, his reading nevertheless reflects the B reading. Lucifer’s *faceret* (imperfect subjunctive) might reflect the aorist infinitive in L⁻⁸² rather than the present infinitive in B (5), but *ut faceret* may well be Lucifer’s preferred expression: he never uses *ut faciat* in comparable expressions.⁴⁸

On the kaige rendering עֵינָיו בְּעַד־ in ὀφθαλμοῖς, see 2 Kgs 21:2.2 above. In 21:6.6 Lucifer, untypically, sides with B in attesting ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. However, Lucifer alters the expression otherwise too: *in oculis animae suae* “in the eyes of *his own soul*” instead of “in the eyes of / before the Lord” of the Greek witnesses. Thus, the agreement with B against L could be only apparent.⁴⁹ If this is not accepted, there is still the possibility that Lucifer is not attesting a kaige reading here: the expression ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς is something that the OG translator may have used too. The rendering is found twelve times in 1 Samuel without variants,⁵⁰ which suggests that the same is also the original reading in the eight cases in which ἐνώπιον is found as a variant.⁵¹ Thus it could be suggested that here in 2 Kgs 21:6 B preserved the original reading which the Lucianic reviser has changed to ἐνώπιον to

46. “Nam Pythonibus dracones alii que serpentes ministrare perhibentur; auguri-bus et his, qui ex incidentibus divinandi captare putantur auspicia, aut lupi ferunt omina aut vulpes aut accipitres aut corvi aut aquilae aut alia huiusmodi, quae in lege Moyses his credo de causis notavit immunda.” See also Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 154.

47. Similarly Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 288.

48. Apart from the present case, *ut faceret* is found 5x in Lucifer’s texts and in four of them the corresponding Greek expression is τοῦ ποιῆσαι: 1 Kgs 11:33 // *Reg.* 4, 16:33 // *Reg.* 6; 2 Kgs 21:16 // *Reg.* 8; 2 Chr 20:36 // *Conv.* 4. Once there is τοῦ ποιεῖν in Rahlfs’s text and τοῦ ποιῆσαι is found as a variant in MS 82 only: 1 Kgs 16:28b // *Reg.* 6.

49. Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 156.

50. 1 Sam 1:18; 12:16; 18:20, 23; 25:8; 26:21, 24; 27:5; 29:6 (2x), 7, 9.

51. 1 Sam 1:23 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς = Aejmelaeus] ἐνώπιον L d⁻⁶⁸ 554; 8:6 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον A L⁽⁻⁸²⁾ 242’ 107’; 16:22 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] pr ἐνώπιόν μου καί 460; ἐνώπιον 799 Sa; 18:8 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον L Sa; 18:26 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς La^M] ἐνώπιον CII⁻²⁴² 121 s 244 460; 20:3 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον A 460; 20:29 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον 707; 24:5 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν 460.

produce a better Greek expression. Since the Lucianic reviser tends to do that elsewhere, he can be expected to do the same in the kaige sections too. The problem is that the result is a secondary reading that in another context would most likely be the original one—and B retains an OG reading that looks like a kaige reading! This reasoning can hardly be called the simplest explanation, and thus I am more willing to leave Lucifer's testimony out of the picture and accept that the reading *in oculis (animae suae)* is his own modification.

- 2 Kgs 21:7 καὶ ἔθηκεν τὸ γλυπτὸν τοῦ ἄλσους ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, ᾧ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Δαυὶδ καὶ πρὸς Σαλωμων τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ (Rahlfs)
Et fecit sculptilia lucorum quae fecit in domo, quam dixit dominus ad David et ad Salomonem filium eius: Luc Reg. 8 (153,70–72)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:7 καὶ ἔθηκεν τὸ γλυπτὸν καὶ τὸ χωνευτόν, εἰκόνα ἣν ἐποίησεν, ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου (θεοῦ Ra), οὗ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Δαυὶδ καὶ πρὸς Σαλωμών υἱὸν αὐτοῦ (Hanhart)
- 2 Kgs 21:7.1 τὸ γλυπτόν 2 Chr] τὸ κρυπτόν A V C^{-313c.328} d⁻¹⁰⁶ s^{-488.762c} t x⁻⁵²⁷ 71 244 318 554⁵² 707^S; *sculptilia* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:7.2 τοῦ ἄλσους] τοῦ οἴκου ἐν τῷ ασσει A; *lucorum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:7.3 ἄλσους] + ὡς ἐποίησεν A: cf. MT; pr *quae fecit* Luc = MT
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:7 εἰκόνα ἣν ἐποίησεν
- 2 Kgs 21:7.4 ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ 1^o Luc] > 236–242–530 460; + κυρίου L 246 527
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:7 κυρίου] θεοῦ B' 158 Sixt Ra. = 𐤒 Vulg^{ap}
- 2 Kgs 21:7.5 ᾧ pr ἐν L 460; ὡς A 245 Luc (*quam*)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:7 οὗ] ἐν ᾧ 19'

Lucifer is the only witness for the plural forms for the words γλυπτόν “carved image” (1; κρυπτόν “hidden” in a large number of witnesses—including A—originates in an early error) and ἄλσος “grove” (2). The change is probably conformation by Lucifer with verse 3 in which the “groves” are in the plural in all the witnesses.

The addition of the verb “to do/make” after “the grove(s)” in A and Lucifer (3) is of special interest. It corresponds to the Hebrew עָשָׂה אֵשֶׁר. It seems likely that the Hebrew expression was dropped out in the *Vorlage* of the LXX—or it was overlooked by the translator—because of the graphical similarity to the previous word הַשֵּׁרֶת: a tiny hole or uneven surface in the scroll is enough to blur the letters *ayin* and *sin* in the word עָשָׂה leading to הַשֵּׁרֶת אֵשֶׁר. This, in turn, leads easily to the dropping

52. In MS 554 the correct reading is added above the line.

out of the latter אֲשֶׁרֶה by a homoioteleuton error or by a copyist removing what looks very much like a dittography. Thus, while the shorter reading will be secondary in Hebrew, it probably is the original LXX reading.⁵³ The clause is provided in the Hexaplaric reading in A. How did the clause end up in Lucifer's text? The formulations in A ("as he did") and Lucifer ("that he made") are not exactly the same and Lucifer shows no signs of the curious reading τοῦ οἴκου ἐν τῷ ἀσσει⁵⁴ in A (2). Thus, Lucifer is not following A precisely. Conformation to 2 Chr 33:7 does not seem to be likely either: Lucifer's quotation has no traces of the other peculiar readings in 2 Chronicles. There might even be a small chance of Lucifer coining the addition himself: in verse 3 it is mentioned that it was Manasseh who "made groves" and, naturally, the "groves" in verse 7 are the same, thus "the groves *he had made*." Nevertheless, since the addition conforms to the MT and it is found in A it would be over-cautious to suggest that Lucifer had coined the addition himself. According to the big picture, there are no Hexaplaric readings in Lucifer's quotations, but such a possibility should not be rejected *a priori*. If there proved to be any, this case would be a good candidate.

The reading "of the Lord" (L 246 527; 4) is likely a recensional explanation that Lucifer does not share. Again, there is a noteworthy agreement between Lucifer and A: "as the Lord had said" against "of which" of B and the majority (5): Lucifer's *quam* must be the adverb "in what manner, how" and not a form of *qui* since the accusative would fit poorly in the syntax. The reading probably originates in corruption.

- 2 Kgs 21:7 Ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἣ ἐξελεξάμην ἐκ πασῶν φυλῶν Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ θήσω τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (Rahlfs)
in domo ista et in Hierusalem, quam elegeri ex omnibus tribubus Israel, ponere nomen meum in aeternum, Luc Reg. 8 (153,72–73)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:7 Ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἣν ἐξελεξάμην ἐκ πασῶν φυλῶν Ἰσραὴλ, θήσω τὸ ὄνομά μου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. (Hanhart)
- 2 Kgs 21:7.6 καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ Luc] tr post ἐξελεξάμην L 55 460
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:7 καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἣν ἐξελεξάμην] *quam elegeri in iherusalem* La¹⁰⁹

53. Šanda, *Könige*, 320, suggests striking out הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה as pleonastic.

54. If *ἀσσει* is meant to be a form of the adverb ἄσσον "nearer," the first part of the verse in A might be translated as "and he put the hidden (object) of the house in the nearer (place), as he did in the house as he had said"

- 2 Kgs 21:7.7 καὶ ἐν Luc = MT] om καὶ B 247 L 130-488 527 318 460; om ἐν A 489
Cf. par 2 Chr 33:7 καὶ (Ἱεροουσαλὴμ) ἐν 19 314 Syh Aeth^A; + ἐν 108
a^{-314.44}-127 381-b²⁻⁴⁸⁹ 158
- 2 Kgs 21:7.8 ἦ] ἦν A 46-242 2 Chr^{Hanhart}; *quam* Luc; > B L 74 246 55 372 460 (2 Chr
19' 489 Aeth Arm^{II})
- 2 Kgs 21:7.9 ׀ִשָׁן καὶ θήσω] θεῖναι L 460; *ponere* Luc
Cf. par 2 Chr 33:7 θήσω] θῆναι 19' Arm^{II}
- 2 Kgs 21:7.10 ἐκεῖ (2 Chr 19' Aeth Arm^{II}) > B 460 Luc 2 Chr^{Hanhart} = MT

Lucifer follows the majority text in variation units 6 and 7, but appears to agree again with A in reading the relative pronoun in the accusative (8; *quam* from *qui*, contrast *quam* as an adverb in 21:7.5). It must be noted, however, that the predicate *elegi* “I have chosen” in Latin requires the accusative object whereas ἐκλέγω is occasionally construed with the dative in the LXX.⁵⁵ Thus the apparent agreement is best dismissed.

The combinations of the readings 9–10 are as follows:

- 2 Kgs 21:7.9–10 καὶ θήσω ... ἐκεῖ] θεῖναι ... ἐκεῖ L; θῆναι ... ἐκεῖ 2 Chr 19'; (καὶ) θήσω B 2
Chr^{Hanhart}; θεῖναι 460; *ponere* Luc

Of the five combinations, Lucifer is formally closest to the one found in 460. This combination is in between the *L* and *B* texts: it attests the infinitive θεῖναι in *L* (9) but, with *B*, does not attest the adverb ἐκεῖ “there” (10). In 460, which regularly follows *L*, this is probably because of a secondary omission of ἐκεῖ. Thus, I find it improbable that Lucifer was following the form found in 460 specifically. Since the variation units are somewhat interdependent, it is likely that only one of the following agreements of Lucifer is genuine: in the infinitive with *L* 460 or with *B* 460 in not attesting ἐκεῖ. The other reading is dependent on the genuine agreement. Since Lucifer is prone to shorten the text, I find it more likely that the agreement with *L* 460 in the infinitive is genuine,⁵⁶ and the omission of the adverb follows from that, since the infinitive makes the adverb less necessary: “Jerusalem, which I chose ... [as the place] *to put* my name [in].” By contrast, if ἐκεῖ is not present, the clause would be awkward with a finite verb: “Jerusalem, which I chose ..., and *I will put* my name (where?) forever” (*B* alone). On the Hebrew level, it seems probable that there was the word ׀ִשָׁן “there” in the *Vorlage*: it has been omitted in the proto-MT due to a haplography:

55. E.g., ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐκλέξῃται *in loco quem elegerit* Deut 14:23 // Athan. 1.9.

56. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 147: “ponere = θεῖναι Კ.”

שמי אשם*. Thus, the word ἐκεῖ should be accepted as the original. It has been omitted either due to kaige revision (B) or some abnormal corruption (likely so in 460).

- 2 Kgs 21:8 καὶ οὐ προσθήσω τοῦ σαλευῦσαι τὸν πόδα Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἥς ἔδωκα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν, (Rahlfs)
*et non adponam pedem in Israel mouere a terra quam dedi [hae]*⁵⁷, Luc Reg. 8 (153,73–74)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:8 καὶ οὐ προσθήσω σαλευῦσαι τὸν πόδα Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἥς ἔδωκα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν, (Hanhart)
- 2 Kgs 21:8.1 τοῦ σαλευῦσαι / τὸν πόδα] tr Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:8.2 Ἰσραὴλ] *in Israel* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:8.3 ἥς] η A; *quam* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:8.4 τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν] > Luc

Lucifer makes small modifications in the first part of the verse.

- 2 Kgs 21:8 οἵτινες φυλάξουσιν πάντα, ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντολήν, ἣν ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς ὁ δοῦλός μου Μωυσῆς. (Rahlfs)
sed si audierint me per omnia, quae mandavi eis, et secundum legem, quam mandauit eis puer meus Moyses. Luc Reg. 8 (153,75–76)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 33:8 πλὴν ἐὰν φυλάσσωνται τοῦ ποιῆσαι πάντα, ἃ ἐνετειλάμην αὐτοῖς, κατὰ πάντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰ προστάγματα καὶ τὰ κρίματα ἐν χειρὶ Μωυσῆ. (Hanhart)
- 2 Kgs 21:8.5 οἵτινες] πλὴν ἐὰν L 460 Luc (*sed si*) 2 Chr = MT (םס קר)
 Cf. 1 Kgs 8:25 וַיִּשְׁמְרֵם־םס קר πλὴν ἐὰν φυλάξωνται (no significant variants)
 Cf. par 2 Chr 6:16 וַיִּשְׁמְרֵם־םס קר πλὴν ἐὰν φυλάξωσιν
- 2 Kgs 21:8.6 וַיִּשְׁמְרֵם־םס קר φυλάξουσιν] ἀκούσωσι L 460; *audierint me* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:8.7 כָּל־לְעֹשֶׂיָהּ πάντα] pr τοῦ ποιῆσαι κατὰ 247 121 488 (2 Chr) = MT; pr τοῦ ποιεῖν A; pr κατὰ L⁻⁸² 158 460 Luc (*per*); – ἐνετειλάμην om 82
- 2 Kgs 21:8.8 ὅσα (2 Chr 158)] ἃ 247 L⁻⁸² 488 460 2 Chr^{Hanhart}; *quae* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:8.9 ׀םס קר ἐνετειλάμην] + αὐτοῖς καὶ φυλάξωνται L⁻⁸²; + αὐτοῖς A 460 2 Chr Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:8.10 הַתְּוֹכַח־כָּל־הַתְּוֹכַח πάντα τὴν ἐντολήν, ἣν] πάντα τὸν νόμον ὃν L (2 Chr) = MT; *legem, quam* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:8.11 עֲבָדֶיךָ δοῦλος (μου)] παῖς L 460* Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 21:10 עֲבָדֶיךָ δούλων (αὐτοῦ)] παῖδων L 460 Luc

57. Diercks: *quam dedi Til Hart quamdedihae V quādedihae G.*

The expression *πλὴν ἐάν* “if only” (5) is found only three times in the LXX, always rendering the Hebrew *אם רק* (1 Kgs 8:25; 2 Chr 6:16, 33:8). While *πλὴν ἐάν* in *L*, 460, and Lucifer is the reading that the translator was most likely to produce here in 21:8.5, it is hard to explain how that could have been corrupted into *οἵτινες* in B and the majority. The graphical similarity between the readings is remote, to say the least, and the same holds true for the Hebrew readings *אם רק* and *אשר*, the usual counterpart of the pronoun *οἵτις*. If we give the final say to the criterion that the reading that best explains the existence of the other readings is most likely original, we should attribute the reading *πλὴν ἐάν* to the Lucianic reviser. That it corresponds to the MT, points to Hexaplaric origin. Moreover, the resulting text is stylistically correct Greek and conforms to the similar expression in both the parallel account in 2 Chr 33 and Solomon’s prayer in 1 Kgs 8 // 2 Chr 6.

In variation unit 6 the two Greek readings *φυλάξουσιν* and *ἀκούσωσι* are renderings of different Hebrew verbs, *שמר* and *שמע*. It seems likely that the original Hebrew reading was *ישמעו* “they (will) listen” and the *L* reading—supported by Lucifer—attests it.⁵⁸ In the proto-MT the reading has been changed to *שמרו* “they (will) observe” either by corruption or intentionally; in Deuteronomy both verbs convey the meaning “observe, heed, obey” and they often appear in the same context.⁵⁹ The kaige reviser changed the original Greek reading *ἀκούσωσι(ν)* to *φυλάξουσιν* in accordance with the proto-Masoretic reading. This, in turn, made the following preposition *κατά* (7; retained in 247 *L*–⁸² 121 488 158 460 and attested by Lucifer’s *per*) unnecessary and the same reviser omitted it. If this hypothesis is correct, the change of reading in the Hebrew later led to the addition of *לעשות* “to do” in conformity with similar expressions that occur frequently in Deuteronomy (e.g., *שמרתם לעשות/לעשתם*, Deut 5:1, 32; 6:3; 11:32) and once elsewhere in Kings (*לעשות תשמרון*, 2 Kgs 17:37).⁶⁰ Although a small detail, it nevertheless fits the purposes of Deuteronomistic revision; “listening to” is not enough, the people should “observe to do” all that Yahweh has commanded them. The reading has

58. Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 472; Treballe, *Centena*, 201.

59. E.g., “listen”: Deut 11:13, 22, 28; 28:13; “observe”: 11:8, 22; 28:15. Deut 12:28 combines the verbs closely: *שמר ושמעת* “observe and hear” (KJV).

60. If *לעשות* was not part of the original Hebrew text, the following preposition *כ* probably was something else, perhaps *ב*.

ended up in the Greek manuscript A and three other witnesses through Hexaplaric correction.⁶¹

If the change from *ῥσα* to *ῥ* in 247 *L*⁻⁸² 488 460 (8) is anything more than a transcriptional error, it could be a Hexaplaric reading adopted by the Lucianic reviser. Lucifer may or may not follow it. The change from “commandment” to “law” in accordance with the MT (10) is probably Hexaplaric as well and Lucifer follows it, although he omits the word “all.” In variation unit 9 Lucifer agrees with A *L*⁻⁸² 460 (and 2 Chronicles) in providing the word *αὐτοῖς* which is probably a Hexaplaric reading. On the other hand, Lucifer disagrees with *L*⁻⁸² in not attesting the addition⁶² of *καὶ φυλάξονται* “and (will) observe” (9). The model for the addition may come either from Deuteronomy where similar expressions are often found (see note 59 above) or 1 Kgs 9:4 (*τοῦ ποιεῖν κατὰ πάντα ἃ ἐνετειλάμην αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ προστάγματά μου καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς μου φυλάξης* “doing according to all that I commanded him and will keep my ordinances and my commandments”).⁶³

Lucifer clearly confirms the reading of the *L* text by the word *puer* “boy, young man, servant” (11).⁶⁴ According to Kevin O’Connell, the rendering *δοῦλος* “servant” (B) for the Hebrew *עַבְדִּי* is a kaige feature.⁶⁵ To be sure, there is no significant difference in the usage of these Greek words as renderings for the Hebrew word *עַבְדִּי* between the kaige and nonkaige sections: the ratio *δοῦλος*:*παῖς* is roughly 2 to 1 in both. Probably the best argument for *δοῦλος* being a kaige reading is that Aquila rendered *עַבְדִּי* consistently with that word.⁶⁶

61. Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and Literary Criticism,” 430–31; see also Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 159.

62. Treballe, *Centena*, 201, also considers the *L* reading an addition.

63. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 288: “a scribal expansion modeled on v. 9.”

64. In all of Lucifer’s biblical quotations there is a thoroughgoing consistency in rendering *δοῦλος* with *servus* (12x, e.g., 1 Kgs 11:32, 34, 36, 38 // *Reg.* 4) and *παῖς* with *puer* (Josh 1:7 // *Athan.* 1.9; 7:7 // *Parc.* 3; 1 Sam 22:17 // *Athan.* 1.13; Acts 4:25 // *Parc.* 16), *filius* (1 Sam 19:1 // *Athan.* 1.13; Acts 4:27, 30 // *Parc.* 16), or *infans* (Matt 2:16 // *Athan.* 2.3). Also Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 147: “*puer* = *παις* 2, dagegen 6 *δοῦλος*.”

65. Kevin G. O’Connell, *The Theodotionic Revision of the Book of Exodus: A Contribution to the Study of the Early History of the Transmission of the Old Testament in Greek*, HSM 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 289; Leonard Greenspoon, *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua*, HSM 28 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 272.

66. Reider and Turner, *Index to Aquila*, 61, 182. Another, much weaker, argument

- 2 Kgs 21:9 *καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν, καὶ ἐπλάνησεν αὐτοὺς Μανασσης τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου ὑπὲρ τὰ ἔθνη, ἃ ἠφάνισεν κύριος ἐκ προσώπου υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ.* (Rahlfs)
Et non audierunt. Et quoniam ualide adspersus est Manasses et seduxit eos Manasses, ut facerent quod malignum est super omnes gentes quas abstulit dominus a facie Israel. Luc Reg. 8 (153,76–79)
Cf. par 2 Chr 33:9–10 καὶ ἐπλάνησεν Μανασσῆς τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας (+ ἐν Ra) Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἃ ἐξήρην κύριος ἀπὸ προσώπου υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. (10) καὶ ἐλάλησεν κύριος ἐπὶ Μανασσῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπήκουσαν. (Hanhart)
- 2 Kgs 21:9.1 *עָנִי וְעָנִי καὶ ἐπλάνησεν* pr καὶ ἐβδελύχθησαν 328 (cf. Ps 14[13]:1, 53[52]:2?); pr καὶ ἐβδελύχθη Μανασσῆς σφόδρα L 460; pr *et quoniam ualide adspersus est Manasses* Luc
Cf. 1 Kgs 21[20]:26 דָּאֵמַ בְּעֵינַי וְעָנִי καὶ ἐβδελύχθη σφόδρα
- 2 Kgs 21:9.2 *Μανασσης* Luc] > L 460 (cf. above)
- 2 Kgs 21:9.3 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου] ἐνώπιον κυρίου L 44 460; > Luc = MT
- 2 Kgs 21:9.4 τὰ ἔθνη = MT] pr πάντα L 318 460 Luc 2 Chr
Cf. par 2 Chr 33:9 עָנִי וְעָנִי πάντα τὰ ἔθνη
- 2 Kgs 21:9.5 *דָּאֵמַ ἠφάνισεν*] ἐξῆρε L 460 Luc (*abstulit*) 2 Chr (MT=MT)
Cf. 1 Kgs 13:34 דָּאֵמַ וְעָנִי מַעַל מַעַל וְעָנִי וְעָנִי καὶ εἰς ἀφανισμόν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς
Cf. 1 Chr 5:25 וְעָנִי וְעָנִי מַעַל מַעַל וְעָנִי וְעָנִי וְעָנִי καὶ εἰς ἀφανισμόν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν (no variants in Brooke-McLean)
- 2 Kgs 21:9.6 *עָנִי ἐκ (προσώπου)] ἀπό* 247 L 489 460 2 Chr (MT=MT); *a* Luc
Cf. 1 Kgs 13:34 עָנִי מַעַל ἀπὸ προσώπου
Cf. 1 Chr 5:25 וְעָנִי מַעַל ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν
Cf. 2 Kgs 21:11 עָנִי ἀπὸ προσώπου ante faciem Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:9.7 υἱῶν] > 44 Luc

Lucifer attests the plus “Manasses acted most abominably” (cf. NETS in 1 Kgs 21[20]:26) in L 460 (1). In the LXX the verb βδελύσσω “to act abominably” (GELS) renders the verb עָנִי (e.g., Deut 23:8, Job 9:31, Ps 5:7). The graphical difference between the expressions וְעָנִי “and he misled them” and עָנִי “and he acted abominably” (NRSV in 1 Kgs 21:26) is very small in the Hebrew consonantal text. However, a normal homoioteleuton error does not explain well what we find in the witnesses unless we suppose that the proper noun Manasseh was in the *Vorlage* twice: “And Manasseh acted most abominably and Manasseh misled them.” This form would allow for

is that in 2 Kgs 24:2 we find the rendering δοῦλος in all the witnesses, but the parallel passage in 2 Chr 36:5 attests the word παῖς, as noted by Klein, “New Evidence,” 103.

the following parablepsis error: ~~מנשה~~ ~~ויהתעם~~ ~~מנשה~~ ~~מנשה~~.⁶⁷ This putative *Vorlage* would have been translated as καὶ ἐβδελύχθη Μανασσῆς σφόδρα καὶ ἐπλάνησεν αὐτοὺς Μανασσῆς. The suggested form of the text is not preserved exactly in any witness, but it explains the readings in both the Antiochian and Lucifer's text: the former has omitted the second Μανασσῆς (2) because it is totally unnecessary. Lucifer, by contrast, has retained it which can be taken as a good argument for its originality: while Lucifer may occasionally add a subject (see Text-Historical Conclusions), his general tendency is to shorten the text and most of the time he is immune to the recensional explications of subjects in *L*. On the other hand, Lucifer adds the word *quoniam* "because, seeing that" for no apparent reason. If the above hypothesis is correct, the kaige revisers have omitted the words καὶ ἐβδελύχθη Μανασσῆς σφόδρα in conformation with the proto-MT.⁶⁸

Concerning the renderings ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς and ἐνώπιον (3), see 2 Kgs 21:2.2 above. Here Lucifer omits the expression altogether. Lucifer follows *L* in the plus of πάντα "all" before "the nations" (4). Adding such a qualification fits perfectly the tendencies of the Lucianic reviser, but, on the other hand, the kaige revisers would probably have omitted it if it was original. That the word is found in the LXX in the Chronicles parallel (against the MT of Chronicles) may be taken as a weak hint towards its originality: in Chronicles there was in all probability the word כָּל in the *Vorlage*—the same may hold true for the Kings passage as well. Both ἐξαίρω "remove" (5; *L* 460, Lucifer) and ἀφανίζω "destroy" (B rel) are usual renderings for the Hebrew מַחֲשִׁיפִּי *hiphil*. Even though ἀφανίζω is the only one found in the nonkaige section (1 Sam 24:22), the cases are so few that nothing can be deduced from that fact. In the kaige section both are used (ἀφανίζω: 2 Sam 22:38, 2 Kgs 10:17, 28; ἐξαίρω: 2 Sam 14:7, 11, 16). Occasionally, a variant is found in *L* (2 Sam 14:16 ἐξῆραι] ἐξολοθρεῦσαι *L*; 2 Kgs 10:17 ἀφανίσαι] ποιῆσαι *L*-700 71 460), but the present case in 2 Kgs 21:9 is the only instance in which ἐξαίρω and ἀφανίζω are found as variants. While

67. Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 473, suggests the same underlying Hebrew for ἐβδελύχθη, but suggests that the reading (Hebrew or Greek?) is derived from 1 Kgs 21:26.

68. This is against Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 257, who suggests that the *L* reading is not a doublet but an expansion according to 1 Kgs 21:26: "wohl nicht Dublette mit der Lesart ויהתעם statt ויהתעם, sondern Erweiterung aus der ähnlichen Stelle." Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 288, call the plus "an expansion" but admit that it can be attributed either to the translator or a copyist.

there is no corroborating evidence to suggest that ἀφανίζω was a kaige reading, on the basis of support for ἐξάίρω by the Chronicles parallel and Lucifer it is the better choice for the original reading.

In Samuel-Kings both ἀπό and ἐκ are found as a rendering for the Hebrew נָפַח in both the nonkaige and kaige sections; ἐκ is somewhat more usual, but the difference is not sufficient to state that the translator(s) favoured it over ἀπό. However, in the Hebrew expressions that contain the word נָפַח “face,” ἀπό is the preferred rendering and in the kaige section of Kings it prevails over ἐκ.⁶⁹ While it would be intriguing to choose ἀπό as the original reading on the basis of this usage in 2 Kings, ἀπό is also the preposition that the Lucianic reviser sometimes favours in those instances and occasionally it is found as a variant for ἐκ in other witnesses as well. The following six cases in 1 Samuel (nonkaige) are enough to demonstrate this:

1 Sam 4:17 ἐκ (ἀπό L; a Luc Athan. 1.11) προσώπου ἀλλοφύλων, 19:8 ἐκ (ἀπό 125-134; a Luc Athan. 1.13) προσώπου αὐτοῦ, 10 ἐκ (ἀπό 530 125; a Luc Athan. 1.13) προσώπου Σαούλ; 21:11(10) ἐκ (ἀπό 29) προσώπου Σαούλ; 25:10 ἐκ (ἀπό L⁻¹⁹ 509 488 158) προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ, 31:1 ἐκ (ἀπό 328) προσώπου τῶν ἀλλοφύλων

Then again, fluctuation between ἀπό to ἐκ or something else in 2 Kings (kaige) can be found almost as often:

2 Kgs 3:24 (ἐκ 93-127-700), 11:2 (ἐκ L-700 460), 14:12 (ἀπὸ προσώπου] ἐνώπιον L-700 460), 16:14 (ἀπὸ προσώπου L-700 328 f o 55 71 460] τὸ πρόσωπον A B 245 342; πρὸ προσώπου rel), 17:8 (ὅπου 314; ἐκ B 56)

While the evidence is ambiguous, it hints that generally the change from ἐκ to ἀπό in the expression “from the face of” were more likely than vice versa. Nevertheless, Lucifer may attest either reading here: while the expression *e(x) facie* is possible in Latin (36x in LLT), *a facie* is the normal Latin expression (3402x).⁷⁰ The former is never found in Lucifer’s texts, whereas the latter is found twenty-six times, including biblical quotations

69. The frequencies for the renderings ἀπό and ἐκ for נָפַח:

1 Sam–2 Sam 9: ἀπό = 100; ἐκ = 151; ἀπό (נָפַח) = 8; ἐκ (נָפַח) = 10
 2 Sam 10–1 Kgs 1: ἀπό = 49; ἐκ = 91; ἀπό (נָפַח) = 5; ἐκ (נָפַח) = 3
 1 Kgs 2–21: ἀπό = 57; ἐκ = 78; ἀπό (נָפַח) = 9; ἐκ (נָפַח) = 2
 1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs: ἀπό = 91; ἐκ = 96; ἀπό (נָפַח) = 20; ἐκ (נָפַח) = 3

70. In addition, generally one should not suppose that the Latin *ab* and *ex* always corresponded to the Greek ἀπό and ἐκ; see Fischer, “Limitations,” 368.

in which the Greek evidence for ἀπό is very slim (see 1 Sam 4:17, 19:8, 10 above) or nonexistent.

Literary-Critical Considerations

Schenker has presented literary-critical considerations on the passage concerning the guilt of Manasseh. He suggests that the OL tradition—reflected here by Lucifer's quotation—"charges king Manasseh less severely for soothsaying than the other three witnesses" and that "such differences are redactional or literary and theological."⁷¹ This conclusion is based on arguments that are less than watertight.

The most striking feature in Lucifer's quotation is the complete absence of verse 4. Indeed, verse 4 contains features that make it seem secondary from a literary-critical point of view:⁷² it mentions an undefined altar or altars built in the temple between the references to the altar of Baal in verse 3 and other specific altars built in the courtyard of the temple in verse 5. Moreover, verse 4 contains an allusion to Deut 12:5: "But you shall seek the place that the LORD your God will choose out of all your tribes as his habitation **to put his name there.**"

2 Kgs 21:3–5 (NRSV)	2 Kgs 21:3–5 (NETS)	Luc Reg. 8 (trans. mine)
3 For he rebuilt the high places that his father Hezekiah had destroyed; he erected altars for Baal , made a sacred pole, as King Ahab of Israel had done, worshiped all the host of heaven, and	3 And he turned back and built the high places that Hezekias his father had pulled down, and he erected an altar to the goddess Baal and made groves, just as Achaab, king of Israel, had done, and did obeisance to all the host of heaven and	3 and he built the high places that Ezechias his father had <i>destroyed</i> , and he <i>built</i> an altar to Baal and made groves, just as Achab, king of Israel, had done, and did obeisance to all the <i>army</i> of heaven and

71. Adrian Schenker, "The Septuagint in the Text History of 1–2 Kings," in *The Books of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception*, ed. André Lemaire and Baruch Halpern, VTSup 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 8, 11.

72. That v. 4 belongs to a later nomistic or deuteronomistic redaction layer has been suggested by a few of commentators, e.g., Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, 596. Somewhat similarly Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 287: "V. 4 was intended as a gloss to v. 5, and logically should come after it. This explains why the god to whom altars were erected is not named; while the fact that the verse is not in its right place shows it to be a gloss (based on v. 7)."

2 Kgs 21:3–5 (NRSV)	2 Kgs 21:3–5 (NETS)	Luc Reg. 8 (trans. mine)
served them.	was subject to them.	was subject to them.
4 He built altars	4 And he built an altar	
in the house of the Lord,	in the Lord's house,	
of which the Lord had	as he had	
said, "In Jerusalem I will	said, "In Ierousalem I will	
put my name. "	put my name. "	
5 He built	5 And he built an	5 And he built an/the
altars	altar	altar
for all the host of heaven	to all the host of heaven	
in the two courts of the	in the two courts of the	in the two courts of the
house of the Lord.	Lord's house.	Lord's house.

There are, however, considerations that can make verse 4 seem less problematic: if the altar in verse 3 is erected on one of "the high places" the "an altar" (or "altars" if we follow the MT) in verse 4 might well be a different one. This second altar would have been built inside the temple to supplement or even supplant the altar of Yahweh that was already there (cf. 1 Kgs 6:19–22). Building an additional altar would be the sinful act in verse 4. The altar or altars in verse 5 are yet some other altars, this time dedicated to heavenly bodies and for that reason built outside.

The important methodological question is whether the absence of verse 4 in Lucifer's quotation can be used as documented evidence for its lateness. Above I noted that a homoioteleuton error is the easiest explanation for the minus. Schenker acknowledges the possibility of a transcriptional error, but dismisses this possibility on the basis that "such a grave charge against the king (the erection of several pagan altars in the house of YHWH himself) which is so central to the argument of 2 Kgs 21:1–9" would hardly "have dropped out by mere accident."⁷³ I find this argument untenable for two reasons:

1. Errors happen when they happen. Even if Lucifer did not omit the verse, any later copyist of his works may easily have done so.
2. It is a matter of debate whether verse 4 stands out in the narrative as especially aggravating. Even without it, Manasseh's list of sins is rather impressive:

73. Schenker, "Septuagint," 7. Treballe (*Centena*, 200) also dismisses the possibility of a transcriptional error as a reason for Lucifer's omission of v. 4 without developing the point further.

- doing what was evil in the sight of Yahweh
- following abominable practices of the nations
- rebuilding the high places
- erecting altars for Baal
- making a sacred pole
- worshipping and serving all the host of heaven as well as building altars to them in the two courts of the house of Yahweh
- making his son pass through fire
- practicing soothsaying and augury
- dealing with mediums and wizards
- setting the carved image of Ašerah in the house of Yahweh

That is certainly enough for the narrator to state “he did much evil in the sight of the LORD” (v. 6, NRSV). The sin mentioned in verse 4, “He built altars in the house of the LORD, of which the LORD had said, ‘In Jerusalem I will put my name,’” hardly adds anything to the charges since the concept of an idolatrous image in the house of Yahweh is mentioned in verses 5 and 7 as well. Actually, all the information in verse 4 is provided later in the passage since the clause “In Jerusalem I will put my name” recurs in verse 7 in a longer form. While it is probable that the theme of God’s *name*—instead of God himself—dwelling in the temple of Jerusalem is late, Lucifer nevertheless cites two passages attesting this theme, the other in the same context: τοῦ θέσθαι ὄνομά μου ἐκεῖ *ut ponerem nomen meum ibi* (1 Kgs 11:36 // Reg. 4), θήσω τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐκεῖ *ponere nomen meum* (2 Kgs 21:7 // Reg. 8). In light of this it is not reasonable to suggest that Lucifer witnessed a form of the text that was so early that it did not yet contain that theme.

In Schenker’s argumentation, the suggested improbability of an accidental omission of verse 4 is linked with a hypothesis that the MT, the LXX, and the parallel story in 2 Chr 33 describe the guilt of Manasseh as more serious than Lucifer’s text does.⁷⁴ This hypothesis is based on the following considerations.

First, in verse 5 Lucifer’s text does not contain the words πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ “to all the host of heaven” (see above). According to Schenker, the reader of Lucifer’s text gets the following view of Manasseh’s

74. Schenker, “Septuagint,” 7: “Since MT, 2 Chr 33, and LXX tend to increase the guilt of Manasseh, more than VL does, as will be shown soon, the hypothesis of a mere textual accident which would diminish the weight of king Manasseh’s guilt, remains certainly possible, but is not the most convincing or plausible explanation.”

acts: “In the house of the Lord he set up only one altar, and it is nowhere suggested that this was a pagan altar (v. 5)! On the contrary, since this is not explicitly stated in the context ... the silence in this respect suggests innocence.”⁷⁵ It must be noted, however, that since Lucifer’s text does not contain verse 4, the distance between “the altar of Baal” in verse 3 and the recurring “altar” in verse 5 is quite short:

And he built *an altar to Baal* and made groves, just as Achab, king of Israel, had done, and did obeisance to all the army of heaven and was subject to them. (5) And he built *an/the altar* in the two courts of the Lord’s house. (Lucifer, *Reg.* 8, trans. mine)

The mention of where the altar was built specifically in verse 5 can easily be read as a further definition for the very same “altar of Baal” as in verse 3: “he built *that*”⁷⁶ altar in the two courts of the house of the Lord.” As I see it, the fact that Lucifer does not mention “the host of heaven” in verse 5 only corroborates what is said before: it is the altar of Baal of verse 3 that is being talked about, not an altar of “all the host of heaven”⁷⁷ but, nevertheless, a pagan altar.

Second, in verse 6 Lucifer mentions only three forms of divination practised by Manasseh as against four items mentioned in the other text forms:

2 Kgs 21:6 (NETS)	Luc Reg. 8
and he was acting as diviner	and he was acting as <i>an augur</i> ,
and practicing ornithomancy,	
and he made one who wills (<i>ventriloquists</i> L 460)	and he made <i>sorcerers</i>
and (+ he <i>multiplied</i> L) people that know.	and <i>many diviners</i>

Above it was noted that we cannot know which Greek word or words Lucifer’s “he was acting as an augur” actually reflect: the semantic field of *augur* “to act as augur, augur, predict, foretell” easily comprises the meanings

75. Schenker, “Septuagint,” 10.

76. Lucifer’s manner of quotation would allow the addition of a demonstrative pronoun, in this case *illud*, to compensate for the lack of the definite article in the Latin language. This kind of addition is, however, not at all necessary.

77. Lucifer’s text cannot be interpreted as meaning “he worshipped all the host of heaven and served them, and he built an altar (*for them*)” since that would absolutely require the addition of the word *illis: et aedificauit *illis sacrarium*.

of both the Greek κληδονίζομαι and οἰωνίζομαι. From this it follows that in Lucifer's form of the text Manasseh's guilt is hardly any milder; one of his divination practices is simply expressed with only one word instead of two. Regardless of whether this choice originates in an OL translator or, which I find more likely, in Lucifer himself, it is not justified to claim—as Schenker does—that the OL “charges king Manasseh less severely for soothsaying than the other three witnesses.”⁷⁸

Third, the MT mentions Ašerah in verses 3 and 7:

2 Kgs 21:3–5 (NRSV)	2 Kgs 21:3–5 (NETS)	Luc Reg. 8 (my trans.)
3 he erected altars for Baal, made a sacred pole (<i>ašerah</i>), as King Ahab of Israel had done, ———	3 and he erected an altar to the goddess Baal and made groves , just as Achaab, king of Israel, had done, ———	3 and he <i>built</i> an altar to Baal and made groves , just as Achab, king of Israel, had done, ———
7 The carved image of Asherah that he had made he set in the house of which the LORD said to David and to his son Solomon, ...	7 And he put the carved image of the grove in the house (+ <i>of the Lord</i> <i>L 246 527</i>) of which the Lord had said to David and to Salomon his son, ...	7 And he put <i>carved</i> <i>images of groves</i> that he had made in the house of which the Lord had said to David and to Salomon his son: ...

Schenker notes that, in contrast to the MT, Ašerah is not mentioned in Lucifer's text form: “He [=Manasseh] apparently had made *asherahs* in the sense not of statues, but of sacred poles in the house of the Lord. But it must be noted that this is the only idolatrous action against the house of the Lord mentioned in VL (v. 7)!”⁷⁹ Not mentioning Ašerah is not, however, a trait of Lucifer's text: the word is not mentioned in any of the extant Greek witnesses which have the word “grove” in verses 3 and 7. In Lucifer's text the “house” in verse 7 in which the statue or pole is set is not referred to as “the house of the Lord” as in *L*, but it is clear that the temple is meant: “the house, of which the Lord had said ... ‘In this house ... I will put my name.’” (v. 7) It is hard to see any grounds for Schenker's claim that Manasseh's idolatrous “or at least prohibited cultic practices” occurred, according to

78. Schenker, “Septuagint,” 8.

79. Schenker, “Septuagint,” 11.

Lucifer's text, "outside the temple" and were "of course of lesser weight than in MT since they do not affect the house of the Lord."⁸⁰

From the three issues discussed above, it follows that Schenker's overall conclusion is untenable: "To sum up, the guilt of king Manasseh is much worse in MT, LXX, 2 Chr 33:2–9 than in VL, particularly because there, in contradistinction to VL, he has most impiously profaned the holiness of the house of the Lord."⁸¹

The Oracle of Doom (21:10–15)

The quotation continues with the oracle of doom against Manasseh and Jerusalem. There is no Chronicles parallel for these verses save for a few words in verse 10.

2 Kgs 21:10 καὶ ἐλάλησεν κύριος ἐν χειρὶ δούλων αὐτοῦ τῶν προφητῶν λέγων (Rahlfs)
Et locutus est dominus in manu puerorum suorum prophetarum: Luc
Reg. 8 (153,79–80)
καὶ ἐλάλησεν κύριος ἐπὶ Μανασσῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ
 ἐπήκουσαν. 2 Chr 33:10

2 Kgs 21:10.1 יְיָ בְּדוּלָּן (אֹתוֹ)] פִּאִידֹן L 460 Luc

2 Kgs 21:10.2 λέγων] > 246 Luc

On the kaige reading δοῦλος "servant" for the Hebrew עַבְד (1), see 2 Kgs 21:8 above. Lucifer is probably not following 246 specifically in the omission of λέγων (2) since he is shortening the passage somewhat in any case.

2 Kgs 21:11 Ἀνθ' ὧν ὅσα ἐποίησεν Μανασσης ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουδα τὰ βδελύγματα
 ταῦτα τὰ πονηρὰ ἀπὸ πάντων, ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἀμορραῖος ὁ ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ
 ἐξήμαρτεν καὶ γε Ἰουδα ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν, (Rahlfs)
quia fecit Manasses rex Iuda simulacra, secundum omnia quae fecit
Amorrhæus qui erat ante faciem eius, et peccare fecit Iuda in idolis suis,
Luc Reg. 8 (154,80–82)

2 Kgs 21:11.1 ταῦτα / τὰ πονηρὰ] > Luc; om ταῦτα 127 527; om τὰ 93 98*; tr 460

2 Kgs 21:11.2 ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν] κατὰ πάντα ὅσα L 460 Luc (*secundum omnia quae*)

2 Kgs 21:11.3 ὁ] ὅς ἦν ἐν τῇ γῇ L; ἐν τῇ γῇ 460; *qui erat* Luc; > 71

2 Kgs 21:11.4 ἔμπροσθεν] > 71; + αὐτοῦ L 460 Luc (*ante faciem eius*)
 Cf. 2 Kgs 21:9.6 ἐκ (προσώπου)] ἀπὸ 247 L 489 460; *a (facie)* Luc

80. Schenker, "Septuagint," 11. Treballe, *Centena*, 200, offers a suggestion similar to that of Schenker.

81. Schenker, "Septuagint," 11.

- 2 Kgs 21:11.5 *καὶ ἐξήμαρτεν καὶ γε Ἰουδα* Luc] *καὶ γε καὶ* (> 460) *τὸν Ἰούδα(ν)*
ἐξήμαρτεν *L* 460
- 2 Kgs 21:11.6 *ⲙⲁ καὶ γε*] > 125 Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 21:16 *ⲙⲁ καὶ γε*] *et quemadmodum* Luc Reg. 8
 Cf. 2 Kgs 22:19 *ⲙⲁ καὶ γε*] *καὶ A*; *et* Luc Parc. 7
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:15 *ⲙⲁ καὶ γε* 1°] *et* Luc Parc. 7
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:15 *ⲙⲁ καὶ γε* 2°] *et* Luc Parc. 7
- 2 Kgs 21:11.7 *αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ* *L* 610 460 Luc (*suis*); > 125

Lucifer's desire to shorten the passage a little is seen in the omission of the words "these evil" (1). Lucifer seems to follow the, likely recensional, readings of *L* in the variation units 2 and 4.⁸² In variation unit 3, however, Lucifer does not attest the words "in the land" of the *L* text but produces only the predicate *erat*. The agreement with *L* in the predicate "to be" may be coincidental.⁸³ Lucifer follows the word order of B and the majority in the reading "and made Judah sin" (5).

The rendering *καὶ γε* for *ⲙⲁ/ⲙⲁⲓ* is the most well-known kaige feature.⁸⁴ Lucifer quotes five instances where *καὶ γε* occurs and in each of these *καὶ γε* is attested by *L* as well as by B and the majority. Thus, it is possible that the original translator(s) of Kings used *καὶ γε* too, but the matter is open to debate since there are no instances of this in the nonkaige section of Kings. If the reading *καὶ γε* must always be secondary, this means that in this respect even *L* has been contaminated with occasional kaige readings. In 2 Kgs 21:11.6 the expression is omitted by Lucifer, and even in 21:16 (see below) it is improbable that Lucifer's *et quemadmodum* attested *καὶ γε*. All in all, there is no conclusive evidence that Lucifer attested the reading *καὶ γε* in any of these instances, but the opposite cannot be demonstrated either. This gives weight to the claim that in the instances in which the reading is shared by *L* it might be the original reading. The cases in 2 Kgs 22:19 and 23:15 (twice) are problematic: Brooke-McLean cites Lucifer as attesting the minus of *γε* in these instances, but Lucifer may well content himself with the simple *et* regardless of the Greek reading.⁸⁵

82. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 289, also consider these *L* readings secondary.

83. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 147, does not take a stance but notes that Lucifer's reading "steht in der Mitte zwischen Ⲙ ... und Ⲙ".

84. Barthélemy, *Devanciers d'Aquila*, 31–47.

85. See also Kauhanen, "Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision," 151.

The Greek language uses the genitive of the personal pronoun as a possessive expression and therefore cannot make a distinction between possessive expressions with the subject or someone else as the owner. However, because of this usage Greek can make a distinction between a singular (αὐτοῦ L 610 460) and plural (αὐτῶν B and majority) owner (7). In this case the singular owner is Manasseh, and therefore Lucifer must be following that reading with *suis* (instead of *eorum*) although that, in turn, must be in plural since the correlate (*idolis*) is in plural.

- 2 Kgs 21:12 οὐχ οὕτως, τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ Ἴδου ἐγὼ φέρω κακὰ ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰουδα, ὥστε παντὸς ἀκούοντος ἡχῆσαι ἀμφότερα τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ, (Rahlfs)
propter hoc haec dicit dominus deus Israel: ecce ego adduco mala in Hierusalem et in Iuda; omnes qui audierint haec, tinnibunt aures eorum utraeque. Luc Reg. 8 (154,83–85)
- 2 Kgs 21:12.1 יְכֹלֵךְ οὐχ οὕτως] *propter hoc* Luc; > 71; *propterea* Vg.
 Cf. 2 Kgs 22:20.1 יְכֹלֵךְ οὐχ οὕτως] *propter hoc* Luc; > 460; absc. 313
- 2 Kgs 21:12.2 אִי־בְרִיָּה (ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ) φέρω] ἐπάγω L 460; *adduco* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:12.3 κακὰ / ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ Luc = MT] tr A 328
- 2 Kgs 21:12.4 ὥστε] > Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:12.5 ἀκούοντος] + αὐτὰ L 56 527 55 244^{mg}; cf. MT; + αὐτοῦ 246 = MT; + ταῦτα 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:12.6 ἡχῆσαι Luc (*tinnibunt*)] ἡχῆσαι L
- 2 Kgs 21:12.7 ἀμφότερα / τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ] tr Luc

It is unclear whether the rendering οὐχ οὕτως actually reflects יְכֹלֵךְ or כֹּן לֹא “not so”: there is evidence in both directions.⁸⁶ Theoretically, there is the possibility that Lucifer’s *propter hoc* (1) attested an otherwise lost Greek reading διὰ τοῦτο (rendering of יְכֹלֵךְ in 1 Sam 2:30, 27:6; no significant variants): apart from the two cases cited above, in his biblical quotations Lucifer uses *propter hoc* for διὰ τοῦτο (1 Sam 2:30 // *Athan.* 1.10, 1 Kgs 21[20]:19 // *Athan.* 1.19, Amos 7:17 // *Parc.* 8, Mic 2:3 // *Athan.* 1.35, Sus [θ’] 21 // *Athan.* 2.7, Wis 17:1 // *Athan.* 1.34) or διὰ ταῦτα (Eph 5:6 // *Conv.* 14), as well as once for διό (Sus [θ’] 20 // *Athan.* 2.7). Apart from the two cases in 2 Kings, Lucifer cites only one instance of οὐχ οὕτως: οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται *non sic erit* (Jdt 9:2; no variants). Indeed, Treballe suggests that in both the

86. See R. J. Saley, “Proto-Lucian and 4QSam^a,” *BIOSCS* 41 (2008): 37–38; Kauhanen, *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 171.

cases above οὐχ οὕτως is a kaige reading that has been spread in *L* as well as the other witnesses and that “the Armenian version here joined by Lucifer (*propter hoc*) reflects the primitive Greek διὰ τοῦτο.”⁸⁷ If διὰ τοῦτο was the OG reading then οὐχ οὕτως would be a kaige reading not towards לֹכֶן but, rather, according to a reading tradition that advised reading לֹכֶן as בֶּן לֹא.⁸⁸ Like in the case of the five instances of καί γε (see 2 Kgs 21:11.6), the kaige reading would be shared by *L* as well as *B* and the majority. I would rather argue, however, that Lucifer has changed οὐχ οὕτως to *propter hoc* for contextual reasons. After all, there are plenty of models for the formulation “therefore this is what the Lord the God of Israel has said” (1 Sam 2:30 etc.; see above). In this verse Lucifer does two other changes of the same kind: omitting ὥστε “so that” (4) and transposing “both” after “ears” (7).

According to Bodine, φέρω for the בּוֹא *hiphil* “to bring” is a kaige feature in Judges.⁸⁹ In Samuel-Kings the rendering φέρω is equally usual in the nonkaige sections (13 of 47 total renderings = 28 percent) as in the kaige sections (7 of 25 = 28 percent). The rendering ἐπάγω, on the other hand, is rare in both sections (nonkaige: 4 = 9 percent, kaige: 3 = 12 percent). Aquila uses both ἐπάγω and φέρω for בּוֹא *hiphil*.⁹⁰ Thus the evidence for φέρω being a kaige rendering in Kings is inconclusive. Lucifer, nevertheless, likely attests ἐπάγω with *adduco* (2). It might be suggested that ἐπάγω was a slightly more expressive verb adopted by the Lucianic reviser: what is being brought is “evil upon” (ἐπί) Jerusalem and Judah, and the connotations of ἐπάγω include “set on, urge on; lead on an army against the enemy, march against.” Counting in Lucifer’s support for ἐπάγω, however, it may be cautiously suggested that it was the original reading and φέρω a kaige reading.

In the Hebrew text (*qere*) the verb “to hear” has a feminine singular object suffix with “evil” as the correlate: “(such) evil ... that everyone who hears of it.” The addition of a pronoun “(who hears) those [things]” in *L* and a few other witnesses (5) may reflect the suffix in the Hebrew, but it

87. Julio Treballe Barrera, “Redaction, Recension, and Midrash in the Books of Kings,” in *Reconsidering Israel and Judah: Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers and J. Gordan McConville, SBTS 8 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 488.

88. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 146 n. 1: “Bemerkenswert ist auch, daß Lucifer in Regn. δ 21₁₂ und ebenso in 22₂₀ *propter hoc* = לֹכֶן statt ουχ ουτως bietet[.]”

89. Bodine, *Greek Text*, 69–70.

90. Reider and Turner, *Index to Aquila*, 88, 249.

may be contextual as well. Nevertheless, Lucifer likely attests the addition and in the form ταῦτα (460) specifically: although the “evils” (plural in both Greek and Latin) is something that is currently being spoken about (therefore “these”) it also is something that will happen in the future and therefore it should actually be referred to as “those.” If Lucifer had added the pronoun without reference to a Greek reading, he would have more likely used the latter (*ea*).⁹¹ The Lucianic reviser has changed the last verb to the infinitive ἡχῆσαι “to echo” (6) as is expected in a subordinate clause beginning with ὥστε. Lucifer, again, does not attest the recensional reading but follows the finite verb of B and the majority.

- 2 Kgs 21:13 καὶ ἀπαλείψω τὴν Ἱερουσαλημ, καθὼς ἀπαλείφεται ὁ ἀλάβαστρος ἀπαλειφόμενος καὶ καταστρέφεται ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, (Rahlfs)
et deleam Hierusalem quemadmodum deletur buxum de poste ante faciem eius. Luc Reg. 8 (154,85–87)
Et delebo Hierusalem sicut deletur buxum cum deletur et reversatur in faciem suam La^M
- 2 Kgs 21:13.1 ἡτηρη καὶ ἀπαλείψω] ἐξαλείψω L 460; *deleam* Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 10:21 ἀπολειπέσθω ... ἀπολειφθῇ]
- 2 Kgs 21:13.2 η̇η̇ ἀπαλείφεται] ἐπαλείφεται 46-236-313; ἐξαλείφεται L 460; *deletur* Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 14:27 τῇη̇ ἐξαλείψαι] διαφθεῖραι L-700 460
- 2 Kgs 21:13.3 τη̇ ὁ ἀλάβαστρος] τὸ πύξιον L 460; *buxum* La^M Luc; *tabulae* Vg.
- 2 Kgs 21:13.4 η̇η̇ ἀπαλειφόμενος La^M] > L 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:13.5 καὶ καταστρέφεται La^M] *de poste* Luc⁹²
- 2 Kgs 21:13.6 ἐπὶ πρόσωπον] ἀπὸ προσώπου ο 318 372; *in faciem suam* La^M; *ante faciem* Luc; *super faciem eius* Vg.
 Cf. 1 Kgs 18:39 ἐπὶ πρόσωπον *super faciem* Luc (no variants)
 Cf. 2 Kgs 21:9.6 ἐκ (προσώπου)] ἀπό 247 L 489 460; *a* Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 21:11 ἔμπροσθεν] *ante faciem* Luc

91. Cf. ποιῶ τὰ ῥήματά μου ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ὥστε παντὸς ἀκούοντος αὐτὰ ἡχῆσει ἀμφότερα τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ *facio uerba mea in israel, et omnis qui audierit ea, tinnient utraeque aures eius* 1 Sam 3:11 // Luc Athan. 1.11.

92. Ugenti, 105, appears to construe the expression somewhat differently; he translates Lucifer's text as “*come si distrugge una tavoletta di legno davanti ai suoi occhi*” (“as a wooden tablet is destroyed before its eyes [?]”; my trans.) with a footnote: “L'espressione *buxum de poste* è alquanto oscura. Sembra trattarsi della tavoletta da scrittura di legno di bosso o di un qualunque altro oggetto di legno.” “The expression *buxum de poste* is somewhat obscure. It appears to be a writing tablet of boxwood or some other kind of wooden object” (my trans.).

Lucifer obviously supports the *L* reading πύξιον “tablet of boxwood” with the etymologically related *buxum* “the wood of the box tree” (3). Apart from the present case, the word תַּבְלִיט “dish, bowl” is found only in Prov 19:24 and 26:13, rendered with κόλπος “bosom” in the LXX. As a rare word, it may have been unknown to the translator of Kings, and thus he may have guessed at the meaning. This reasoning would suggest that πύξιον was the original reading⁹³ and ἀλάβαστρος (LSJ: “*globular vase without handles for holding perfumes*, often made of alabaster”), which corresponds more closely to the Hebrew reading, might be a kaige correction. There is even the possibility that the readings ἀλάβαστρος and πύξιον reflect different Hebrew words: πύξιον is found as a rendering for תַּבְלִיט “tablet” three times (Exod 24:12, Isa 30:8, Hab 2:2) and a loss of the letters *tsade* and *tav* could lead to a corruption from תַּבְלִיט to תַּבְלִי.⁹⁴ That the Vulgate uses the word *tabula* may be seen as further evidence for תַּבְלִי; that rendering is found in the Vulgate in, for example, Exod 24:12; Deut 9:9, 10:5; 1 Kgs 8:9; and Ezek 27:5.

Exactly the same Greek witnesses (*L* 460) that read πύξιον attest with Lucifer a minus of the word ἀπαλειφόμενος “when it is wiped” (NETS; 4). Moreover, the very same Greek witnesses read the verb ἐξαλείφω for תַּחַם earlier in the verse (1, 2). Apart from the four instances in 2 Kings (3x: 21:13; 1x: 14:27), the verb תַּחַם is not found in Samuel-Kings. Thus, it is hard to find a difference between its possible kaige and OG renderings. The verbs ἀπαλείφω and ἐξαλείφω mean basically the same thing, but LSJ gives slightly stronger connotations to the latter.⁹⁵ Lucifer's *deleo* “to erase; to destroy” (1, 2) may reflect either verb. The phenomena are not necessarily connected, but both the minus and the change of the verb might point to the Lucianic reviser: ἐξαλείφω is a slightly more expressive verb and the expression “when it is wiped” is totally unnecessary. On the other hand, the case for the plus of ἀπαλειφόμενος being a kaige reading in B is equally good. That La^M attests it (*cum deletur*) points towards a late conflation of the *L* and B readings. It might be considered if the verb ἀπαλείφω was the original rendering in 1 and 2—Lucifer may attest it—but the plus in 4 was secondary.

The usage of Latin prepositions is not one to one with that of Greek, even in spatial expressions. The most literal translation of ἐπὶ πρόσωπον “on

93. Similarly Ant, LIV. This also explains the agreement between Lucifer and La^M.

94. See also Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 160.

95. “II. wipe out, obliterate ... 2. metaph., wipe out, destroy.”

its face” would be *super faciem* but such an expression is found only once in Lucifer’s texts (1 Kgs 18:39 // *Athan.* 1.17). The more usual expression for being “on one’s face” would be *in faciem* (see the Vg. in Gen 17:3, 17; Num 16:4, 22, etc.), and that is found five times in Lucifer’s texts (Josh 7:6, 10 // *Parc.* 3; 1 Sam 5:3, 4 // *Athan.* 1.12; 24:8 // *Athan.* 1.14). It is highly probable that in these kinds of cases Lucifer utilizes a suitable Latin expression regardless of the underlying Greek preposition. Thus, it is unnecessary to speculate whether his, slightly unusual, *ante faciem* (mostly temporal “before”) in 2 Kgs 21:13.6 reflects this or that Greek preposition. The interdependence of the Latin witnesses is well demonstrated by La^M reading *in faciem suam*. In any case, the reading ἀπὸ προσώπου in o 318 372 is probably a transcriptional error.

2 Kgs 21:14 καὶ ἀπώσσομαι τὸ ὑπόλειμμα τῆς κληρονομίας μου καὶ παραδώσω αὐτοὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς διαρπαγὴν καὶ εἰς προνομὴν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτῶν, (Rahlfs)
Et dabo eos in manus inimicorum ipsius, et erunt in direptionem et combustionem omnibus inimicis eorum, Luc Reg. 8 (154,88–89)

2 Kgs 21:14.1 καὶ 1^o – μου] > Luc

2 Kgs 21:14.2 αὐτῶν 1^o] αὐτοῦ 247 108* 46’-236 246 71*(c pr m); *ipsius* Luc

2 Kgs 21:14.3 αὐτῶν 2^o Luc] αὐτοῦ 127 245

Lucifer leaves out the first sentence (1), probably due to a parablepsis from καί to καί. Lucifer’s *ipsius* “of himself” (2) can hardly refer to anyone other than Manasseh. It fits poorly into the context since the obvious correlate for the so-called owner of the enemies would be “they” as it is at the end of the verse (3). Therefore, it is plausible to suppose that the reading *ipsius* is Lucifer’s attempt to make sense of the singular reading αὐτοῦ, which he, accordingly, probably follows. That reading, in turn, is best explained as a transcriptional error: confusions between αὐτῶ and αὐτοῦ in the uncial script happen regularly.

2 Kgs 21:15 ἀνθ’ ὧν ὅσα ἐποίησαν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου καὶ ἦσαν παροργίζοντές με ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς ἐξήγαγον τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης. (Rahlfs)
quoniam proiacti sunt de post me, et erant de post me et erant exacerbantes me, ex qua die exierunt patres eorum de terra Aegypti usque in hunc diem. Luc Reg. 8 (154,89–92)

2 Kgs 21:15.1 ῥψϛ ϣϣ’ ἀνθ’ ὧν ὅσα] ἀνθ’ ὧν ὅτι ο 372; om ὅσα A L 328 71 460; *quoniam* Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 10:30.1 ῥψϛ ϣϣ’ ἀνθ’ ὧν ὅσα 1^o] om ὅσα 247 L-700 121 488 318 460; ἀνθ’ ὧν ὅτι 246; *eapropter quod* Luc Parc. 5

2 Kgs 21:15.2 ἐποίησαν = MT] pr ἀπερρίφθησαν ἀπὸ ὅπισθεν μου καὶ L 328 460 Luc
Cf. 1 Sam 15:11 וַיִּרְחַק מִנִּי וַיִּפְּץ אֶפְסֵרְטֵרֶנּוּ ἀπὸ ὀπισθέν μου
Cf. Pss. Sol. 9:1 ἐν τῷ ἀποστῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ κυρίου τοῦ λυτρωσαμένου
αὐτοὺς ἀπερρίφθησαν ἀπὸ κληρονομίας
Cf. Ezek 16:5 οὐδὲ ἐφείσατο ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου ἐπὶ σοί ... καὶ ἀπερρίφης ἐπὶ
πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου

2 Kgs 21:15.3 ἐποίησαν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου] *erant de post me* Luc

2 Kgs 21:15.4 ἐξ = MT] ἐκ γῆς 245 Luc (*de terra*)

2 Kgs 21:15.5 καὶ ἕως] *om* καὶ 55 342; *usque* Luc

On the possible kaise feature of rendering ἄνθ' ὡς ὅσα with יַעַן אֲשֶׁר, see 10:30.1 above. Here, Lucifer probably sides with *L* in not attesting ὅσα. In addition, Lucifer follows *L* in the plus “they were thrown away from behind me” (2). The plus is not easily explained as a reminiscence of any similar passage. The passage in 1 Sam 15:11 (“he has turned away from behind me”) comes closest, but here in 2 Kgs 21:15 the verb is in the passive. The verb ἀπο(ρ)ρίπτω is mostly used as a rendering for שָׁלַךְ *hiphil* “to throw,” *hophal* “to be cast away.” Following this, a retroversion to Hebrew could be attempted: וַיַּעַן יַעַן אֲשֶׁר הִשְׁלָכוּ מֵאַחֲרַי. This form of text does not, however, make very good sense: since the surrounding sentences are about what Manasseh and the people of Judah have done, not what God has done to them, one would expect something like שָׁבוּ מֵאַחֲרַי ἀπέστρεψαν ἀπὸ ὀπισθέν μου “they have turned back from following me” (cf. NRSV in 1 Sam 15:11). However, a corruption from this clause to my putative retroversion of the *L* clause would require both a *bet* → *kaph* error and an addition of two letters (שָׁבוּ → הִשְׁלָכוּ). Neither of the suggested Hebrew plusses could easily be dropped out by a parablepsis.

The minus of the clause ἀπερρίφθησαν ἀπὸ ὀπίσθεν μου καί in B cannot be explained through homoioteleuton: in Greek, there are recurring sequences of letters (ἀπερρίφθησαν, ἐποίησαν, ἦσαν; ἀπὸ ὀπίσθεν μου καί, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου καί) but not in such places that they could have caused the omission. They explain, however, Lucifer's curious reading "they were from behind me" instead of "they did what was evil in my sight" (3). A Greek exemplar of the *L* text with quite short lines could have looked like the following:

... απερίθ
 ησαναποπισθεν**μουκαι**
 εποιησαντοπνηρον
 ενοφθαλμοι**μουκαι**
 ησανπαροργιζοντεςμε

After the highlighted words (*ἀπερίθ|ησαν ...*), the eye of a copyist or a translator—or Lucifer himself—has jumped back to the beginning of the same line producing the strange clause **ἦσαν ἀπὸ ὀπισθέν μου καί*—the Greek back-translation of Lucifer’s *erant de post me et*. After this unfortunate doubling of the line, the eye has wandered two lines down to the words *μου καί* (bold). This has caused the omission of the words *ἐποίησαν τὸ πνηρὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου καί* (strikethrough).

Since the question of the origin of the *L* clause “they were thrown away from behind me” cannot be solved by transcriptional considerations, we must weigh which is more probable—the Lucianic reviser added the text or the kaige reviser omitted it. That 1 Sam 15:11 might serve as the model for the addition and that the Greek attestation to the plus is typically Lucianic (*L* 328 460) point to the first conclusion. However, the plus is not exactly what one would expect; it would be somewhat strange for a recensional addition. Moreover, although Lucifer appears to attest a small number of Lucianic recensional readings, especially in the current passage, generally his support for the reading should be taken as evidence against the recensional nature of the reading. The conclusion that the plus is OG and it was omitted by the kaige revision is less problematic: the minus corresponds to the MT and the attestation to the minus—B and the majority—is the typical kaige pattern in 2 Kings. Where the clause came from and why it is not attested in the MT still remain problematic questions, but very tentatively it can be suggested that it was, nevertheless, part of the OG.

Finally, there is probably a genuine agreement between Lucifer and 245 in the reading “from the *land* of Egypt,” although Lucifer might have supplied *terra* himself in conformation with the numerous other similar expressions (e.g., Deut 1:30 // *Athan.* 1.5; 1 Kgs 12:28 // *Reg.* 3). Lucifer may even follow 55 342 in omitting the last *καί*; he does attest the expression *et usque* a few times (e.g., Josh 6:21 // *Conv.* 2). Since, however, the simple *usque* is much more usual, and the element *-que* serves the purpose of the conjunction, it is safer to suppose that the agreement is coincidental.

Manasseh Causes Judah to Sin (21:16–19)

For verses 16–17 there are occasional verbal parallels in 2 Chr 33:18–19 and for the last lines of the concluding formula for Manasseh's reign (2 Kgs 21:18–19) there is an almost exact parallel in 2 Chr 33:20–21. The most striking feature in Lucifer's long quotation is that Lucifer produces the last verses in the order 17, 16, 18–19:

NETS (= Rahlfs, with readings
from the MT and L)

Luc *Reg.* 8 (my translation
following NETS)

16 And indeed Manasses shed very much
innocent blood until he had filled
Ierousalem mouth to mouth,
besides some of his sins (**sin** MT) that he
had made Iouda sin so that they did what
was evil in the sight of the Lord.

17 And the rest of the histories of
Manasses and all that he did
and his sin (sins L) that he sinned,
are these things not written in
a book of Histories of the Days for the
Kings of Iouda?

17 And the rest of the histories of
Manasses and all that he did,
how he made Israel sin,
are these things not written in
(the) book of Histories of the days of
the Kings of Iuda,

16 and how **he** shed very much
innocent blood until he had filled
Hierusalem over (its) mouth,
apart from **the sin** that he
made Iuda sin so that they did what was
evil in the sight of the Lord **God?**

18 And Manasses slept with his fathers ...

18 And Manasses slept with his fathers

I will first go through the other readings in verses 16–19 and treat the transposition afterwards.

- 2 Kgs 21:16 καὶ γε αἷμα ἀθῶον ἐξέχεεν Μανασσης πολὺ σφόδρα, ἕως οὗ ἐπλησεν τὴν Ἱερουσαλημ στόμα εἰς στόμα, πλὴν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν Ἰουδαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου. (Rahlfs)
[after v. 17] *et quemadmodum sanguinem innocentium fudit multum ualde, usque dum inpleret Hierusalem super os, extra peccatum, quae peccare fecit Iuda, ut faceret quod malignum est in conspectu domini dei?*
Luc Reg. 8 (154,94–97)
... καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτοῦ ... 2 Chr 33:19
- 2 Kgs 21:16.1 מְאֵלָה וְכֵן et quemadmodum Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:16.2 Μανασσης] > Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:16.3 הַפֶּה הַפֶּה στόμα εἰς στόμα] εἰς στόμα 125; *super os* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:16.4 εἰς (ει A 56* 55) A B V 247 C⁵³⁰ 121 d⁽⁴⁴⁾ *f o s t x z* 55 71 158 244 245 318 342 372 554 707^d] πρὸς 530; ἐπὶ L 460
Cf. 2 Kgs 10:21 הַפֶּה הַפֶּה στόμα εἰς (ἐπὶ L) στόμα
- 2 Kgs 21:16.5 דָּבַר πλὴν] ἔκτος L 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:16.6 הַחֲטִיאוֹת τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν (αὐτοῦ)] pr ἀπό A B CI 244*; *peccatum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:16.7 αὐτοῦ = MT] αὐτῶν B 247 488; > 379 Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:16.8 ὧν] ὡς 127; *quae* Luc; > 125
- 2 Kgs 21:16.9 וְכֵן בְּעֵינַי ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον CI-242-530 71 244, *in conspectu* Luc

Regarding the rendering καὶ γε for מְאֵלָה/וְכֵן, see 21:11 above. In Lucifer's biblical quotations *quemadmodum* is elsewhere found as a counterpart for ὡς (εἰ), καθώς, καθάπερ, πῶς, and ὃν τρόπον.⁹⁶ The situation is further complicated by the fact that Lucifer cites verses 2 Kgs 21:16 and 17 in reverse order. To begin verse 16 with the words *et quemadmodum* may be connected with the transposition; Lucifer probably felt that something stronger than a simple *et* is needed: “[17] And the rest of the histories of Manasses and all that he did, how he made Israel [sic!] sin, are these things not written in (the) book of Histories of the days of the Kings of Iuda, [16] **and how** (*et quemadmodum*) he shed very much innocent blood” (trans. mine).⁹⁷ The expression στόμα εἰς στόμα “mouth to mouth,” that

96. ὡς εἴ: Exod 33:11 // *Conv.* 1; ὡς: 1 Sam 15:2 // *Reg.* 2, 1 Kgs 15:34 // *Reg.* 6; καθώς: 1 Kgs 13:6 // *Reg.* 5 and *Conv.* 3, 1 Kgs 19:2 // *Athan.* 1.18, 2 Kgs 21:13 // *Reg.* 8; καθάπερ: Heb 4:2 // *Conv.* 10; πῶς: Acts 20:18 // *Parc.* 29; ὃν τρόπον: Deut 1:21 // *Athan.* 1.4, Sus (θ') 1:61 // *Athan.* 2.10; 2 Tim 3:8 // *Mor.* 10.

97. Ugenti, 105: “E tutte le altre gesta di Manasse e tutto ciò che fece, come indusse Israele al peccato, non è tutto scritto negli Annali dei re di Giuda, **compreso anche** [“including also”] come versò moltissimo sangue ...” (emphasis mine).

is, “from one end to another” (NRSV; 3) is found only twice in the Greek Bible, both times rendering פֶּה לְפֶה (2 Kgs 10:21, 21:16). Lucifer attests the expression only here and it is likely that the omission of the first στόμα is his own modification without connection with MS 125, which is well known for its frequent omissions. The same modification might explain the preposition *super*: Lucifer’s expression could have derived from the idea of being filled with, for instance, wine so that it cannot be held inside any longer—or being immersed in a liquid until it rises over one’s mouth causing one to drown.⁹⁸ The Lucianic reviser may have had the same idea and thus employed the preposition ἐπί (4) here as well as in 10:21. Since, however, the easiest explanation is that Lucifer is following the *L* reading, although defectively,⁹⁹ it should be considered whether ἐπί might be the original reading: rendering לְ with ἐπί is not unheard of in Samuel-Kings, especially in the nonkaige sections.¹⁰⁰

While the renderings for לְבַד “alone, besides” are not listed among the known kaige features, πλὴν is listed as the kaige rendering and ἔκτος as Aquila’s preferred rendering for רַק.¹⁰¹ In addition to 21:16.5, the word לְבַד in the sense “besides” is found four times in Samuel-Kings, each instance in the nonkaige section of Kings. Its counterparts are: 1 Kgs 5:3 (2:46e in the LXX) ἔκτος, 5:30(16) χωρίς B rel, ἔκτος *L*⁻⁸², 10:13 ἔκτος, and 10:15 χωρίς. This evidence is very slim, but in light of it—and counting in Lucifer’s clear support for ἔκτος in the present case—I cautiously suggest that πλὴν for לְבַד “besides” is a kaige rendering. That some Hebraizing correction has taken place here is further suggested by the fact that A and B along with some other witnesses reproduce the following Hebrew preposition מִן (מִחֲטָאתוֹ) by ἀπό (6) while the majority of the witnesses do not.¹⁰²

Lucifer and 379 are probably independent in omitting αὐτοῦ “his (sins)” (7). Even though Lucifer reads *peccatum* “sin” in the singular (6),

98. Admittedly, I could not locate any other Latin passage expressing this idea with the same words that Lucifer uses: I searched the LLT with the strings “(/8 *ple* super os)” and “(/8 *ple* super ora)” = “any word containing -ple- and the words *super* and *os/ora* within eight words in any order.”

99. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 147: “*super os* = στομα επι στομα 2.”

100. 1 Sam 4:1, 2; 5:3, 4; 8:5; 10:7; 20:41; 2 Sam 2:7, 8:15, 18:28; 1 Kgs 11:28, 15:27, 22:49; 2 Kgs 3:23, 10:22.

101. R. Timothy McLay, “Kaige and Septuagint Research,” *Text* 19 (1998): 131: רַק πλὴν; Reider and Turner, *Index to Aquila*, 311.

102. See also Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 161.

he refers to it in the plural with the very next word *quae* (8). The variance between ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς (mostly kaige) and ἐνώπιον (mostly OG) has been treated under 21:2 above. In 21:16.9 Lucifer appears to attest the reading ἐνώπιον with witnesses other than *L*. If Lucifer is accepted as a reliable witness for ἐνώπιον here, his testimony might reveal that even *L* is here affected by kaige influence.

- 2 Kgs 21:17 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Μανασση καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἤμαρτεν, οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα; (Rahlfs)
[before v. 16] *Et cetera uerborum Manasse et omnia quae fecit, quemadmodum peccare fecit Israel, nonne haec scripta sunt in libro uerborum dierum regum Iuda*, Luc Reg. 8 (154,92–94)
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Μανασσῆ καὶ ἡ προσευχὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ λόγοι τῶν ὁρώντων λαλούντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπ’ ὀνόματι κυρίου θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, (19) ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ λόγων προσευχῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς ἐπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτοῦ ... ἰδοὺ γέγραπται ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν ὁρώντων. 2 Chr 33:18–19
- 2 Kgs 21:17.1 καὶ 3^ο – ἤμαρτεν] *quemadmodum peccare fecit Israel* Luc; > 318¹⁰³
- 2 Kgs 21:17.2 ἡ ἁμαρτία αὐτοῦ ἣν] αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτοῦ ᾤ *L* 460; cf. 2 Chr (πᾶσαι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτοῦ)
- 2 Kgs 21:17.3 οὐχὶ Luc = MT] οὐκ ἰδοὺ *L* 71 460
- 2 Kgs 21:17.4 γεγραμμένα] γέγραπται *L* 460 2 Chr; *scripta sunt* Luc (2 Chr La¹⁰⁹)
- 2 Kgs 21:17.5 τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν = MT] τῶν βασιλέων *L* 799 460 Luc

In addition to the transposition of verses 16 and 17, Lucifer’s special formulation “how he made Israel sin” (17.1) has given rise to literary-critical theories concerning the passage. These will be treated below. Here it is sufficient to note that no other witness supports either of these major changes. Lucifer sides both with *B* against *L* (3) and with *L* against *B* (5) in the small details. There is no way of telling whether Lucifer attests the Greek perfect participle (*B*) or the perfect indicative (*L* 460) in variation unit 4: *scripta sunt* is the expected rendering for both.

- 2 Kgs 21:18–19 καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Μανασσης μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ, ἐν κήπῳ Οὔζα, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμων υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ. 19 Ὑἱὸς εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ἔτων Ἀμων ἐν τῷ βασιλεῦειν αὐτόν (Rahlfs)
Et dormiuit Manasses cum patribus suis, et regnauit filius eius pro eo, [19] *cum esset annorum uiginti duo* Amos. Luc Reg. 8 (154,97–99)

103. In addition to the omission of the clause in 318, MSS 125 and 245 omit the whole verse due to a parablepsis and MS 44 omits καὶ 3^ο – ἤμαρτεν.

18 *In pomerio* ... La^M

καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Μανασσῆς μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν
παραδείσῳ οἴκου αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἄντ' αὐτοῦ Ἀμὼς (Αμων Ra) υἱὸς
αὐτοῦ. (21) Ὡν εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ἐτῶν Ἀμὼς (Αμων Ra) (ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν
αὐτόν) 2 Chr 33:20–21

2 Kgs 21:18.1 καὶ 2° – Οζα (La^M)] > Luc; om τοῦ – κήπω 2° L 44 245 460 (homoiot.?)

2 Kgs 21:18.2 Αμων (2 Chr)] > Luc

2 Kgs 21:19.1 υἱός] pr καὶ ἦν 19; cum esset Luc; > 127^{txt} 44-125; + ὧν 342
Cf. par 2 Chr 33:21 ὧν] pr υἱός 19' La¹⁰⁹ Aeth = MT

2 Kgs 21:19.2 εἴκοσι καὶ δύο / ἐτῶν] tr Luc (2 Chr A a⁻⁷¹-127 Arm^I)

2 Kgs 21:19.3 εἴκοσι καὶ δύο Luc 2 Chr] '25' CII⁻³²⁸

2 Kgs 21:19.4 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤀 Αμων (vel sim) A L 328 121 = MT] > 247 242 44 488 244^{txt} 460;
Αμωσ (vel sim) rel Luc
Cf. 2 Kgs 21:18.2 Αμων (vel sim) A 247 L 328 488 121 460 = MT] Αμωσ
(vel sim) rel; > Luc
Cf. par. 2 Chr 33:20–23 Ἀμὼς ... Ἀμὼς ... Ἀμὼς ... Ἀμὼς] Αμων **19-121**
68'-71 489 55 60 La¹⁰⁹ Arm^{II} ... Αμων **19'-121 68'** 489 55 60 La¹⁰⁹
... Αμων **19'-121 68'**-71 La¹⁰⁹ Aeth^{A'} ... Αμων **19'-121 68'** 489 La¹⁰⁹
Aeth^{-P}
Cf. 1 Chr 3:14 Ἀμων B*] Αμων (vel sim) bceghnye₂; Αμωσ (vel sim)
Bab A^{Ia?} N^{*b} rel (Brooke-McLean)
Cf. Matt 1:10 Ἀμὼς B C (D^{luc}) Γ Δ Θ f¹ 33 pc it vg^{mss} sa bo] Αμων L
W f¹³ 𐤓 lat sy mae (NA²⁷)

The omission of the notion of Manasseh's burial (18.1) is in all likelihood due to the shortening tendency of Lucifer. The same tendency probably explains the slightly different formulation around the turn of the verses: "his son reigned in his stead when Amos was twenty-two years old" (18.2, 19.1).

Lucifer attests the reading Αμωσ with a final *sigma* for the name of Manasseh's son with B and the majority against Αμων in L (4). Rahlfs chose the latter reading as the original one, perhaps supposing that the other reading is a reminiscence of either the father of the prophet Isaiah (2 Kgs 19:2, 20; 20:1; Isa 1:1 etc.) or the prophet Amos himself (Amos 1:1).¹⁰⁴ Hanhart opted for the other decision in Chronicles: Αμων is likely Hebraizing.¹⁰⁵ I would follow Hanhart's decision in Kings as well: in addi-

104. Rahlfs does not explain his preference in *Lucians Rezension*, 147: "Amos = Αμωσ 6, dagegen Hex 2."

105. Cf. v. 20: "αμων ... = 𐤓 et Reg 𐤓^L."

tion to the good possibility of Ἀμὼν being a Hebraizing reading, the combined testimony of the majority of the LXX manuscripts both in Kings and Chronicles, Lucifer, and the best witnesses of the New Testament (Matt 1:10) makes Ἀμὼς the preferred reading.

Literary-Critical Considerations

I will now return to the question of the order of verses 16 and 17 that Lucifer transposes. Considering Lucifer's considerable freedom of quoting and/or translating in all of the passage 2 Kgs 20:21–21:19 (see above), Lucifer may be expected to tolerate even a transposition of two verses. There is no obvious reason for a parablepsis from the end of verse 15 to the beginning of verse 17, but the eyes do occasionally make unpredictable jumps. Since verse 15 ends with "even to this day," the weary or agitated Lucifer may have thought that the long quotation is finally near its end and all he has to do is to translate the concluding formula for Manasseh's reign. Moving his eyes back to his Bible again, he expects to find "And the rest of the histories of Manasseh" in verse 17 and happily translates it. But going through the newly translated verse he notices that he has omitted verse 16 altogether. The notions about innocent blood and causing Judah to sin are too good for him to leave it out, but there is no problem in citing them only after "Histories of the days of the Kings of Judah" since the meaning does not change.

Trebolle, on the other hand, maintains that Lucifer retains a genuine OL form of the text and makes literary critical observations:

1. There is a repetition of the concept of Manasseh's sin, either as "the sin that he caused Judah to sin" (v. 16) or as "the sin that he committed" (v. 17). The latter expression is found within the formula concluding the description of the reign: "Now the rest of the acts of X, ... are they not written ...?"
2. Lucifer begins verse 16 (after 17) with the words *et quemadmodum* "and how": "this is an indication that the proper and original context of the text which follows was the concluding formula of the reign."¹⁰⁶

106. Trebolle, *Centena*, 202: "Ello es indicio de que el contexto propio y original del texto, que sigue, era el de la fórmula conclusiva de reinado."

3. In both verses Lucifer attests a factitive form of the concept of Manasseh's sin ("the sin that he made Iuda sin" / "how he made Israel¹⁰⁷ sin") as does MT (and B) in verse 16. A similar thing is said about Jeroboam: "sins which he sinned and which he caused Israel to commit" (1 Kgs 14:16). The words concerning sin in verse 17 are a remnant of a larger sentence which is fully preserved in verse 16 in the MT and the LXX, and after verse 17 in the OL (as witnessed by Lucifer). Verse 16, in turn, is halfway between a concluding formula of the reign and the initial formulas which condemn a king.

In addition, it can be observed that in the Chronicles parallel (2 Chr 33:18–19) Manasseh's sin is taken up again after the concluding formula of the reign. Here the verses are given again with the Chronicles parallel:

NETS (MT, L)	Luc Reg. 8 (my trans. following NETS)	NETS 2 Chr 33:18–19
16 And indeed Manasses shed very much innocent blood until he had filled Ierousalem mouth to mouth, besides some of his sins (sin MT) that he had made Iouda sin so that they did what was evil in the sight of the Lord.		[33:12–17 Manasseh repents]
17 And the rest of the histories of Manasses and all that he did and his sin (sins <i>L</i>) that he sinned,	17 And the rest of the histories of Manasses and all that he did, how he made Israel sin,	18 And the rest of the histories of Manasses and his prayer to God and the words of the seers when they spoke to him in the name of the Lord, God of Israel,
are these things not written in a book of Histories of the Days for the Kings of Iouda?	are these things not written in (the) book of Histories of the days of the Kings of Iuda, 16 and how he shed very	[19] behold, they are in the accounts 9 of his prayer, and how he listened to him, and all his sins and his acts of

107. "Israel" is counterfactual and, according to Treballe (*Centena*, 203), is likely an error in the Latin text.

NETS (MT, L)

Luc Reg. 8 (my trans.
following NETS)

NETS 2 Chr 33:18–19

much innocent blood until
he had filled Hierusalem
over (its) mouth, apart
from **the sin** that he made
Iuda sin so that they did
what was evil in the sight
of the Lord **God**?

apostasy and the places on
which he built the high
places and set up there
groves and carved items
before he repented, behold,
they are written in the
accounts of the seers.

However, there are no lexical hints that anything in Lucifer's quotation was a reminiscence of the Chronicles. Thus, if there is a connection, it must be on a much earlier level of the literary development than in the Latin translation or quoting process. Following Trebolle's ideas, it could be suggested that the original sequence in Kings was that now found in Lucifer (17, 16). The verses were reversed with only a minimal adaptation in the subsequent transmission of Kings, while in Chronicles the order was retained but the wording was completely reworked in order to combine Manasseh's repentance and his prayer (2 Chr 33:12–13) in the concluding formula of his reign. The problem in this reconstruction takes us back to textual criticism: even if Lucifer reflected an—or *the*—OL translation here, if that, in turn, retained the original sequence of the LXX (and, through that, of the *Vorlage* and of the original Hebrew text) how did the verses get transposed in all the other witnesses of the LXX? If that was done in conformation with the proto-MT, how could it have been done so early that it ended up in *L* but not in the putative OL?

All in all, the literary-critical problems in this verse are based entirely on the form of Lucifer's quotation; most commentaries do not suggest any.¹⁰⁸ Methodologically, if the text-critical explanation for Lucifer's form of text (an uncommon but understandable error) is held to be valid, then Lucifer's text form should not be used as documented evidence in literary criticism.

108. Trebolle refers to E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige: 1. Kön. 17–2. Kön. 25*, ATD 11.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 443, who merely suggests that the clause "and the sin that he committed" in v. 17 was an addition which serves to underline the gravity of Manasseh's guilt. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, 600, is equally vague: "This verse again is from a later redactor." The arguments do not advance far beyond describing the contents of the verse.

There is still the factitive form “how he made Israel sin” in Lucifer’s text in verse 17 that has to be accounted for. Usual copying errors will not lead from *καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία αὐτοῦ ἦν ἡμαρτεν* (B) or *καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτοῦ ἃς ἡμαρτεν* (L) to **ὥς ἡμαρτεν τὸν Ἰσραήλ* (or *Ἰούδα*) in Greek or from **et peccatum eius/suum quod peccavit* or **et peccata eius/sua quae peccavit to quemadmodum peccare fecit Israel* in Latin. The wrong kingdom “Israel” may, however, point to corruption as the source of the reading: since Lucifer cites verses 16 and 17 in reverse order, the last time he was consciously aware that it is Judah that is being talked about was in verse 12. If the text underlying Lucifer’s “how he made Israel sin” was corrupted somehow, Lucifer may have attempted to restore the text and mixed up the two kingdoms. It is less likely that there was a conscious reason to express that Manasseh not only made Judah sin but Israel as well: corrupting Israel specifically is not at the centre of Lucifer’s exposition.¹⁰⁹ There is still the possibility that Lucifer simply found the expression “to sin a sin” overloaded, although it is found in Exod 32:30, 31 (Israel making the golden calf) and frequently in the Levitical law (e.g., Lev 4:14, 23, 28, 35). Apart from the present case (and its close parallel in 2 Chr 33:19), the only king that is condemned for “the sins that he committed” is Zimri in 1 Kgs 16:19. The often-recurring judgment pronounced upon a king is that “he walked in the way of Jeroboam who caused Israel to sin.” The notion of Jeroboam as the cause of Israel’s sinning is found with more or less modification in 1 Kgs 15:26, 16:2, 22:52[3]; 2 Kgs 3:3, 13:2, 6, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28; 17:21; and 23:15. Elsewhere the inhabitants of Canaan (Exod 23:33) or Ahab (1 Kgs 21:22) cause Israel to sin.¹¹⁰ Those notions of “causing Israel to sin” may have been in Lucifer’s mind when he decided to change the expression “to sin a sin” or he attempted to reconstruct the text that was partially corrupt.

Conclusion: Rahlfs’s conclusion was that Lucifer is between B and L but leans more towards the latter. The agreement with B is greater in 20:21–21:7 and in 21:8–16 Lucifer sides more with L.¹¹¹ Taking into account this

109. The word *Israel* is not mentioned in the context of *Reg.* 8 outside the biblical quotations.

110. As far as my searches are correct, other notions of the type “make/cause someone to sin” are limited to two occurrences in the book of Nehemiah: 6:13 (subject: Shemaiah, object: Nehemiah) and 13:26 (foreign women, Solomon).

111. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 147.

fluctuation between two textual traditions and the considerable length of the passage, I will present the main agreement patterns in a table. In order to bring out the difference between two sections (20:21–21:7, 21:8–19), I divide the lists of variation units into two columns.

A few explanations for the table are probably in order. Occasionally, two variation units are counted as one because of their close interdependence (8.6–7, 13.1–2). The numbers in bold are the total number of cases in a cell. The sections under comparison are of uneven size (eight and twelve verses = 2:3; the word count ratio is roughly the same) and therefore a cases-per-verse ratio is given in parentheses. Many variation unit references have some additional information in parentheses. These are mostly self-explanatory, but a few remarks can be made. “Is equal to (=)” means manuscripts (or rel) agreeing with the reading attested by Lucifer. “Plus” with or without more information refers to a plus in the variation unit, implying that the same unit has other type of readings as well. Question marks imply uncertainty: “Luc?” means that it is not certain which reading Lucifer attests, “OG?” that it is debatable which reading is closer to the original. Very uncertain readings by Lucifer are left out (e.g., 21:1.2). Other abbreviations: div. = divided, pc = *pauci*: some, mlt = *multi*: many, pmlt = *permulti*: very many.

Table 4. Lucifer's Agreement Patterns in 2 Kgs 20:21–21:7 and 21:8–19		
	20:21–21:7	21:8–19
1. Luc B (rel) = OG ≠ L	11 (1.375) : 20:21.2, 21:2.1, 3, 4; 3.1(+), 2(L div.), 5.2, 6.1(Luc?), 6.4, 7.4, 6	8 (0.67) : 8.9(+κ. φυλάξ.), 9.2, 11.3, 5; 12.6, 13.1–2(Luc?), 17.3, 19.4
2. Luc L (+) = OG ≠ B rel = kaige	4 (0.5) : 20:21.1(= rel), 21:2.2, 3.5, 6.3(Luc?),	13 (1.08) : 8.6–7, 11; 9.1, 4(OG?), 5(OG?); 10.1, 12.2, 13.3, 15.1(Luc?), 2(OG?), 16.4(Luc? OG?), 5(OG?), 6(= rel)
3. Luc MS(S) ≠ B L rel = OG	4 (0.5) : 1.3 = 342, 1.4 = 530*, 4.1(lit. crit.?) = 44–106, 6.2 = 158 318	3 (0.25) : 12.5 = 460, 14.2 = 247 108* pauci(crrp), 15.4 = 245

4. Luc <i>L</i> (+) ≠ B rel = OG	2 (0.25): 1.6(OG?), 7.9(OG?)	10 (0.83): 8.5(Hex.?), 8(Luc?), 9(+ αὐτοῖς Hex.) 10(Hex.); 9.6(Luc?), 11.2, 4, 7(OG?); 13.4(OG?), 17.5(OG?)
5. Luc B <i>L</i> rel = OG ≠ A (+)	4 (0.5): 3.4, 5.5(A V mlt), 7.1(A V pmlt), 2(A alone)	1 (0.08) 12.3(A 328)

In addition, there are other interesting patterns, but as the number of cases in them is small, they do not contribute to the big picture. From the table above we can note that the number of Lucifer's agreements with B in original readings in which *L* is recensional (row 1) changes somewhat but not significantly; the expected values for the two sections would be eight and eleven,¹¹² the actual numbers are eleven and eight. However, there are two patterns that change considerably between the sections: Lucifer's agreements with *L* both when B has a kaige reading (row 2) and when *L* is recensional (row 4). This validates Rahlfs's conclusion: Lucifer really appears to side more with B in 20:21–21:7 and with *L* in 21:8–16. Especially the large number of possible Lucianic recensional readings in Lucifer makes one wonder whether he followed a, if not fully, then partially, revised Lucianic text in the latter section (vv. 8–19). Then again, in a few readings in row 4 the agreement between Lucifer and *L* can be called into question and several of the readings might be OG readings after all. At the minimum, Lucifer follows five clear recensional readings, two or three of them Hexaplaric. By contrast, the minimum number of clear recensional readings that Lucifer certainly does not follow is fourteen (row 1) and the minimum number of kaige readings that Lucifer has escaped (row 2) is eleven. While at least some Lucianic recensional contamination has taken place in Lucifer's text in this passage, especially in the latter section, the overall good quality of Lucifer's text is undeniable.

The other noteworthy patterns are Lucifer's agreements in secondary readings with a small number of Greek witnesses against both B and *L* (row 3). The Greek witnesses are different in all the cases and the phenomenon is nothing more than the usual occasional agreement between otherwise unrelated witnesses that can be observed within the Greek man-

112. The sums of the columns are 25 and 35 respectively, the sum of the row is 19, while the grand total for the table is 60. ($25 \times 19 / 60 \approx 8$; $35 \times 19 / 60 \approx 11$.)

uscripts too. In the light of Lucifer's two possible significant agreements with A in verse 7 (7.3 [A alone = Hex. but Luc uncertain], 5 [A 245, crrp]), it is appropriate to note that there are at least five disagreements between Lucifer and A when the latter is secondary.

Finally, a few notes can be made about Lucifer's special readings in 2 Kgs 20:21–21:19. Lucifer makes some seventeen omissions, occasionally agreeing with one or two Greek manuscripts: 3.1(>), 4.1 (lit. crit. involved?) 5.3 (prob. no lit. crit. involved), 6.2 (= 158 318 coinc.), 7.10 (= B 460 kaige but agr. coincidental), 8.4; 9.3, 7 (= 44); 10.2 (= 246), 11.1, 6 (= 125); 12.4, 14.1 (homoiot.?), 16.2, (= 125 coinc.?), 7 (= 379 coinc.); 18.1, 2. He makes two small additions 8.2 (incl. a change of case), 6 (+ *me*) and sixteen other modifications 1.1, 6.7, 7.1–2 (plural), 7.8 (= A but apparently), 8.1, 3; 11.3, 12.1, 7; 13.5, 15.3(crrp), 16.1; transposition of verses 16/17; 17.1, 19.1, 2. The considerable degree of freedom in Lucifer's quotation is best seen in the comparative table at the beginning of the section.

2 Kings 22:2, 11–23:8, 10–16 (*Parc.* 7)

In the sixth chapter of *De non parcendo* Lucifer has described Josiah's tenacious activities against the worship of foreign deities (2 Kgs 23). There is a close, although somewhat longer, parallel story in 2 Chr 34:1–31. I will divide the lengthy quotation (twenty-six verses) into three parts: 22:2, 11–20; 23:1–8; 23:10–16.

The Book of the Law and Huldah's Prophecy (22:2, 11–20)

Lucifer begins the seventh chapter with a quotation from 2 Kgs 22:2 and then moves on directly to verse 11:

- 2 Kgs 22:2 καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν πάσῃ ὁδῷ
 Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπέστη δεξιὰ ἢ ἀριστερά (Rahlfs)
Fecit, inquit, quod rectum est ante conspectum domini et ambulavit in
uia patris sui Dauid, et non declinavit dextra aut sinistra, Luc Parc. 7
 (206,4–6)
 καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐναντίον κυρίου καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν ὁδοῖς Δαυὶδ τοῦ
 πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξέκλινεν δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερά. 2 Chr 34:2
- 2 Kgs 22:2.1 יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ [ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ἐνώπιον L 242-530 460; *ante conspectum* Luc
 Cf. par 2 Chr 34:2 ἐναντίον] ἐνώπιον L a⁻⁷¹-127 b¹ 55 158

- 2 Kgs 22:2.2 οὐκ] pr καί 246 318 Luc 2 Chr
 2 Kgs 22:2.3 ἦ Luc (aut)] καί B f; οὐδέ 247 121 o 488 x⁻⁵²⁷ 318 372
 Cf. par 2 Chr 34:2 καί ult] ἦ A 19' a⁽⁻⁶⁸⁾ 71-127 381 60 158; οὐδέ 119
 527 La¹⁰⁹(neque) Aeth Arm

In variation unit 1 Lucifer probably attests the OG reading with *L*; see the discussion under 21:2 above. Lucifer likely supports the reading ἦ of *L* and the majority (3). That is the preferred reading: to replace an original καί with ἦ would fit with the tendencies of the Lucianic reviser, but such a recensional reading could hardly have been spread in the overwhelming majority of the witnesses. Moreover, the reading καί—the standard rendering for the Hebrew all-purpose particle *w*^e—may be a kaige reading in B.¹¹³

- 2 Kgs 22:11 καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ νόμου, καὶ διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτοῦ. (Rahlfs)
et factum est, cum audisset rex uerba libri legis, et conscidit uestimenta sua. Luc Parc. 7 (206,8–9)
καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ νόμου, καὶ διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ. 2 Chr 34:19
 2 Kgs 22:11.1 τοὺς λόγους 2 Chr¹¹⁴] τὸν λόγον 82 460; τῶν λόγων L⁻⁸²; uerba Luc
 2 Kgs 22:11.2 καὶ 2^o Luc 2 Chr^{Hanhart}] > 247 L 242 121 d⁻¹⁰⁶ 246 381 488 527 z 71
 342 460 (2 Chr A 19' a-127 La¹⁰⁹ Aeth Arm)
 2 Kgs 22:11.3 ἑαυτοῦ A B 243-731 55 158 244] αὐτοῦ rel 2 Chr; sua Luc

Lucifer's testimony is ambiguous in variation units 1 and 3, but he probably follows the B text attesting the second καί (2). The wide attestation to its omission suggests that it was left out in several occasions and in several branches of the textual transmission, which is natural since it disturbs the syntax: "And it happened, when the king heard the words of the book of the law, *that* he tore his own clothes" (NETS; emphasis mine).

113. See Kauhanen, "Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision," 161.

114. Hanhart: τοὺς λόγους] > B 130-321-346-127.

- 2 Kgs 22:12 *καὶ ἐνετείλατο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Χελκία τῷ ἱερεὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀχικαμ υἱῷ Σαφφαν καὶ τῷ Ἀχοβωρ υἱῷ Μιχαιου καὶ τῷ Σαφφαν τῷ γραμματεὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀσαια δούλῳ τοῦ βασιλέως λέγων (Rahlfs)*
*Et mandauit rex Chelchiae sacerdoti et Alchinae filio Iosafan et Achiliae filio*¹¹⁵ *Melchiae et Safan scribae et Ioas filio*¹¹⁶ *regis dicens: Luc Parc. 7 (206,9–207,11)*
καὶ ἐνετείλατο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Χελκία καὶ τῷ Ἀχικαμ υἱῷ Σαφάν καὶ τῷ Ἀβδὼν υἱῷ Μιχαῖα καὶ τῷ Σαφάν τῷ γραμματεὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀσαιά παιδί τοῦ βασιλέως λέγων 2 Chr 34:20
- 2 Kgs 22:12.1 Σαφ(φ)αν 1° A B V 247 L CI 52* 121 f o 488 x 55 71 158 245 460 2 Chr] Σαφφαν CII^{-52*} d s⁻⁴⁸⁸ t z 318 342 554 707^S; Iosafan Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:12.2 Σαφ(φ)αν 2° A B V 82-93-127 f x 55 71 158 245 460 Luc 2 Chr] Σαπφαν rel
 Cf. 2 Kgs 22:14.2 Σαφ(φ)αν A B¹¹⁷ V L f 64 x 55 71 158 245 460 Luc] Σαπφαν rel
- 2 Kgs 22:12.3 Ἀσαια 2 Chr] Ἰασαι A; Ἀζαρια L; Ioas Luc
 Cf. par 2 Chr 34:20 Ἀσαιά (vel sim)] ἰωσαια 46(non 52)-64-728 158; ἰωσ(σ)ια 19' 381 52
 Cf. 2 Kgs 22:14.3 Ἀσαιας] Ησαιας 158; Ἀζαριας L; Εζαριας 460; Ioas Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:12.4 δούλῳ] filio Luc; παιδί 2 Chr

Lucifer seems to attest the name Σαφ(φ)αν without a *pi* in both cases (1, 2) but in the first one there is a dittography of the last letters in the preceding word *filio*: *FILIOSAFAN* → *FILIOIOSAFAN*. Otherwise Lucifer moulds several of the names to quite a different shape against all the Greek manuscripts: Ἀχικαμ *Alchinae*, Ἀχοβωρ *Achiliae*, and Μιχαιου *Melchiae*. The name *Ioas* for Ἀσαια, on the other hand, might be dependent on the A reading Ἰασαι (3), but the same variant is not found in A in the other occurrence of the name in 22:14. There is, however, something strange going on since somehow Lucifer states that this *Ioas* is a son, rather than a servant (all Greek witnesses) of King Josiah. Perhaps this is a reminiscence of some other Joash, son of a king: it was a fairly common name in the royal house of Israel (son of Ahab 1 Kgs 22:26, son of Ahaziah 2 Kgs 11:2, son of Jehoahaz 13:9).

115. Filiam VG.

116. Filios VG.

117. Codex Vaticanus actually reads Σαφφαθ.

- 2 Kgs 22:13 Δεῦτε ἐκζητήσατε τὸν κύριον περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ Ἰουδα περὶ τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ εὑρεθέντος τούτου, ὅτι μεγάλη ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἡ ἐκκεκαυμένη ἐν ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ οὗ οὐκ ἤκουσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου τοῦ ποιεῖν κατὰ πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα καθ' ἡμῶν. (Rahlfs)
quaerite a domino pro me et pro omnibus Iuda de uerbis libri huius inuenti, quoniam magna ira domini accensa est in nobis, quoniam non audierunt patres nostri uerba libri huius secundum omnia scripta ut facerent. Luc Parc. 7 (207,11–15)
Quaerite ad Dominum pro me et pro omnibus Iudae ... La^M
 Πορεύθητε ζητήσατε τὸν κύριον περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ καταλειφθέντος ἐν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰουδα περὶ τῶν λόγων τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ εὑρεθέντος· ὅτι μέγας ὁ θυμὸς κυρίου ἐκκέκασται ἐν ἡμῖν, διότι οὐκ εἰσήκουσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τῶν λόγων κυρίου τοῦ ποιῆσαι κατὰ πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ. 2 Chr 34:21
- 2 Kgs 22:13.1 δεῦτε = MT] > Luc; + καὶ B 246 o 372
- 2 Kgs 22:13.2 καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ] > Luc; aliter 2 Chr
- 2 Kgs 22:13.3 τοῦ εὑρεθέντος / τούτου = MT] tr L 460 Luc; om τούτου 2 Chr
- 2 Kgs 22:13.4 ὑπὲρ οὗ = MT] διότι L 460 2 Chr; *quoniam* Luc
 Cf. above ὅτι] *quoniam* Luc
 Cf. 1 Sam 21:3[2] רָצָה ... נָחַץ ὑπὲρ οὗ] περὶ οὗ L 554 (= previous clause)
 Cf. 2 Sam 6:8¹¹⁸ רָצָה לַיָּהּ ὑπὲρ (περὶ 71) οὗ = par 1 Chr 18:10 רָצָה לַיָּהּ ὑπὲρ οὗ (no variants in Brooke-McLean)
 Cf. 2 Sam 8:10 רָצָה לַיָּהּ ὑπὲρ οὗ
 Cf. 1 Kgs 9:26 — ὑπὲρ οὗ] > L 246 158 = MT
- 2 Kgs 22:13.5 τούτου 2^o Luc = MT (2 Chr)¹¹⁹] > B 328 f 245
- 2 Kgs 22:13.6 τοῦ ποιεῖν / κατὰ πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα] tr Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:13.7 τοῦ ποιεῖν] *ut facerent* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:13.8 καθ' ἡμῶν] ἐν αὐτῷ L 460; > Luc 2 Chr

Lucifer has probably left out the word δεῦτε “come!” himself, and thus it cannot be deduced whether his text attested the conjunction καὶ before the word ἐκζητήσατε (1). Lucifer may consciously shorten the text by leaving out “and for all of the people” (2), but the omission may also be accidental, caused by a parablepsis: καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ

118. The manuscript data for 2 Samuel is taken from the preliminary critical apparatus for the Göttingen edition for 2 Samuel (2 Regnorum), under preparation by myself, forthcoming in 2022.

119. Chronicles has the expression at the end of the verse: τούτῳ] τούτου 314.

Ιουδα.¹²⁰ Lucifer may follow *L* 460 in the word order τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου τοῦ εὐρεθέντος (3), but word-order issues cannot be considered a strong agreement between a Greek and a Latin witness. The expression ὑπὲρ οὗ “for which” is found only a few times in the LXX and there are no tendencies in the witnesses to change the expression. Here in 22:13.4 ὑπὲρ οὗ is actually out of place since it should be used when the cause is given first and the effect next. The word διότι (*L* 460 2 Chr) is a much better expression in this context and it or similar expressions can be found as renderings for על אֲשֶׁר in a few instances in Samuel-Kings-Chronicles:

- ♦ 1 Sam 24:6 אֲשֶׁר על שָׂטִי
- ♦ 2 Kgs 18:12 אֲשֶׁר על אֲנֹחַ' וְנָשָׂא B *L*^{-19'}-700 56 64' 318 372 460] om שָׂטִי 247 19' *CI* 121 246 488 244; שָׂטִי rel
- ♦ 1 Chr 13:10 אֲשֶׁר על דִּיאָ תֹ
- ♦ 2 Chr 7:22 אֲשֶׁר על דִּיֹּטִי] אֲנֹחַ' וְנָשָׂא (*pro eo quod La*) *L* *La*¹⁰⁹ *Arm*^{II}(vid) = Reg III 9₉ 6

Thus there are at least some grounds for supposing that διότι was the original reading, which the kaige reviser changed to ὑπὲρ οὗ. We do not, however, see a similar kaige change elsewhere. In addition, ὑπὲρ οὗ is very likely the original translation in 1 Sam 21:3; 2 Sam 6:8 (and par.), 8:10; and 1 Kgs 9:26 (where the omission in *L* is likely Hexaplaric). These considerations lead one rather to suppose that διότι in *L* is a recensional Lucianic reading. If the inner criteria are strongly divided, it is not much easier to determine how the testimony of Lucifer and 2 Chronicles should be evaluated. Lucifer cites only one biblical verse attesting the expression ὑπὲρ οὗ, namely, the present case. His *quoniam* may very well reflect διότι, but ὑπὲρ οὗ in the causal sense could not easily be reproduced in another Latin expression either; *pro quo* is about the only possibility, and that is not found in Lucifer's biblical quotations. With a great degree of caution, Lucifer should probably be cited attesting a recensional reading in *L*.

120. It is best pointed out that even if Lucifer had, instead, left out the clause “and for all Judah,” marked with “dl?” in the BHS and considered secondary by many commentators (e.g., Montgomery, *Kings*, 527), he should still be regarded as a dubious witness for the omission.

In variation unit 5, B with a few other witnesses has dropped out “of this” most likely by a parablepsis caused by multiple genitive endings: τουβιβλιουτουτουτου. Towards the end of the verse, Lucifer exercises some freedom of quotation (6–8).

- 2 Kgs 22:14 καὶ ἐπορεύθη Χελκίας ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ Ἀχικαμ καὶ Ἀχοβωρ καὶ Σαφφαν καὶ Ἀσαιας πρὸς Ὀλδαν τὴν προφῆτιν γυναῖκα Σελλημ υἱοῦ Θεκουε υἱοῦ Ἀραας τοῦ ἱματιοφύλακος, καὶ αὕτη κατῴκει ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ ἐν τῇ μασενα, καὶ ἐλάλησαν πρὸς αὐτήν. (Rahlfs)
Et abiit Chelchias sacerdos et Acican et Safan et Ioas ad Oldam prophetissam, uxorem Selle, filii Tacularum, uestis custodem, et ipsa habitabat in Hierusalem. Et locuti sunt ad eam secundum haec. Luc Parc. 7 (207,15–18)
καὶ ἐπορεύθη Χελκίας καὶ οἷς εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς “Ὀλδαν τὴν προφῆτιν γυναῖκα Σελλημ υἱοῦ Θακουὰθ υἱοῦ Ἑσερῆ (Χελλης Ra) φυλάσσουσιν τὰς ἐντολάς (στολάς Ra)—καὶ αὕτη κατῴκει ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐν μασανά—καὶ ἐλάλησαν αὐτῇ κατὰ ταῦτα. 2 Chr 34:22
- 2 Kgs 22:14.1 καὶ Ἀχοβωρ] > Luc; tr post Σαφφαν *L* 460; aliter 2 Chr
- 2 Kgs 22:14.2 Σαφ(φ)αν *A* B¹²¹ *V* *L* *f* 64 *x* 55 71 158 245 460 Luc] Σαπφαν rel
 Cf. 22:12.1, 2 above
- 2 Kgs 22:14.3 Ἀσαιας] Ἡσαιας 158; Ἀζαριας *L*; Ἐζαριας 460; *Ioas* Luc
 Cf. 22:12.3 Ἀσαια] *Iasai* *A*; Ἀζαρια *L*; *Ioas* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:14.4 τὴν προφῆτιν Luc] τὸν προφῆτην¹²² 247* 71
- 2 Kgs 22:14.5 ~~πῶς~~ γυναῖκα 2 Chr = MT] pr τὴν 19 *CI* (*d*)¹²³ 244 460; (τὴν) μητέρα *B* 247 121 *f* 488 55 71 554^{sup} *lin*; *uxorem* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:14.6 υἱοῦ Ἀραας (2 Chr)] > Luc 44 (omits a longer expression)
- 2 Kgs 22:14.7 ἐν τῇ μασενα (2 Chr)] > Luc 125 (omits a longer expression)
- 2 Kgs 22:14.8 αὐτήν *A B L* 328 *f* 55 245 372 460 = MT] + κατὰ (> 44-107-610) ταῦτα rel Luc 2 Chr

On the proper noun *Ioas* (3), see 12.3 above. In variation unit 5 we encounter one of the rare cases in which it may be possible to tell whether a Latin witness attests the Greek definite article: Lucifer may use *mulier* for γυνή even when the context makes it clear that the woman in question is the wife of someone but here he uses *uxor*, which unequivocally means “wife.”

121. B: Σαφφαθ.

122. The word προφῆτις is spelled as προφητην in several MSS, including 93*-108-127*, due to itacism. The only witnesses that can be accepted as attesting the masculine form are 247* and 71 since they read the article as masculine accusative.

123. The *d* group omits the word προφῆτις, thus reading Ὀλδαν τὴν γυναῖκα Σελλημ.

This lexical choice might have been motivated by the presence of the definite article in Greek (19 CI 244 460). Regardless of the article, Lucifer clearly attests the majority reading “woman/wife” against “mother” of the B text.¹²⁴ Even considering the possibility of a Hebraizing correction in the majority, the attestation to “woman” by 2 Chr and Lucifer suggests that it is the original reading—although, admittedly, it is hard to see how the B reading came about. Again, we see some moulding of the unfamiliar names by Lucifer against all the Greek manuscripts: Σέλλημ *Selle*, Θεκουε *Tacuelarum*. Moreover, Lucifer leaves out two of the names (1, 6) as well as the reference to the *masena* (מַשְׁנָה, here probably “Second Quarter”; 7). These omissions are in no way dependent on the longer omissions in MSS 44 and 125 that are also known for their frequent omissions.

The last variation unit in this verse (8) is particularly interesting since there Lucifer attests a plus with the majority of the manuscripts as well as the Chronicles parallel against A, B, and *L*—and, moreover, against the MT. The minus is a kaige omission that has been confined to a rather small array of witnesses. That these witnesses include *L* is not especially problematic: it has been suggested before that the proto-Lucianic layer in *L* may have contained a very small number of kaige-type corrections.¹²⁵ Accordingly, the longer reading supported by Lucifer is the original one.

2 Kgs 22:15–16 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ Εἴπατε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ἀποστείλαντι ὑμᾶς πρὸς με [16] Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἴδου ἐγὼ ἐπάγω κακὰ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτόν, πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου, οὓς ἀνέγνω βασιλεὺς Ἰουδα, (Rahlfs)
*Et dixit eis: haec dicit dominus deus Israel: uiro qui misit uos ad me <dicite: [16] haec>*¹²⁶ *dicit dominus: ecce adducam mala super hunc locum et super inhabitantes in eum secundum omnia uerba libri huius quae legit rex Iuda, Luc Parc. 7 (207,18–21)*
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ Εἴπατε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ἀποστείλαντι ὑμᾶς πρὸς με (24) Οὕτως λέγει κύριος Ἴδου ἐγὼ ἐπάγω

124. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 291: “μητέρα ... is wrong, as is evident from the genealogy.”

125. There is even a faint possibility that *L* retains a Hexaplaric reading that coincides with a kaige reading in B. That Lucifer does not follow *L* here could be taken as an indication of this. In *Kings*, *L* attests significantly less Hexaplaric material than in *Samuel*, but there is just enough of it to suppose that at one or two places the two Hebraizing revisions may coincide.

126. The words *dicite haec* are supplied by the editor: they are lacking in both manuscripts.

κακά ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, τοὺς πάντας λόγους τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῷ ἀνεγνωσμένῳ ἐναντίον τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰούδα. 2 Chr 34:23–24

- 2 Kgs 22:15.1 **מִן־הַלְוִיִּם** αὐτοῖς Luc (*eis*) 2 Chr] πρὸς αὐτούς A L 460; > B
- 2 Kgs 22:15.2 εἶπατε]¹²⁷ > Luc^{VG}; post με tr Luc^{Diercks}
- 2 Kgs 22:16.1 τάδε] > Luc^{VG}; *haec* Luc^{Diercks}
- 2 Kgs 22:16.2 **אֶבְרָהָה (יְהוָה)** (ἰδοὺ) ἐγὼ ἐπάγω 2 Chr^{Hanhart}] ἐπεισάγω ἐπὶ σέ 460; om ἐγὼ A 82 92 71 245 342 (2 Chr 71 b^{1–46}) Luc
Cf. 2 Kgs 21:12 (**יְהוָה אֶבְרָהָה**) (ἰδοὺ) ἐγὼ (φέρω) Luc] > 460
- 2 Kgs 22:16.3 ἐπάγω κακά Luc = MT 2 Chr] tr 19'
- 2 Kgs 22:16.4 **יְבֻשִׁי** ἐνοικοῦντας (αὐτόν)] κατοικοῦντας L⁻⁸² 489 799 342 460; *inhabitantes* Luc; > 2 Chr
Cf. 2 Kgs 22:19.3 **יְבֻשִׁי** ἐνοικοῦντας (αὐτόν)] κατοικοῦντας 93 o 342 372 460; *inhabitantes* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:16.5 αὐτόν] ἐν (> 98' 527) αὐτῷ L⁻⁸² 98' 527 460; *in eum* Luc
Cf. 22:19.4 αὐτόν] ἐν (> 328 489 527) αὐτῷ L⁻⁸² 328 74 489 527 460; *in illum* Luc
Cf. 22:20.8 καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτόν] *et super inhabitantes in illum* Luc; > A B = Rahlfs MT
- 2 Kgs 22:16.6 πάντας] *secundum omnia* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:16.7 βιβλίου (2 Chr) = MT] + τούτου 82 Luc
Cf. 2 Kgs 22:13.5 τούτου 2^o Luc = MT] > B 328 f 245
- 2 Kgs 22:16.8 οὗς Luc (*quae*)] οὗ L⁻⁸²; ᾧ 245; > 460

The good Greek usage is to denote those spoken to with the dative. The construction εἶπεν + πρὸς + acc. has a slightly Semitic flavour (probably the reason why Luke favours it: e.g., 4:21, 23, 43). The translators of Samuel-Kings used both formulations for the Hebrew construction of a verb of saying + **לְ** + suff.¹²⁸ (see also 1 Kgs 22:18.1 above). Thus, when one encounters the pattern “πρὸς + acc. B] dat. L” one should not suppose *a priori* either that (1) the dative is a Lucianic emendation or that (2) the B reading is a kaige correction. The underlying Hebrew and witnesses other than B and L must be taken into account. Here in 2 Kgs 22:15.1, L and 460

127. In MS 379 the words εἶπατε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ἀποστείλαντι ὑμᾶς πρὸς με [16] τάδε λέγει κύριος are omitted, but partly restored in the margin. MS 71 leaves out πρὸς με [16] τάδε λέγει κύριος. These omissions do not, however, have any connection with the omissions in the manuscripts of Lucifer's works.

128. Examples can easily be found: αὐτῷ 1 Kgs 2:16, 30; πρὸς αὐτόν 2:42, 3:11; αὐτῇ 2 Kgs 4:6; πρὸς αὐτήν 4:13, 17.

attest the stylistically inferior reading. Since *πρὸς αὐτούς* is attested by A it is best to attribute it to the Hexaplaric revision, although it is hard to see the reason why the Lucianic reviser would have picked up such a meaningless Hebraizing reading. Lucifer likely attests the dative since he occasionally uses the *ad* + acc. construction in connection with verbs of saying (e.g., *ad eos* 1 Kgs 13:12 // *Conv.* 3, Lev 18:2 // *Athan.* 1.3). B has dropped out the expression by error. That the Latin counterparts for the words *ἐῴπατε* and *τάδε* (15.2, 16.1) are not found in the manuscripts of Lucifer's works may be due to a copying mistake (as supposed by Diercks; see the note) but it might be within Lucifer's quoting techniques to leave them out; after all, there are altogether four verbs of saying within twenty words of the Greek text. As it stands, Lucifer's text makes sense even without the emendation: "To the man who sent you to me [16] says the Lord."

Since in 21:12 Lucifer retains the unnecessary *ego* with a finite verb (*ecce ego adduco*), he should be accepted as a possible witness for the omission of *ἐγώ* (A 82 92 71 245 342) in 22:16.2.¹²⁹ The omission may be Hebraizing: from the point of view of the quantitative equivalence, *ἰδοὺ* + finite verb is a good rendering for the Hebrew *הִנֵּה* + suff. + part. as the latter consists of only two words.

While there is a slight difference between the semantic fields of *ἐνοικέω* "dwell in" and *κατοικέω* "settle in" (4), both can mean simply "inhabit." Lucifer's *inhabitantes* can reflect either Greek variant.¹³⁰ Lucifer probably attests *αὐτόν* with the majority against *ἐν αὐτῷ* in *L*⁻⁸² 460 both in 22:16.5 and 22:19.4; if he had had the Greek *ἐν* + dat. in his text, he would have used the Latin *in* + abl. That Lucifer adds *in*—as I suggest, against the Greek original—is understandable since, although in principle **(in)habitantes eum/illum* would be enough to convey the meaning "those who inhabit it," Lucifer never uses such an expression. In 22:20.8 Lucifer certainly reads *αὐτόν* (no variants there) and renders the expression with *in illum*. It is interesting

129. No more than "possible," keeping in mind the general advice that Lucifer's attestation to any minus is spurious.

130. Elsewhere in Lucifer's quotations *habito* corresponds to *κατοικέω* exclusively (1 Kgs 13:25, 11 // *Conv.* 3; 2 Kgs 22:14 // *Parc.* 7; Ps 101[100]:7, 132[131]:14 // *Athan.* 1.30, 34; Isa 57:15 // *Athan.* 1.43; Ezek 2:6 // *Parc.* 9; Acts 4:16 // *Parc.* 16), but *inhabito* corresponds both to *ἐνοικέω* (2 Cor 6:16 // *Conv.* 13; and possibly Judg 6:10 *καθήσσεθε* (vel sim) Befijoqrsuz(txt)a₂] *ἐνοικεῖτε* AMNy = Rahlfs; *κατασκηνοῦται* c; *κατοικεῖτε* z(mg) rell // *Reg.* 1; see Brooke-McLean) and *κατοικέω* (Lev 18:3 // *Athan.* 1.3; Ps 27[26]:4 // *Mor.* 8). In addition, *commoror* "tarry, delay, stay, abide, dwell, remain" is found twice for *κατοικέω* (Josh 6:25 // *Conv.* 2; Jer 2:6 // *Conv.* 8).

to note that there is very little consistency in the manuscripts even within the first two occurrences of the phrase in 16.5 and 19.4: only 93 and 460 read consistently κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ ... κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ. MS 342 is the only one that manages to retain the construction κατοικοῦντας αὐτόν in all the three places. The combinations are as follows:

2 Kgs 22:16.4, 2 Kgs 22:19.3

- κατοικοῦντας αὐτόν (ἐν αὐτῷ 93 460), κατοικοῦντας αὐτόν (ἐν αὐτῷ 93 460) 93 342 460
- κατοικοῦντας αὐτόν (ἐν αὐτῷ $L^{-82.93}$), ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτόν (ἐν αὐτῷ $L^{-82.93}$; αὐτῷ 489) $L^{-82.93}$ 489 799
- ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτόν, κατοικοῦντας αὐτόν ο 372
- ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτόν (αὐτῷ 98' 527), ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτόν (ἐν αὐτῷ 74; αὐτῷ 328 527) rel

Reading the simple dative without a preposition (16.4: 98', 19.3: 328 489; both: 527) appears to be connected with reading the verb ἐνοικέω, and it can easily be explained as a wish to avoid the redundancy “inhabit in.” The verb κατοικέω may be a lexical variant preferred by the Lucianic reviser,¹³¹ but the Antiochian manuscripts are not consistent in its use and, in any case, it must be the original verb in 22:20.8. Moreover, it is frequently found as a rendering for יָשָׁב “to dwell,” especially in the nonkaige sections (12x in Samuel, 10x in Kings; 2x and 6x in the kaige sections), whereas outside the present cases ἐνοικέω is found only in 2 Kgs 19:26. However, supposing that κατοικέω was the original verb in all three cases does not explain the variation well: why should it have been changed? It seems best to leave the case unanswered; the most that can be said is that Lucifer with high probability attests the reading αὐτόν in both cases.

Above in 22:13.5 it was observed that the word τούτου in the expression “of this book” was left out in B 328 f 245 because of a parablepsis. Here in 16.7 the possibility of the same happening in the majority but not in Lucifer and 82 is less probable. It seems, rather, that the word was added in conformation with the similar expression in verse 13 above: “our fathers did not obey the words of this book.” In variation unit 8 Lucifer follows the majority that take “the words” as the correlate and therefore give ὅς “that, which” in the plural. The Lucianic reviser has changed this to the singular,

131. Brock, *Recensions*, 280 refers to 1 Sam 22:5, 2 Sam 11:1, 1 Kgs 2:36, 12:17.

which makes “the book” the correlate: it was “the book” that was read to the king (v. 10).

- 2 Kgs 22:17 ἀνθ' ὧν ἐγκατέλιπόν με καὶ ἐθυμίων θεοὶς ἑτέροις, ὅπως παροργίσωσίν με ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκκαυθήσεται ὁ θυμὸς μου ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ καὶ οὐ σβεσθήσεται. (Rahlfs)
pro quibus dereliquerunt me et intenderunt dis alienis et exacerbauerunt me in operibus manuum suarum. Et incensa est ira mea in hoc loco et non exstinguetur. Luc Parc. 7 (207,21–24)
ἀνθ' ὧν ἐγκατέλιπόν με καὶ ἐθυμίασαν θεοὶς ἄλλοτρίοις, ἵνα παροργίσωσίν με ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐξεκαύθη ὁ θυμὸς μου ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ καὶ οὐ σβεσθήσεται. 2 Chr 34:25
- 2 Kgs 22:17.1 ἐθυμίων] ἐθυμίασαν *L*⁻⁸² 2 Chr; *intenderunt* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:17.2 ὅπως] ἵνα *L*⁻⁸² 460 2 Chr; *et* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:17.3 τοῖς ἔργοις Luc] *pr* πᾶσι(ν) *L*⁻⁸² 460 2 Chr = MT

The usage of the tenses in the majority text makes good sense: “because they abandoned [aor.] me and *were making* [impf.] incense offerings to other gods” (NETS, emphasis mine). After all, the abandoning is punctual but offering incense is not. The aorist in *L*⁻⁸² (1) is best seen as part of the tendencies of the Lucianic reviser, who tends to change other past tenses when they are in the middle of a series of aorists and there is no reason to retain another tense. Lucifer’s manuscripts read *intenderunt* “they turned towards,” probably a corruption from *incenderunt* “they burned,” which would serve as a translation for ἐθυμίων/ἐθυμίασαν. While the Latin perfect, as here, corresponds formally to the Greek aorist, Lucifer is not particularly strict in his renderings of tenses (see Historical Present below). Thus he may well follow the imperfect here. In this verse the readings in *L*⁻⁸² and, partly, in 460 conform to 2 Chronicles (2, 3). That Lucifer does not, as it seems, attest any of these readings points towards the conclusion that here the Lucianic reviser has for some reason decided to harmonize the wording with the Chronicles.

- 2 Kgs 22:18–19 καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα Ἰουδα τὸν ἀποστείλαντα ὑμᾶς ἐπιζητῆσαι τὸν κύριον τάδε ἐρεῖτε πρὸς αὐτόν· Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ· Οἱ λόγοι, οὓς ἤκουσας, [19] ἀνθ' ὧν ὅτι ἠπαλύνθη ἡ καρδία σου καὶ ἐνετράπης ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου, (Rahlfs)
Et ad regem Iuda, qui misit uos, ut quaereretis a domino, haec dicetis: haec dicit dominus deus Israel: uerba mea quae audisti [19] et reuerit es a facie mea, Luc Parc. 7 (207,24–26)
καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἰούδα τὸν ἀποστείλαντα ὑμᾶς τοῦ ζητῆσαι τὸν κύριον, οὕτως ἐρεῖτε αὐτῷ· Οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ· τοὺς λόγους, οὓς

ἤκουσας (27) *καὶ ἐνετράπη ἡ καρδία σου καὶ ἐταπεινώθης ἀπὸ προσώπου μου* 2 Chr 34:26–27

Et reveritus es a facie mea ... La^M

et veritus es a facie mea Aug Cur. 16 (648,20)

- 2 Kgs 22:18.1 *καὶ πρὸς* Luc 2 Chr] *πρὸς* δέ *L*⁻⁸²; om *καὶ* 460
- 2 Kgs 22:18.2 *שׁוּדָרְךָ* ἐπιζητῆσαι] ἐκζητῆσαι *L*⁻⁸² o 372 460; *ut quaereretis* Luc
Cf. 2 Kgs 22:13 ἐκζητήσατε] *quaerite* Luc; ζητήσατε (ἐπιζ. *a*⁻⁷¹-127) 2 Chr
- 2 Kgs 22:18.3 *כִּן תָּדַע* 1°] οὕτως *L*⁻⁸² 460; *haec* Luc
Cf. below *כִּן תָּדַע* 2°] *haec* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:18.4 *πρὸς αὐτόν*] > *d*⁻¹⁰⁶ Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:18.5 οἱ λόγοι οὓς ἤκουσας (Luc 2 Chr)] ἤκουσας τοὺς λόγους μου *καὶ* et tr post (19) ὅτι *L*⁻⁸² 460
- 2 Kgs 22:18.6 οἱ λόγοι = MT (2 Chr)] + *mea* Luc
Cf. above τοὺς λόγους μου *L*⁻⁸² 460
- 2 Kgs 22:19.1 ἀνθ' ὧν ὅτι ἠπαλύνθη ἡ καρδία σου] > Luc; om ὅτι *L*⁻⁸² 460
- 2 Kgs 22:19.2 κυρίου = MT] μου *L*⁻⁸² 318 460 Luc 2 Chr

Lucifer does not follow the change from *καὶ* to *δέ* that the Lucianic reviser frequently does (18.1). The verb שׁוּדָר “to seek” is found thirteen times elsewhere in Samuel-Kings, rendered with ἐπιζητέω “to initiate an enquiry and ask questions” (GELS) four times (2 Kgs 1:2 [ἐπερωτήσατε A *L*-700], 3 [ἐπερωτῆσαι *L* CI 244]; 3:11 [ἐπερωτήσομεν *L*-700 245], 8:8) and with ἐκζητέω “to look for, search” only once (2 Kgs 22:13; no variants). In the Pentateuch, ἐκζητέω is sometimes used with the connotation of seeking out for punishment (e.g., Gen. 9:5) which would be totally inappropriate in the present context (18.2). Lucifer’s *quaero* may reflect either Greek verb. In variation unit 18.3, Lucifer’s *haec* “thus, lit. these (things)” might reflect οὕτως (*L*⁻⁸² 460) as well as the B reading *τάδε*, but in light of the following rendering *τάδε haec*, it is best to suppose that Lucifer attests *τάδε* in both cases. The Antiochian reading is probably a recensional change aimed at making a distinction between what the messengers should say and what God says.

The wording of the oracle is somewhat awkward: “As for the words that you heard—[19] because your heart was softened and you felt the shame from before the Lord” (NETS).¹³² That may be a contributing factor

132. That something appears to be missing between vv. 18 and 19 is pointed out

for Lucifer's omissions (18.4, 19.1), which are well in line with his general tendency. In variation units 18.5 and 6 Lucifer stands in between B and L: he agrees with B in the word order and the relative formulation "As for the words that you heard—because ..." against L ("because you heard my words and ...") but attests "my words" with L against B.¹³³ The transposition and the syntactical change are very likely recensional, brought about by the difficult syntax. In light of that, adding "my" could be recensional as well, and Lucifer does not necessarily follow L in that detail. However, since there is not a clear reason why Lucifer should have added *mea*, it should be considered if the original form was *οἱ λόγοι μου οὓς ἤκουσας; the Lucianic reviser would then have made the transposition and straightened out the syntax and the kaige reviser omitted μου in conformation with the MT. Following this reasoning, one is tempted to accept "my" as the original reading in 19.2 too—there it is even supported by Chronicles—although a contextual change cannot be ruled out: since it is God who is speaking, the question is of "his" words.¹³⁴

- 2 Kgs 22:19 ὡς ἤκουσας ὅσα ἐλάλησα ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτὸν τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἀφανισμόν καὶ εἰς κατάραν, καὶ διέρρηξας τὰ ἱμάτιά σου καὶ ἐκλαυσας ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἤκουσα, λέγει κύριος. (Rahlfs)
quia audisti quae locutus sum in locum istum et inhabitantes in illum, fieri in heremo et in maledictionem, et scidisti uestimenta tua et plorasti ante conspectum meum, et ego audiui, dixit dominus uirtutum. Luc Parc. 7 (207,27–30)
ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαί σε τοὺς λόγους μου ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτὸν καὶ ἐταπεινώθης ἐναντίον μου καὶ διέρρηξας τὰ ἱμάτιά σου καὶ ἐκλαυσας κατεναντίον μου, καὶ ἐγὼ ἤκουσα φησὶν κύριος. 2 Chr 34:27
cum audisti, quae locutus sum de loco isto et qui commorantur in eo, ut deseratur et in maledicto sit, et conscidisti vestimenta tua, et flevisti

by some commentators, e.g., Benzinger, *Könige*, 191; Würthwein, *Könige*, 449; BHS: "prb vb exc" = "probably some words have been excised." Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 292, propose an emendation: שְׁלַחְתָּ מִמֶּנִּי הַדְּבָרִים "the words that) you have sent I have heard."

133. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 150: "verba mea quae audisti steht in der Mitte zwischen οἱ λόγοι οὓς ἤκουσας und ἀνθ' ὧν ἤκουσας τοὺς λόγους μου."

134. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 279, suggests contextual change: "geändert, weil der Herr selbst redet, vielleicht im Anschluß an Chron. II 34₂₇." The L reading, ostensibly attesting a Hebrew reading לְפָנַי, is favoured by some commentators: Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 292: "[the L reading] speaks for itself"; Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 11 (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 278.

in conspectu meo, et ego audivi, dixit dominus Sabaoth Aug Cur. 16 (648,20)

auditis sermonibus contra locum istum et habitatores eius, quod videlicet fierent in stuporem et maledictum, et scidisti vestimenta tua, et flevisti coram me, et ego audivi, dicit Dominus. Euch IV.reg.4. 31 (PG 50:1203b)

- 2 Kgs 22:19.3 יֹשְׁבֵי עִירוֹ ἐνοικοῦντας (αὐτόν)] κατοικοῦντας 93 o 342 372 460; *inhabitantes* Luc
Cf. 2 Kgs 22:16.4 יֹשְׁבֵי עִירוֹ ἐνοικοῦντας (αὐτόν)] κατοικοῦντας L⁻⁸² 489 799 342 460 2 Chr; *inhabitantes* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:19.4 αὐτόν 2 Chr] ἐν (> 328 489 527) αὐτῷ L⁻⁸² 328 74 489 527 460; *in illum* Luc
Cf. 22:16.5 αὐτόν] ἐν (> 98' 527) αὐτῷ L⁻⁸² 98' 527 460; *in eum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:19.5 תִּהְיֶה לְעִירָא γένεσθαι L⁻⁸² 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:19.6 הָלְךָ לְקִלְכֵּל וְעַיִן עַל כַּתְמֵי הָעִיר וְעַל כַּתְמֵי הָעִיר וְעַל כַּתְמֵי הָעִיר > L⁻⁸² 460
- 2 Kgs 22:19.7 וְעַיִן עַל כַּתְמֵי הָעִיר וְעַל כַּתְמֵי הָעִיר & A 2 Chr; *et* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:19.8 λέγει] φησί(ν) L⁻⁸² 460 2 Chr; *dixit* Luc; > d⁻¹⁰⁶
- 2 Kgs 22:19.9 κύριος 2 Chr] > d⁻¹⁰⁶; + *uirtutum* Luc; + *Sabaoth* Aug

On variation units 3 and 4, see verse 16 above. Both εἶμι and γίνομαι (5) are equally proper renderings for the Hebrew היה “to be”—the better equivalent depends on the context.¹³⁵ There is no significant difference in the distribution of these renderings between the kaige and nonkaige sections; the greatest difference can be found in the section 1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs (53 percent γίνομαι, 43 percent εἶμι) and such a difference is easy to attribute to the needs of the context. The context in 2 Kgs 22:19 appears to point forward in time: “that they should become a desolation and a curse” (NETS). Thus, the use of the verb γίνομαι might be a stylistic improvement by the Lucianic reviser. On the other hand, Lucifer likely attests the *L* reading with the passive infinitive *fieri*, although Lucifer’s own modification cannot be ruled out.¹³⁶ The best explanation for the omission of “and a curse” in L⁻⁸² 460 (6) is a paralepsis from καί to καί.¹³⁷ The phenomena concerning καί γε (7) have been treated above (2 Kgs 21:16). In variation unit 8, Luci-

135. Even Aquila uses both: Reider and Turner, *Index to Aquila*, 274.

136. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 150, notes that Lucifer’s *in heremo* for εἰς ἀφανισμόν is weird: “wobei allerdings ἀφανισμόν sonderbar wiedergegeben ist.”

137. Montgomery, *Kings*, 528, considers the omission deliberate: “om. as blasphemy against the Holy City.”

fer may attest either λέγει (the rendering of לֵאמֹר in 1 Sam 2:30a¹³⁸, 2 Kgs 9:26aβ L⁻⁸² 460, 2 Kgs 19:33 B and majority) or φησί (1 Sam 2:30b; 2 Kgs 9:26aα, 26aβ B and majority; 2 Kgs 19:33 L 460). Concerning the perfect *dixit* for the Greek present, see Historical Present below. Only Lucifer and Augustine add “of Hosts” after “Lord” (9); that they give the divine epithet in different forms (*virtutum* Luc; *Sabaoth* Aug) shows that they each provide it independently.

- 2 Kgs 22:20 οὐχ οὕτως· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ προστίθηναι σε πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας σου, (Rahlfs)
Propter hoc ego abduco te apud patres tuos, Luc Parc. 7 (207,30)
 ἰδοὺ προστίθηναι σε πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας σου, 2 Chr 34:28
- 2 Kgs 22:20.1 לֹכֶן οὐχ οὕτως] *propter hoc* Luc; > 460; absc. 313
 Cf. 2 Kgs 21:12.1 לֹכֶן οὐχ οὕτως] *propter hoc* Luc; > 71
- 2 Kgs 22:20.2 (הַנְּנִי הִנְנִי ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ L⁻⁸² f 460 (2 Chr 71)] ἰδοὺ B 158 342 2 Chr^{Han-}
 hart; > 46-52*^{vid}-236-242-328-530(]; ἐγὼ rel Luc

On variation unit 1, see 2 Kgs 21:12.1 above. In variation unit 2, usual transcriptional errors do not account for the omission of ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ (ΟΥΤΩ· → ΕΓΩ is possible but not very probable), still less for ἰδοὺ alone. In the MT, the interjection הִנְנִי “behold, I” with the personal suffix suggests interpreting the following verb הִנְנִי “(I) will gather you” as an active participle, but the imperfect first person singular looks exactly the same even including the vowels. Thus, if the suffix of the interjection was added or dropped out (there is a good chance of a graphical error between הנה and הנני) the verb does not need to be changed. Accordingly, a good explanation for the reading ἰδοὺ προστίθηναι σε (B 158 342 2 Chr) is that it goes back to a Hebrew reading הנה אספך* where the verb is interpreted as an imperfect instead of a participle. Even so, it remains to decide whether the reading originated with the Greek translator or a kaige reviser. Moreover, it is hard to see the reason why ἰδοὺ would have been omitted in the majority of the manuscripts. If the majority reading ἐγὼ, supported by Lucifer, was original, it should be a rendering of אֲנִי* which, in bad circumstances, could be confused with הִנְנִי. The Lucianic reading might then be a Hexaplaric correction towards the latter Hebrew reading¹³⁹ but the B reading would still be hard to explain.

138. Aejmelaus: “λέγει M L C’ a b 68’-125 29 55 71 158 318 707 Ge Tht Reg I 536 Luc Athan 1,10] εἰπεν rel Ra.”

139. If the Lucianic revision were involved here, it would probably have added ἰδοὺ rather than ἐγὼ since something is needed after οὐχ οὕτως: “not so! Behold, I ...”

While it is unsatisfactory to leave a case open, here it seems that the best thing that can be done is to exclude the usual solutions as too simple. It would be especially hard to explain how ἰδοῦ (B 158 342 2 Chr) could be corrupted or consciously changed to ἐγώ (majority) or vice versa. Something else must be behind or between the two. If some decision had to be offered one probably should resort to the *deus ex machina* solution of textual criticism—anomalous corruption. Then Rahlfs's solution (ἰδοῦ ἐγώ in *L*⁻⁸² *f* 460 is the original reading) would account for the other readings; it can be corrupted to ἰδοῦ (B), ἐγώ (Luc rel), or nothing (most of *CII*).

- 2 Kgs 22:20 καὶ συναχθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τάφον σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ οὐκ ὀφθήσεται ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς κακοῖς, οἷς ἐγώ εἰμι ἐπάγω ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον. καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ ῥῆμα. (Rahlfs)
et adaugeris in pace, et uidebunt oculi tui omnia mala quae ego induco in loco isto et super inhabitantes in illum. [23:1]¹⁴⁰ *Et respondit regi uerbum Luc Parc.* 7 (207,30–33)
καὶ προστεθήσῃ πρὸς τὰ μνηματά σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ οὐκ ὀψονται οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς κακοῖς, οἷς ἐγώ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτόν. καὶ ἀπέδωκαν τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγον. 2 Chr 34:28
- 2 Kgs 22:20.3 συναχθήσῃ] *adaugeris* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:20.4 εἰς τὸν τάφον σου] > Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:20.5 οὐκ] > Luc [*sic*]
- 2 Kgs 22:20.6 ὀφθήσεται – οἷς] ὀψονται οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου πάντα τὰ κακὰ ᾧ *L*⁻⁸² 460 Luc: cf. 2 Chr
- 2 Kgs 22:20.7 **נִבְרַח** ἐγώ εἰμι ἐπάγω (ἐπάγων B 247 *CI*-328 121 *f* 488 527 244)] om ἐγώ εἰμι *d*⁻¹⁰⁶; ἐγώ ἐπάγω *L CII*⁻³²⁸ 92-314-489-762 55^c 71 318 342 460 554 707^S Luc 2 Chr
- 2 Kgs 22:20.8 τοῦτον A B = MT] + καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτόν *L* rel Luc (*et super inhabitantes in illum*) = 2 Chr 34:28
- 2 Kgs 22:20.9 ἐπέστρεψαν] ἀπέστρεψαν 55; *respondit* Luc

The second and third clauses in Lucifer's quotation are odd: “and you will thrive (?) in peace and your eyes *will* see all the evils.” It may be that the verb *adaugeo* “increase, augment,” (3) here perhaps “thrive,” reflects some

Since ἰδοῦ is attested by B as well, we should suppose that here kaige and the Lucianic revision have coincided—a rare, but by no means impossible phenomenon.

140. Brooke-McLean places the chapter division here, and Diercks's edition follows that.

form of the Greek verb συναυξάνω “increase with or together” as a corruption or a misreading from συναχθήσῃ. This may have some connection with the omission of the words “to your grave” (4) or not.

In Lucifer’s text the idea of the whole sentence is distorted with the omission of the negation (5): the idea is precisely that Josiah will die before all the evil things will come to pass and his eyes will not see them. Schenker, who provides a selective analysis of the Lucifer readings for 22:20–23:1, maintains that the omission cannot be explained as a copying mistake.¹⁴¹ Schenker considers the possibility of a deliberate omission by Lucifer: to posit that even Josiah *will* eventually see the destruction would emphasize the judgment that Constantius will face. Schenker remains sceptical, however: Lucifer would not have changed his Bible text since that would have diminished his credibility and thus his argumentation.¹⁴² In light of the frequent changes that Lucifer makes all the time it seems to me that omitting the negation even deliberately is within the usual limits of Lucifer’s freedom of quotation. Thus, I would refrain from speculating on whether there is a Hebrew text without the negation underlying Lucifer’s text.¹⁴³

In variation unit 6, *L*⁻⁸² 460 read “your eyes *will* see all the evils” against the curiously complex “there shall (not) be seen by your eyes among all the evils” (NETS) of the B text. The *L* reading is probably a Lucianic tidying of the text and Lucifer likely follows it¹⁴⁴—although he might do something similar himself. Since עֵינַיִךְ-עָלֶיךָ אֵימָה is a kaige feature,¹⁴⁵ *L* together with Lucifer and several other witnesses might attest the OG reading in variation unit 7, although the Hebrew counterpart for עָלֶיךָ אֵימָה is אֵימָה, not עֵינַיִךְ. The longer reading “all the evils that I am bringing on this place *and on those who inhabit it*” (8) is probably original since it is attested by Lucifer, Chronicles, and all the manuscripts except for A and B. In the Greek text the omission may be caused by a parablepsis (τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς

141. Adrian Schenker, “Die Textgeschichte der Königsbücher und ihre Konsequenzen für die Textgeschichte der hebräischen Bibel, illustriert am Beispiel von 2 Kön 23:1–3,” in *Congress Volume Leiden 2004*, ed. André Lemaire, VTSup 109 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 68: “Das Fehlen der Negation kann weder in der VL noch in ihrer griechischen und letztlich hebräischen Vorlage als Schreibfehler (Haplographie) erklärt werden.”

142. Schenker, “Textgeschichte,” 71 n. 9.

143. Schenker, “Textgeschichte,” 70–71 suggests that the older Hebrew text did not have the negation.

144. Similarly Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 150.

145. Barthélemy, *Devanciers d'Aquila*, 69–78; O’Connell, *Theodotianic Revision*, 281.

~~κατοικοῦντας αὐτόν καί~~),¹⁴⁶ but the fact that the omission corresponds to the MT makes one suspect Hebraizing correction, perhaps both kaige (B) and Hexaplaric (A). Lucifer is alone in still one reading: “he responded” against “they returned (the message)” (9).

Josiah's Actions in Jerusalem (23:1–8)

- 2 Kgs 23:1 Καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ συνήγαγεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πάντας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἰουδα καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ. (Rahlfs)
et misit rex Iosias et collegit ad se omnes presbyteros Iuda in Hierusalem.
Luc Parc. 7 (207,33–34)
Καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ συνήγαγεν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἰούδα καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ. 2 Chr 34:29
- 2 Kgs 23:1.1 ὁ βασιλεὺς = MT] pr Ἰωσιὰς *L*⁻⁸² 460 Luc (2 Chr 19' Arm^{II})
- 2 Kgs 23:1.2 ἑαυτόν Luc (*se*)] αὐτόν 247 *L* 488 245 460; > 125 (2 Chr)
- 2 Kgs 23:1.3 καὶ 3^o = MT 2 Chr] εἰς *CI* 71 244 342 Luc (*in*); > 247 488*

Both Lucifer and the Lucianic reviser add “Josiah” (1). While there is no compelling reason for Lucifer to add the name independently, the previous mention of Josiah in Lucifer's text is quite far above in the introduction to the quotation (206,2), and Lucifer may have seen fit to provide the name here where the oracle ends and the action begins. The change from the reflexive *ἑαυτόν* to *αὐτόν* in 247 *L* 488 245 460 (2) is recensional or accidental; Lucifer follows the B text. The agreement with *CI* 71 244 342 in providing a preposition instead of the conjunction (3) is probably genuine. Since the latter is attested by B, *L*, and Chronicles, it is best to accept it as original even though it corresponds to the MT. The change to a preposition is a change to the more natural expression: “all the elders of Judah *in* Jerusalem.” There is no real reason to suppose, as Schenker does, that, according to Lucifer, only the Judean authorities *outside* Jerusalem were invited.¹⁴⁷

146. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 292, are noncommittal: “We cannot tell whether these two words [= יְשָׁבִי *] dropped out ... (*haplography*) or whether they are due to scribal expansion in Chr.”

147. Schenker, “Textgeschichte,” 68–69: “In der Versammlung wohnen dementprechend keine Vertreter der Jerusalemer Behörden oder Notabeln bei, obwohl der Versammlungsort Jerusalem ist.... nur die Judäer nehmen teil nach der VL.” “There are no delegates of the authorities or notables of Jerusalem, even though the assembly takes place in Jerusalem.... only the Judeans take part according to the OL” (trans. mine).

- 2 Kgs 23:2 και ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς οἶκον κυρίου καὶ πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ἰουδα καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀπὸ μικροῦ καὶ ἕως μεγάλου, καὶ ἀνέγνω ἐν ὧσιν αὐτῶν πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ εὐρεθέντος ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου.
(Rahlfs)
Et ascendit rex ad dominum et omnes uiri Iuda et sacerdotes et leuitae et omnis populus a pusillo usque ad maiorem. Et legit rex in auribus populi omnia uerba libri testamenti, qui inuentus est in domo domini. Luc Parc. 7 (207,34–37)
καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰούδα (> Ra) εἰς οἶκον κυρίου καὶ πᾶς Ἰουδᾶ [sic] καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀπὸ μεγάλου ἕως μικροῦ· καὶ ἀνέγνω ἐν ὧσιν αὐτῶν πάντας (> Ra) τοὺς (+ πάντας Ra) λόγους βιβλίου τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ εὐρεθέντος ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου.
2 Chr 34:30
- 2 Kgs 23:2.1 ὁ βασιλεὺς Luc 2 Chr = MT] Ἰωσίας 460; + Ἰωσίας L⁻⁸²
Cf. 23:1.1 ὁ βασιλεὺς = MT] pr Ἰωσίας L⁻⁸² 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:2.2 εἰς οἶκον κυρίου 2 Chr] *ad dominum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:2.3 καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετ' αὐτοῦ (2 Chr)] > Luc
Cf. 23:1.3 καὶ 3^o 2 Chr = MT] εἰς CI 71 244 342 Luc (*in*)
- 2 Kgs 23:2.4 προφῆται = MT] Λευῖται 2 Chr (ⲙⲓⲁⲓⲛ MT) Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:2.5 ὁ λαός Luc 2 Chr = MT] + (ὁ) μετ' αὐτοῦ A 246 121 488
- 2 Kgs 23:2.6 καὶ ἕως B 247 19'-93 98^c-243-731 121 56 o 119 244 = MT] om καὶ rel (2 Chr); *usque ad* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:2.7 ἀνέγνω 2 Chr] + *rex* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:2.8 ἐν ὧσιν Luc 2 Chr = MT] ἐνώπιον B; ἐναντίον f
- 2 Kgs 23:2.9 αὐτῶν 2 Chr = MT] αὐτοῦ 19' x⁻⁵²⁷ 342; *populi* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:2.10 διαθήκης Luc 2 Chr^{Hanhart} = MT] + κυρίου 19 (2 Chr 107)

Again, the Lucianic reviser explicates the name of the king (1). This time Lucifer does not follow (cf. 23:1.1 above). Lucifer is alone in reading “to the Lord” instead of “to the Lord’s house” (2). The reading may be due to a confusion between *DOMVM DMI and DMN in the Latin text. In variation unit 3, Lucifer omits the words “and all those who dwelt in Ierousalem with him,” possibly by a parablepsis from καὶ to καί or *et* to *et* (**et omnes inhabitantes in Hierusalem cum eo** *et sacerdotes et leuitae*). Even without the possibility of a parablepsis, one should always be doubtful of Lucifer’s minuses, especially when he is alone in them. The question whether the minus has any real significance is linked to the reading εἰς *in* pro καὶ in 23:1.3 above: If the reading εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ (CI 71 244 342 Luc) really meant

that the elders *of* Jerusalem were not invited—as Schenker maintains¹⁴⁸—then it would seem odd to include all the Jerusalemites. This would provide the motivation for omission of the clause—or hint at later textual growth as a reason for the longer reading. However, MSS *CI* 71 244 342 do, indeed, read “all the elders of Judah *in* Jerusalem ... and all those who dwelt in Ierousalem with him” as they attest εἰς in verse 1 but retain the longer reading in verse 2. Here, as in 22:20 (see above), I find that the transcriptional issues should take priority over the desire to find traces of now lost Hebrew readings in a Latin witness, even in as good and old a witness as Lucifer. I basically agree with Schenker's observations on how the MT readings could have arisen from the putative Hebrew text attested by Lucifer: a scribe or an editor would not have left the Jerusalemites out, but, rather, would have added the notion.¹⁴⁹ We must, however, consider two possible scenarios:

1. Lucifer simply makes the same kind of small modifications here that he frequently does—or happens to genuinely follow *CI* 71 244 342 in the secondary reading εἰς in verse 1.
2. Lucifer alone attests the otherwise unknown OG form with εἰς (v. 1) and with the minus of καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ μετ' αὐτοῦ (v. 2). That Greek form went back to the similar Hebrew form of text which also has left no other traces of itself in the textual traditions. Subsequently, all the Greek witnesses, including *L*, were corrected against the MT and thus contain the plus.

If we are seeking *the most probable explanation for Lucifer's readings*, we must choose scenario 1. However, from this it does not follow that any literary-critical considerations concerning the readings are without foundation; it only follows that Lucifer's quotation should not be used as documented evidence for these readings.

A striking detail in Lucifer's text is his agreement with the Chronicles parallel in reading “Levites” instead of “prophets” (4). There would be little reason for Lucifer to make such a change himself; in his texts we find more contexts in which priests are paralleled with Levites than those in which they are paralleled with prophets,¹⁵⁰ but that is hardly an argument for the

148. Schenker, “Textgeschichte,” 68–69.

149. Schenker, “Textgeschichte,” 71.

150. Priests and Levites: e.g., Et loquere ad **sacerdotes**, **leuitas** aut ad iudicem Deut 17:9 // *Athan.* 1.6; Et quidem in Hierusalem statuit Iosafat de **leuitis** et **sacer-**

conclusion that he consciously changed “prophet” to “Levite” here. It is best to suppose that the reading has been harmonized with Chronicles in the underlying Greek text or a Latin translation.¹⁵¹

The addition of “who (were) with him” in A 246 121 488 (5) is secondary conformation with the similar expression earlier. The conjunction in the expression “from small *and* to great” (6) is disturbing and it has probably been omitted in several different strands of the textual transmission. Curiously, the Antiochian tradition is divided (καὶ 19'-93] > 82-127), which makes it improbable that the omission was (wholly) Lucianic. Lucifer's *usque ad* may correspond either to καὶ ἕως (so in Josh 6:21 // *Conv.* 2, 1 Sam 15:3 [καὶ > V O 82 CII b s 244 460 707] // *Reg.* 2) or the simple ἕως (24x; occasionally, καὶ ἕως is found as a variant); *et usque ad* is found only twice, both times corresponding to καὶ ἕως (Josh 1:4 // *Athan.* 1.9; Wis 4:19 // *Athan.* 32). Despite his shortening of the text Lucifer is capable of adding a subject now and then, this time “*the king read*” (7). The explication “in the ears of *the people*” (9) is another modification by Lucifer. The reading ἐν ὧσιν (8) has caused transcriptional errors in B (ἐνώπιον) and f (ἐναντίον).

- 2 Kgs 23:3 καὶ ἔσθη ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν στῦλον καὶ διέθετο διαθήκην ἐνώπιον κυρίου τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω κυρίου καὶ τοῦ φυλάσσειν τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτοῦ (Rahlfs)
Et stetit rex ad columnam et disposuit testamentum quod inuentum est in domo domini ante conspectum domini, ire post dominum et obseruare mandata eius et testificationes et praecepta eius Luc Parc. 7 (207,37–40)
καὶ ἔσθη ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν στῦλον καὶ διέθετο διαθήκην ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ πορευθῆναι ἐνώπιον κυρίου τοῦ φυλάσσειν τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ (> Ra) μαρτύρια αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ (> Ra) προστάγματα αὐτοῦ 2 Chr 34:31
- 2 Kgs 23:3.1 תִּבְנֶה֩ עֲשֶׂה יׁהוָה 1^o] ἀνέστη V 247 CI⁻³²⁸ 121 d s t z 342 554^{sup} lin 707^S; ἀνέβη 527; stetit Luc
 Cf. below 23:3.15 תִּבְנֶה֩ עֲשֶׂה יׁהוָה 2^o] ἀνέστη 247 130 488; transiuit Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:3.2 הָיָה לְפָנָיו] ἐπὶ L o 372 460; ad Luc
 Cf. 2 Chr 34:31 הָיָה לְפָנָיו
 Cf. 1 Kgs 13:2 הָיָה לְפָנָיו A B 247 CI x 55 71 244 342 372 707] ἐπὶ L rel
 Cf. 2 Kgs 19:32 הָיָה לְפָנָיו] ἐπὶ L CI o x 244 318 372 460
 Cf. 2 Kgs 21:23 הָיָה לְפָנָיו] ἐπ' L 328 55 460

dotibus et principibus Israel 2 Chr 19:8 // *Athan.* 1.21. Priests and prophets: e.g., filii Israel ipsi et reges eorum et principes ipsorum et **sacerdotes** ipsorum et **prophetae** Jer 2:26 // *Conv.* 8; Persequebatur Saul domini **prophetam** atque **sacerdotem** (not a quotation) *Athan.* 1.13.

151. On the Hebrew level, the Chronicles reading “Levites” is considered secondary by, e.g., Gray, *I and II Kings*, 728 (“may reflect post-exilic usage”).

- 2 Kgs 23:3.3 διαθήκηγ 2 Chr^{Hanhart} = MT] + τὴν εὐρεθεῖσαν ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου L Luc; + ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου 2 Chr a⁻⁷¹⁻¹²⁷
- 2 Kgs 23:3.4 ἐνώπιον κυρίου Luc (2 Chr)] > 19' (2 Chr 107); tr post πορεύεσθαι 71
- 2 Kgs 23:3.5 πορεύεσθαι] πορευθῆναι L 460 2 Chr
- 2 Kgs 23:3.6 αὐτοῦ 2^a] > 44-107-610 71 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:3.7 יְהִי דִּכְאִיָּמָא (אֹתוֹ)] προτάγματα L 460 Luc (*praecepta*)

The standard usage in Samuel-Kings (and mostly elsewhere) is דָּמַע-יִסְתָּהּ, קוֹם-אַנִּסְתָּהּ; thus, it is best to accept that יָסַתָּהּ is the original reading both in variation unit 1 and 15 and ἀνέστη is a change towards the better sense: “the king stood *up to* the pillar.” The reading πρὸς for the Hebrew לַע in B and the majority (2) cannot be a kaige reading and the same rendering can occasionally be found in Samuel-Kings (e.g., 1 Sam 14:10; without variants in Kings: 1 Kgs 1:20, 16:1; 2 Kgs 22:8, 20; 25:11, 20). Therefore it is likely that ἐπί is a Lucianic alteration to work better with the verb ἵστημι (read by all the witnesses that attest ἐπί): “stood *upon* the pillar.” In the Chronicles, ἐπί is what should be expected. Lucifer likely follows the majority reading in variation units 1, 2, and 15, but some doubt remains.

Lucifer clearly follows L in the plus “that was found in the house of the Lord” after “covenant” (3) since he would have no reason to add such a notion himself: it is not “the book of the covenant” (cf. v. 2) that is being talked about but a covenant between God and the people. The plus is probably a Lucianic addition, motivated by the similar phrase at the end of verse 2: “the book of the covenant *that had been found in the Lord’s house*” (NETS; emphasis mine).¹⁵² While a kaige omission in the rest of the witnesses is possible, it fails to explain how the shorter Hebrew reading came about: it cannot be explained as a usual parablepsis error.¹⁵³ The only way to defend the originality of the Greek plus would be to argue that it reflects a difficult or even erroneous reading יהוה בבית הנמצאה of the *Vorlage* that was omitted because of the difficulties it causes. An early variant is not an

152. Similarly Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 247: “Korrektur mit erläuterndem Zusatze nach Analogie von v. 2; dieser Zusatz paßt hier aber nicht, denn man kann nur, wie in v. 2, vom Bundesbuche, aber nicht vom Bunde sagen, daß er im Tempel gefunden ist.” On p. 150, Rahlfs notes the agreement without providing analysis. Similarly Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 293: “incredibly thoughtless expansion.”

153. Schenker, “Textgeschichte,” 69, also dismisses the possibility of an accidental omission but suggests that the plus exhibits literary growth: “Alles weist auf eine literarische Modifikation; nichts empfiehlt einen textlichen Unfall.”

impossible solution but Lucianic revision is probably the least problematic explanation. Since the longer reading in *L* ends with the word κυρίου it has caused a homoioteleuton error with the next κυρίου in 19' (4).

In variation unit 5, *L*, 460, and Chronicles attest the aorist infinitive πορευθῆναι against the present πορεύεσθαι of *B* and the majority. Lucifer's *ire* (present infinitive) may attest either one. Lucifer may follow 44-107-610 71 in omitting the second "his" (6) or the agreement may be coincidental. In variation unit 7, *B* and the majority read δικαιώματα "statutes" and *L* 460 προστάγματα "ordinances." The varying renderings for the nomistic terms have been treated above (1 Kgs 11:38.1) where it was noted that קִה/קִהָּן πρόσταγμα and וְצַוָּה דִּכְאִימָה are OG, קִה/קִהָּן דִּכְאִימָה is kaige. While Lucifer might, of course, use stock translations for nearly synonymous nomistic terms, his usual rendering for δικαίωμα is *justificatio* (Deut 6:17 // *Athan.* 1.6, 17:19 // *Athan.* 1.7; 2 Chr 19:10 // *Athan.* 1.21; 1 Macc 2:21 // *Parc.* 12, 2:40 // *Parc.* 14). Thus it should be accepted that Lucifer's *praecepta* attests the *L* reading προστάγματα which is the OG reading.

- 2 Kgs 23:3 ἐν πάσῃ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ψυχῇ τοῦ ἀναστῆσαι τοὺς λόγους τῆς διαθήκης ταύτης, τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο· (Rahlfs)
in toto corde eius et tota anima, statuere omnia uerba testamenti istius scripta in libro isto. Luc *Parc.* 7 (207,40–42)
 ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ ψυχῇ, τοὺς λόγους τῆς διαθήκης τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐπὶ τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ. 2 Chr 34:31
- 2 Kgs 23:3.8 πάσῃ 1^o (ὅλῃ 372) ... πάσῃ 2^o] ὅλῃ ... ὅλῃ *L* 460; *toto ... tota* Luc (2 Chr La¹⁰⁹)¹⁵⁴; *in omni corde et in tota anima* Vg.
- 2 Kgs 23:3.9 καρδίᾳ 2 Chr = MT] + αὐτοῦ 19 Luc (*eius*)
- 2 Kgs 23:3.10 ψυχῇ Luc 2 Chr = MT] + αὐτοῦ 19' (2 Chr La¹⁰⁹)
- 2 Kgs 23:3.11 מִקִּימָה ἀναστῆσαι Luc = MT] ποιῆσαι *L* 460 (> 2 Chr)
- 2 Kgs 23:3.12 τοὺς λόγους] *omnia uerba* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:3.13 τὰ γεγραμμένα] τοὺς γεγραμμένους *L* 460; *scripta* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:3.14 מִקִּימָה-לְעַלְּמָה ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον] ἐν (ἐπὶ 527) τῷ βιβλίῳ *L* 46-52-236-242-530 246 527 318 460 707^S Luc
 Cf. 23:24 מִקִּימָה-לְעַלְּמָה ἐπὶ τοῦ βιβλίου (τῷ βιβλίῳ A B f)
 Cf. 2 Chr 34:21, 24 מִקִּימָה-לְעַלְּמָה ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ
 Cf. 2 Chr 34:31 מִקִּימָה-לְעַלְּמָה ἐπὶ (ἐν 19' 71 44 b²) τῷ βιβλίῳ

154. In 2 Chr 34:31 La¹⁰⁹ reads *in toto corde suo et tota anima sua*. Weber, *Les anciennes versions latines*, 74.

The Antiochian text agrees with Chronicles in reading “with his whole [ὅλη] heart and his whole soul” against “with all [πάση] his heart and all his soul” of B and the majority (8). Although *πᾶς* is the much more frequent rendering for the Hebrew כָּל (Sam-Kgs: *πᾶς* 679, *ὅλος* 37; the whole LXX: 4425, 168), both function well: the better one depends on the context. In cases like this it is hard to find conclusive arguments for the secondariness of either reading: כָּל-*πᾶς* (B) *may* be a kaige rendering, but *ὅλος* may result from a contextual change. In Latin *πᾶς* is most frequently rendered with *omnis*, but in a context like this *totus* is the more appropriate choice: while the expression *omni corde* is not infrequent in Christian Latin texts (e.g., the Vulgate here), Lucifer never uses it whereas *toto corde* (La¹⁰⁹ in 2 Chronicles) is found eight times in his texts. Thus, while theoretically Lucifer is closer to the *L* reading, the agreement may be only apparent. In the former part of the verse the pronoun “his” refers to God, whereas here “heart and soul” belong to the king. That is so clear that the majority of the manuscripts do not see fit to add a pronoun and only MS 19 does it after both words (9, 10). Lucifer, too, provides a pronoun after “heart,” but not *suo* as should be expected, but *eius*, which formally refers to God, not to Josiah. This is best seen as misplaced conformation with the previous expressions *mandata eius et testificationes et praecepta eius*.

In variation unit 11, the *L* reading ποιῆσαι must be a Lucianic alteration: the translator never uses the rendering קום-ποιέω.¹⁵⁵ The Lucianic reviser has corrected the neuter τὰ γεγραμμένα to τοὺς γεγραμμένους (13) to conform with τοὺς λόγους. Lucifer's *scripta* “(which are) written” may reflect either reading. In Hebrew the usual expression is כתב בספר “to write *in* the book” (e.g., Deut 29:19, 20, 26) and the LXX translators render that with γράφω ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ, which is correct Greek. The expression “to write *on* [ἐπί + acc.] the book” (14; B) is attested twice elsewhere in biblical Greek (Ps 138:16, Rev 17:8), and there are no *a priori* reasons why the translator of Kings could not have used it for עַל-סֵפֶר (cf. ἐπί + gen. in 2 Kgs 23:24). The Lucianic reviser and, indeed, any copyist would be prone to change ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον to ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ. On the other hand, in Chronicles עַל-סֵפֶר (ה) is twice rendered with ἐν + dat. (2 Chr 34:21, 24) and if that is what the translator of Kings did here, the reading ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον could come from the kaige reviser. Lucifer, nevertheless, has little choice here:

155. Found only twice in the whole LXX: Job 31:14, 41:18. Thus the *L* reading does not “presuppose” a Hebrew reading לעשות as suggested by Hobbs, 2 *Kings*, 330.

scribo in libro/libros is what is expected in Latin and that is the only type of expression he uses (e.g., *Conv.* 3, 9; *Reg.* 6, 8).

- 2 Kgs 23:3 καὶ ἔστη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ. (Rahlfs)
Et transiuit omnis populus in testamentum quod disposuit rex ex libro.
 Luc Parc. 7 (207,42–43)
- 2 Kgs 23:3.15 תַּבְּרַח־עֲשֵׂה 2°] ἀνέστη 247 130 488; *transiuit* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:3.16 διαθήκῃ] + *quod disposuit rex ex libro* Luc
 Cf. above διέθετο διαθήκην *disposuit testamentum*

On variation unit 15, see 3.1 above. Lucifer is alone in providing the plus “(in the covenant) that the king set in order (*dispono*, here ‘to read?’) from the book” (16).¹⁵⁶ Schenker observes that an accidental omission as an explanation for the shorter reading is not probable and thus the question is of conscious editorial action that aimed at explicating the intended meaning of the narrative.¹⁵⁷ After this observation, Schenker provides considerations that can be summarized as follows:

1. According to the Latin text, the *covenant*—not only the “book”—that the king made was found in the temple (διέθετο διαθήκην + τὴν εὐρεθεῖσαν ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου *L* Luc) and the covenant was made “from the book” (*testamentum quod disposuit rex ex libro* Luc).
2. In 2 Kgs 22:11 the book is called “the book of the law” (τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ νόμου *liber legis*), not “of the covenant.” In 23:2–3, however, the king reads a “book of the covenant,” comparable to that of Exod 24:7: “Then he [= Moses] took the book of the covenant, and read it in the hearing of the people.” The actual entering into the covenant follows after that as in Exod 24:8: “[Then] Moses took the blood and dashed it on the people, and said, ‘See the blood of the covenant that the LORD has made with you in accordance with all these words.’”
3. According to the plusses in the Latin text, the very same book, the one that was found in the temple, was used both for the reading of the law and concluding the making of the covenant (v. 3: *Et transiuit omnis populus in testamentum quod disposuit rex ex*

156. Ant, LII. The case is included in the examples of “singular readings without support in the Septuagintal tradition.”

157. Schenker, “Textgeschichte,” 69–70: “bewusste redaktionelle Massnahme im Dienste eines beabsichtigten Sinnes des erzählten Vorgangs.”

libro Luc). From this it follows that, in addition to the Law, the book contained “the ceremony or the manner of the making of the covenant.”¹⁵⁸

4. The essence is that in the Latin text the question is of an actual formal renewal of the covenant, not merely remembering the old one. The king made the covenant in the first place just because the book so instructed.
5. That the MT, on the one hand, agrees with Chronicles and, on the other hand, suggests that the king only *renewed* the old covenant, point to the conclusion that its form of text is secondary.¹⁵⁹

Two observations should be made right away: that Lucifer follows *L* in the first plus (23:3.3) is most naturally explained as a Lucianic recensional intrusion into Lucifer's biblical text. According to this first plus, the book that was found was “(the book of) the covenant” and entering into the covenant a few lines later includes the promise to “uphold the words of this covenant that were written in this book” (NETS). This close connecting of “the covenant” and “this book” could be the thought underlying the second plus “the covenant *that the king set in order (or read) from the book.*” Although such a plus is not at all necessary, and it is hard to see why Lucifer might have invented it, it does not seem to me necessary to suppose that the plusses actually changed the meaning. The question of how Lucifer's text should be interpreted here is, of course, related to the question of whether it goes back to a now lost Hebrew text. Schenker considers that possibility in the light of five notable Lucifer readings:

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 2 Kgs 22:20.5 | οὐκ] > Luc [<i>sic</i>] |
| 2 Kgs 23:1.3 | καί 3 ^ο = MT 2 Chr] εἰς <i>CI</i> 71 244 342 Luc (<i>in</i>) |
| 2 Kgs 23:2.3 | καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετ' αὐτοῦ (2 Chr)] > Luc |
| 2 Kgs 23:3.3 | διαθήκην 2 Chr ^{Hanhart} = MT] + τὴν εὐρεθεῖσαν ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου <i>L</i> Luc |
| 2 Kgs 23:3.16 | διαθήκη] + <i>quod disposuit rex ex libro</i> Luc |

It is best to compare the three text forms in English (references to the book and the covenant underlined):

158. Schenker, “Textgeschichte,” 72: “die Zeremonie oder die Art und Weise des Bundesschlusses.”

159. Schenker, “Textgeschichte,” 71–73.

MT (NRSV)	Rahlfs (Ant) (NETS with modifications)	Lucifer (NETS with modifications)
22:20 "... your eyes shall not see all the disaster that I will bring on this place." ...	"... and there shall not be seen by your eyes among all the evils that I am—I am bringing on this place." (+ and over its inhabitants) ...	"... and your eyes <i>shall</i> see all the evils that I am bringing into this place and over its inhabitants. " ...
23:1 Then the king directed that all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem should be gathered to him.	23:1 And the king (+ Josiah) sent and gathered to himself all the elders of Iouda and Ierousalem.	23:1 And King Josiah sent and gathered to himself all the elders of Iuda <i>in</i> Hierusalem.
2 The king went up to the house of the LORD, and with him went all the people of Judah, all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, ...	2 And the king went up to the Lord's house, and every man of Iouda and all those who dwelt in Ierousalem with him, ...	2 And the king went up to the Lord, and every man of Iuda ...
he read in their hearing all <u>the words of the book of the covenant that had been found in the house of the LORD.</u>	and he read in their hearing all the words of the book of the covenant that had been found in the Lord's house.	> and he read in the ears of the people all <u>the words of the book of the covenant that had been found in the house of the Lord.</u>
3 The king stood by the pillar and made <u>a covenant</u>	3 And the king stood by the pillar and made <u>a (the) covenant (+ that was found in the Lord's house)</u> before the	3 And the king stood by the pillar and made/read the covenant, that was found in the house of the Lord, before the
before the LORD, ...	Lord, ...	Lord, ...
to perform <u>the words of this covenant that were written in this book.</u> All the people joined in the covenant.	to uphold the <u>words of this covenant that were written in this book.</u> And all the people stood firm in the covenant.	to uphold the words of this covenant that were written in this book. And all the people stood firm in the covenant <i>that the king made/read from the book.</i>

Summary of the MT Schenker: "the book" (v. 2) only contains the commandments = words Kauhanen: as "the book of the covenant" the book <i>may</i> contain a ritual of covenant-making as well	Summary of Lucifer Schenker: "the book" that was found (v. 2) contains (the ritual of) the covenant (3) as well as the commandments Kauhanen: identification of "book" and "covenant" → covenant-making "from the book" (3) may be the same thing as "upholding the words of the covenant"
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In considering the relationship between Lucifer and the LXX in this passage, Schenker relies on the Lagardian principle that the forms of text further away from the MT must be regarded as more original as long as it is not proved that such a text form is corrupted or results from literary changes.¹⁶⁰ Schenker observes that Lucifer is alone in readings 20.5, 2.3, and 3.16, and that in 1.3 the Greek attestation to the preposition is very weak. Only in 3.3 is the plus supported by *L* as well as by Lucifer. Since in all these readings Lucifer's text is further away from the MT, and corruption is not likely, Schenker maintains that each of his readings should be considered as the most original attainable reading. Thus, the putative Hebrew back-translation of Lucifer's text represents the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the original LXX. This Hebrew text represents the first "edition" of the narrative and the MT the second.¹⁶¹ Schenker puts forward considerations supporting the conclusion that the differences are not to be attributed to an individual scribe but come from the hand of an editor (*Herausgeber*) and date back to the early Hasmonean period under John Hyrcanus (reigned 134–104 BCE).¹⁶²

I find Schenker's literary-critical argumentation sound. If we had two equal witnesses, one giving the text as in the MT, the other that found in Lucifer's text, it would be reasonable to suggest that the former arose from the latter. My problem with the conclusion is that I do not find Lucifer as a solid witness for any of the five readings cited above: 22:20.5, 23:1.3, 2.3 are easily explained as secondary for contextual and transcriptional reasons (see the analyses above). The plus of τὴν εὐρεθεῖσαν ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου in *L* Luc in 3.3 fits the tendencies of the Lucianic reviser perfectly, and we have already seen that Lucifer may attest a Lucianic recensional reading now and then. That the plus is a recensional addition which Lucifer follows is a simple and straightforward solution. As I see it, most of the argumentation comes down to whether the plus *quod disposuit rex ex libro* in Lucifer in 23:3.16 is held to attest a genuine, ancient Greek reading. If it is, then in the light of it everything else, too, starts to seem noteworthy. It is true that there is no obvious reason for Lucifer to add the clause. A possible reason might be the desire to emphasize the role of the righteous king who has a crucial role in bringing the people back into the covenant—in Lucifer's

160. Schenker explains this principle in more length in *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 2–11.

161. Schenker, "Textgeschichte," 73–75.

162. Schenker, "Textgeschichte," 75–78.

mind, this role should be taken by a righteous emperor who would abolish Arianism and bring the people back to orthodox Christianity. I admit that this is more of a possibility than a comprehensive explanation, but it provides a viable alternative to supposing a now lost Greek and, ultimately, a Hebrew reading that have only been retained in Lucifer's works. I have already observed that, in the light of the readings analysed so far, we can safely regard Lucifer as a good and old witness. We should not become over-confident, though, and build literary- or redaction-critical theories on the basis of his quotations if text-critical explanations offer a sufficiently satisfying solution.

In Chronicles the account of the reading of the book of the Law and the making of the covenant is followed by an account of the Passover celebration (2 Chr 35:1–19). What is told in Kings of Josiah's actions against idolatry (2 Kgs 23:4–20) finds its nearest verbal and conceptual parallel in the Chronicles account of the cleansing of the temple and the Passover celebration by—not Josiah, but—Hezekiah (2 Chr 29–30). There Chronicles gives details that are not found in Kings (2 Kgs 18:3–8). Concerning Josiah's actions, in 2 Chr 34:33 those are summed up concisely: "Josiah took away all the abominations from all the territory that belonged to the people of Israel, and made all who were in Israel worship the LORD their God. All his days they did not turn away from following the LORD the God of their ancestors" (NRSV). Thus, in the following there are no verbal Chronicles parallels to be cited but a reference to a Chronicles verse with thematic parallels will be provided occasionally.

- 2 Kgs 23:4 καὶ ἐνετείλατο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Χελκία τῷ ἱερεὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τῆς δευτερώσεως καὶ τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦ ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ κυρίου πάντα τὰ σκεύη τὰ πεποιημένα τῷ Βααλ καὶ τῷ ἄλσει καὶ πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατέκαυσεν αὐτὰ ἔξω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν σαδημῶθ Κεδρὼν καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸν χοῦν αὐτῶν εἰς Βαιθλ. (Rahlf's)
Et mandavit rex Chelchiae sacerdoti magno et sacerdotibus secundariis et custodientibus Ephod, ut eicerent de domo domini omnia uasa quae fecit ad Baal et Asera et omni militiae caeli. Et combussit illa foras extra Hierusalem in incendio riui Cedron. Et sumpsit cineres illorum et sparsit in riuum et abiit in Bethel. Luc Parc. 7 (207,43–208,48)
 Cf. 2 Chr 29:16 καὶ εἰσῆλθον οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔσω εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου ἀγνίσαι καὶ ἐξέβαλον πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν τὴν εὐρεθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κυρίου καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν οἴκου κυρίου, καὶ ἐδέξαντο οἱ Λευῖται ἐκβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν χειμάρρου Κεδρὼν ἔξω.
 Cf. 2 Chr 30:14 καὶ ἀνέστησαν καὶ καθεῖλαν τὰ θυσιαστήρια τὰ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ πάντα, ἐν οἷς ἐθυμίων (-ωσαν Ra) τοῖς ψευδέσιν, κατέσπασαν καὶ ἔρριψαν εἰς τὸν χειμάρρου Κεδρὼν.

- 2 Kgs 23:4.1 תַּחֲבִיבֵי תְּחִי דְּעֻתְרֻשָּׁעַ [τοῖς δευτερεύουσι L 460; *secundariis* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:4.2 הָיָה תֹּדֶן סְתַבְמוֹן] *Ephod* Luc; > A
Cf. Judg 8:26 סְתַבְמוֹן] *pondus* Luc Reg. 1
Cf. Judg 8:27 עֶפְוֹד] *Ephod* Luc Reg. 1
Cf. 1 Sam 2:28 עֶפְוֹד] *Ephod* Luc *Athan.* 1.10
Cf. 1 Sam 22:18 עֶפְוֹד] *Ephod* Luc *Athan.* 1.14
- 2 Kgs 23:4.3 תּוֹי 1^o Luc (*ut [eicerent]*)] > B 245
- 2 Kgs 23:4.4 הַיְיָוִי נַאֲוִי] οἴκου 93; *domo* Luc
Cf. 2, 3, 6, 7 ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου ... ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου (L) ... ἐξ οἴκου κυρίου ... ἐν
τῷ οἴκῳ κυρίου
Cf. 2 Chr 29:16 εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου ἀγνίσαι καὶ ἐξέβαλον πᾶσαν τὴν
ἀκαθαρσίαν τὴν εὐρεθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κυρίου καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν οἴκου
κυρίου
- 2 Kgs 23:4.5 τὰ πεποιημένα] ἃ ἐποίησαν L 460; *quae fecit* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:4.6 הָיָה תְּחִי דְּעֻתְרֻשָּׁעַ] τῇ Ἀσηρώθ L 460; *Asera* Luc
Cf. 2 Kgs 23:6.1 הָיָה תְּחִי דְּעֻתְרֻשָּׁעַ] τὸ ἄλσος] + τῇ Ἀσηρώθ L 158 460; > Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:4.7 נְבִיִּי דְּנֻמָּא] στρατιᾶ L 460 Luc (*militiae*)
- 2 Kgs 23:4.8 οὐρανοῦ Luc = MT] + καὶ ἐξήγαγον (-γεν 460; ἐξήγον 93) αὐτά L 460
- 2 Kgs 23:4.9 ἔξω] *pr foras* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:4.10 תַּחֲבִיבֵי סַדְמֻמִּי (σαλημῶθ B)] φάραγγι 98^c-379^{m8}; τῷ ἐμπυρισμῷ τοῦ
χειμάρρου L 460 Luc (*incendio rivi*)
Cf. v. 6 εἰς τὸν χειμάρρου Κεδρων καὶ κατέκαυσεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ
Κεδρων
- 2 Kgs 23:4.11 נְשִׂיָּהוּ ἔλαβεν B L 610 246 799 342 460 Luc] ἐκάλεσεν 55; ἔβαλε(ν) *rel*
- 2 Kgs 23:4.12 αὐτῶν] + *et sparsit in riuum et abiit* Luc
Cf. 23:6 καὶ κατέκαυσεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ Κεδρων καὶ ἐλέπτυνεν εἰς
χοῦν καὶ ἔρριψεν (*proiecit* Luc) τὸν χοῦν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν τάφον τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ
λαοῦ
Cf. 23:12 καὶ καθεῖλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κατέσπασεν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἔρριψεν
(*proiecit* Luc) τὸν χοῦν αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν χειμάρρου Κεδρων
- 2 Kgs 23:4.13 Βαθλὴλ] Βεθλὴλ 247 52 121 488 527 55 245 460 707^S Luc

It is uncertain whether the genitive expression תְּחִי דְּעֻתְרֻשָּׁעַ in B for the term for “the priests of the second order” (NRSV, NETS) is a kaige reading (1). Lucifer may attest the dative in L 460, but since he uses the adjective *secundarius* for the Greek participle of the verb δευτερεύω “to be second,” he may have opted for the dative regardless of the underlying Greek. The word סְתַבְמוֹן (2) must mean “doorway” (so *GELS*) or “threshold” in this context. In Judg 8:26, the only other appearance of the word in Lucifer’s

quotations, the context reveals that σταθμός means “weigh” and Lucifer renders it correctly. The word ἐφόδ (or the like), on the other hand, is correctly interpreted three times as *Ephod* by Lucifer (Judg 8:27, 1 Sam 2:28, 22:18). Rendering σταθμός with *Ephod* is the only instance of its kind and it does not seem to serve any purpose. Corruption either in Greek or Latin cannot explain the variation. Perhaps Lucifer thought that σταθμός must be a cultic object since it has to be guarded (τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν τὸν σταθμόν) and comes up with the cultic object closely related to priesthood: the ephod.

In Latin the natural way to render the Greek final τοῦ + inf. construction is *ut* + subjunctive¹⁶³ whereas the Greek infinitive without the article is usually rendered with the Latin infinitive. In variation unit 3, it is reasonable to suppose that Lucifer follows the majority reading with the article; the article has dropped out in B 245 accidentally. It is not impossible that Lucifer’s *domo domini* followed the reading οἴκου κυρίου in MS 93 (4): Lucifer does use the expression *templum domini*, which is the expected rendering for ναός κυρίου, but never in his biblical quotations (*Reg.* 9, 10; *Athan.* 1.34; *Parc.* 6, 7). By contrast, *domus domini* is far more usual and used frequently in the biblical quotations (e.g., vv. 2 and 3 above, vv. 6 and 7 below). Thus, conformation with the usage both in the near context and generally is a sufficient explanation for the readings of both Lucifer and 93 but a genuine agreement cannot be wholly ruled out. Since Latin favours finite expressions, the agreement αἱ ἐποίησαν *quae fecit* between L 460 and Lucifer (5) may be coincidental. Lucifer uses the word *lucus* “grove” for ἄλσος (1 Kgs 16:33 // *Reg.* 6; 18:19, 22 // *Athan.* 1.17; 2 Kgs 21:3, 7 // *Reg.* 8; 23:15 // *Parc.* 7), and therefore it is best to accept that he attests the reading “to Asherah” with L 460 (6).¹⁶⁴ That is probably a contextual conformation with “Baal” and best attributed to the Lucianic reviser.¹⁶⁵ For the analysis of the kaige rendering כּוֹחַ-δύναμις (7) see 2 Kgs 21:3 above. The plus “and they took them outside” in L 460 (8) is a Lucianic explication of the fulfilment of a command—Lucifer does not attest it.¹⁶⁶ By contrast, he adds a small explication: *foras extra Hierusalem* (9).

163. Fischer, “Limitations,” 367 n. 2.

164. Similarly Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 150, who provides no analysis.

165. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 199: “τω αλσει durch τη Ασηρωθ ersetzt.”

166. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 279.

Transliteration of unknown Hebrew words is a kaige feature but not all transliterations come from the kaige revisers.¹⁶⁷ In addition to 2 Kgs 23:4.10, the word מִדְּבָר “field, terrace” is found only in Deut 32:32; Isa 16:8, 37:27; Jer 31:40; and Hab 3:17 with various translations in the LXX. In 2 Kgs 23:4.10 the question is of Wadi Kidron, a fact the translator certainly understood (see v. 6: ἐξήνεγκεν τὸ ἄλσος ... εἰς τὸν χειμάρρουν Κεδρων καὶ κατέκαυσεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ Κεδρων). The words τοῦ χειμάρρου in the *L* reading are probably best explained as conformation with verse 6 by the Lucianic reviser.¹⁶⁸ But the rendering τῷ ἐμπυρισμῷ might be the original reading: the word ἐμπυρισμός “burning” is found once as a rendering for בִּרְפָּא “burning” (Lev 10:6), a word easily confused with מִדְּבָר because of the graphical similarity (*dalet-resh, mem-pe*).¹⁶⁹ Lucifer's support for the *L* reading (*incendium* “burning”)¹⁷⁰ corroborates this claim. The transliteration σαδημωθ may well come from the kaige reviser.¹⁷¹ In variation unit 11, the original reading ἔλαβεν, supported by B, *L*, and Lucifer, has caused transcriptional errors in the manuscripts: ἐκάλεσεν (55), ἔβαλεν (majority).¹⁷²

Lucifer has a curious plus near the end of the verse: “and took their dust *and sprinkled in the stream and went to Bethel*” (12). Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz observe that the notion of sprinkling the ashes of a cultic vessel on the place of its destruction is more in line with what one could expect from Josiah. Nevertheless, they suggest that it is a midrashic

167. Emanuel Tov, “Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament: A Further Characteristic of the *kaige*-Th. Revision?,” *Text* 8 (1973): 85.

168. Cf. Montgomery, *Kings*, 538; and following him, Hobbs, *2 Kings*, 330, who suggests that the entire expression in *L* “appears to have been influenced by the MT of Jer 31:40.”

169. Thus Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 479; Gray, *I and II Kings*, 730. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 293, do not note Klostermann's suggestion, but it is appended there by the editor of the series, Paul Haupt—with or without approval, I cannot tell. Benzinger, *Könige*, 192, notes the suggestion but accepts מִדְּבָר as the better reading. Šanda, *Könige*, 340, uses much space to maintain that Klostermann's suggestion is groundless and that *L* only attests another interpretation of מִדְּבָר.

170. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 150: “in incendio riui Cedron = ... 𐤀.” However, Rahlfs considers the *L* reading a Hebraizing correction: the case is included in his list of “corrections according to the MT and translations of transcribed words” (248).

171. See Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 162–63.

172. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 224, includes the instance in the readings that show that the base text of the Lucianic recension was very near to the B text.

interpretation and probably comes from the Latin translator.¹⁷³ Thematic parallels can be found in verses 6 and 12 where Kidron is associated with sprinkling of the dust of a burnt cultic object, but Lucifer does not use the verb *spargo* “sprinkle” in those contexts. In fact, Lucifer uses that verb only three times and the other two occurrences are not in biblical quotations (*Athan.* 2.25, *Mor.* 14). The choice of verb may be taken as an indication of interpretative translation, but Lucifer has a habit of varying his translation equivalents. If there was a now lost Hebrew expression behind Lucifer’s plus, it probably had the verb *הִפִּיל* *hiphil* “throw, cast” and a Greek translation of such a phrase might have been *καὶ ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸν χεῖμαρρον καὶ ἐπορεύθη. The question arises of how such a phrase could have been lost both in Hebrew and Greek; a parablepsis (from αὐτῶν to *ἐπορεύθη in Greek, from עֲפָרָם to וִי־לֵךְ in Hebrew) is not probable. In line with Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz, I would attribute the plus to either an OL translator Lucifer follows or, more likely, to Lucifer himself.

Lucifer always uses the spelling *Bethel* (13x), and therefore no connection with the Greek reading Βεθλ in variation unit 13 should be supposed.

- 2 Kgs 23:5 καὶ κατέπαυσεν τοὺς χωμαριμ, οὓς ἔδωκαν βασιλεῖς Ιουδα (Rahlfs)
Et conbussit sacerdotes quos constituerant reges Iudae, Luc Parc. 7
 (208,48–49)
- 2 Kgs 23:5.1 תִּבְרַחַתִּי κατέπαυσεν 158] κατέσκαψεν 460; κατέκαυσε(ν) rel Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:6 הִשְׁרִיחַ καὶ κατέκαυσεν] > A 55 (245) 460 Luc (homoiot.)
- 2 Kgs 23:5.2 כְּמָרִים χωμαριμ] pr ἱερεῖς 246; κακοτέρους 106^{sup} lin (vid); χωτους ἱερεῖς
 μαρειμ 158; ἱερεῖς L 799^{mg} 56^{mg} 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:5.3 נָתַן ἔδωκαν] κατέστησαν L 460 Luc (*constituerant*)
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:11 נָתַן ἔδωκαν] ἀνέθηκαν L 460; *posuerant* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:5.4 βασιλεῖς Luc = MT] βασιλεῖ B 328 44 92 55; βασιλεύς A 247 121 488
 245 318

Rahlfs probably chose *κατέπαυσεν* “he put an end,” supported only by 158 (1), as the original reading because *κατέκαυσεν* “he burned” is used as the correct rendering for the Hebrew *הִשְׁרִיחַ* “to burn” in verse 6 and

173. Ant, LII: “It may be a midrashic interpretation on the level of translation. Indeed, because it is the ashes of the instruments of Baal, it is more in keeping with the religious reform of Josias to scatter them in the Kidron stream, where they have just been burned, than to bring them to Bethel, the definitive place of worship” (trans. mine). The case is included in the examples of “singular readings without support in the Septuagintal tradition.”

because κατέκαυσεν is easily explained as a transcriptional error from κατέπαυσεν. That κατέκαυσεν was not the original reading is further suggested by the following variation unit 2 in which ἱερεῖς (L 799^{ms} 56^{ms} [-246] 460 Luc) is probably the original reading: “burning priests” can hardly be what is meant. Barthélemy already suggested that the transliteration χωμαρ(ε)ιμ for the plural of the rare word כֹּמָר “(idol-)priest” (2 Kgs 23:5, Hos 10:5, Zeph 1:4) is a kaige feature.¹⁷⁴ Emanuel Tov notes that the transliteration is found in the Naḥal Ḥever Minor Prophets scroll (8HevXIIgr) too, and the Syrohexapla gives the transliteration as a reading from Theodotion:

Zeph 1:4 עֲשֵׂה-תִּשְׁמֵחַ הַכֹּמָרִים עַם-יְהוּדָה וְכָל הַכֹּמָרִים καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἱερέων] τὸ ὄνομα τῶ[ν
χωμα]ρειμ 8HevXIIgr; θ' των χωμαριμ Syh

If the word כֹּמָר as such was unfamiliar to the translator, the context in 2 Kgs 23:5 requires the word “priest.” Tov reminds us that “transliterations do not necessarily point to *kaige*,” and Sebastian Brock has demonstrated that changing transliterations to translations is one of the tendencies of the Lucianic reviser in 1 Samuel.¹⁷⁵ However, because of the attestation to the transliteration for כֹּמָר in Zeph 1:4 by 8HevXIIgr and Theodotion, it is best to join Barthélemy in accepting it as a kaige feature.¹⁷⁶

The Greek verb δίδωμι is the natural basic rendering for the Hebrew נתן “to give.” The only significant competitor to δίδωμι in Samuel-Kings is its compound παραδίδωμι (22x). Other renderings are isolated instances and do not feature καθίστημι (L in 2 Kgs 23:5.3) or ἀνατίθημι (L in v. 11; never in the whole LXX). While there is a slight difference between the nonkaige and kaige sections (nonkaige: δίδωμι 87 percent of all renderings of נתן, παραδίδωμι 10 percent; kaige: δίδωμι 92 percent, παραδίδωμι 5 percent), the big picture is of little help here. The verb δίδωμι is the preferred rendering even in the quite rare contexts where נתן means “to dedicate, install, ordain” as in 2 Kgs 23:5 and 11. The usage is quite rare, but I managed to locate four other contexts (variants for δίδωμι, if any, are in parentheses):

174. Barthélemy, *Devanciers d'Aquila*, 86.

175. Tov, “Transliterations,” 85 n. 31; Brock, *Recensions*, 253.

176. See Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 157–58.

B and the majority read “and they [i.e., ‘the chomarim’ or, less likely, ‘kings of Iouda’] were making incense offerings in the high places” (NETS) while *L* 460 formulate differently: “the priests, whom kings of Iouda had appointed *to make incense offerings*” (5). This is best attributed to the Lucianic reviser. Lucifer’s subjunctive expression may follow the *L* reading, but some doubt remains since Lucifer may make small improvements to the text himself. Lucifer rectifies the text by reading “in the high places *of the cities of Judah*” (6). Lucifer likely follows *L* in the simpler reading κυκλόθεν “around” (7), but τοῖς περικύκλω “those around” (NETS) is an expression strange enough for Lucifer to change it to a suitable Latin expression. The noun מִסָּב, here in the plural, “surroundings,” is so rare (apart from here only 1 Kgs 6:29[28] מִסָּב κύκλω and Song 1:12 בְּמִסְבּוֹ ἐν ἀνακλίσει αὐτοῦ) that there is no way of knowing if the B reading is a kaige reading. Since Lucifer’s attestation is slightly uncertain and the *L* reading clearly functions better, the safest bet is to accept the B reading as the original.

The logic of the narrative is somewhat different in the B and the *L* texts.

	B (NETS) ≈ MT	<i>L</i> (trans mine. following NETS)	
	And he put an end to (burned B rel) the chomarim whom kings of Iouda had appointed—	And he burned the priests, whom kings of Iouda had appointed	
chomarim (kings?)	and they were making incense offerings in the high places and in the cities of Iouda and those around Ierousalem—and	to make <i>incense offerings</i> in the high places and in the cities of Iouda <i>around</i> Ierousalem	priests
some others?	those who made incense offerings to Baal ...	and they were making incense offerings to Baal ...	priests

L attests the better narrative logic: kings had appointed priests to make incense offerings and, consequently, they—the priests—were making offerings to Baal. The B reading καὶ τοὺς θυμίωντας (8) corresponds more closely to the MT reading אֵת־הַמְּקַטְרִים “those who made offerings,” and thus it might be a kaige reading, but improvement of the narrative logic by the Lucianic reviser is the better explanation here. Again, Lucifer’s attestation for the *L* reading καὶ ἐθυμίων is unclear: he, nevertheless, leaves out the conjunction which may indicate that he has formulated the finite expression *incendebant* himself. Following his tendency, Lucifer omits “and to

the mazouroth” (9) and attests the OG reading with *L* in variation unit 10 (see 21:3 above).

Within this one verse of forty-two words in Rahlfs’s text there are many different kinds of readings in Lucifer’s text and a summary of them will perhaps be instructive (apparatuses reduced):

VU	Readings	OG in:	Reason for secondariness	Lucifer attests:
1	תִּשְׁבֶּה κατέπαυσεν 158] κατέκαυσε(ν) rel Luc	158	error	error
2	כְּחָרִים χωμαριμ] ἱερεῖς <i>L</i> (246) 799 ^{mg} 56 ^{mg} (158) 460 Luc	<i>L</i>	kaige	OG
3	וַתִּנֶּה ἔδωκαν] κατέστησαν <i>L</i> 460 Luc (<i>constituerant</i>)	<i>L</i> (?)	kaige (?)	OG (?)
4	βασιλεῖς Luc = MT] βασιλεῖ B 328 44 92 55	<i>L</i> rel	error	OG
5	וַיִּקְטֹר και ἐθυμῶν] τοῦ θυμῶν <i>L</i> 460; <i>ut incenderent</i> Luc	B	Lucianic	Lucianic?
6	και ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν] <i>ciuitatium</i> Luc	B <i>L</i> rel		own modif.
7	וַיִּחַר תֹּיִס περικύκλω] κυκλόθεν <i>L</i> 460 Luc (<i>circa</i>)	B	Lucianic	Lucianic (?)
8	και τοὺς θυμῶντας] και ἐθυμῶν <i>L</i> 460; <i>incendebant</i> Luc	B	Lucianic	Lucianic?
9	και τοῖς μαζουρωθ] > Luc	B <i>L</i> rel		own modif.
10	אֲבָצָה δυνάμει] στρατιᾶ <i>L</i> 460 Luc	<i>L</i>	kaige	OG

What seems suspicious here is that Lucifer mostly follows *L* in both the original and the recensional readings, that is, we do not see Lucifer agreeing with B against *L* in an original reading here (B Luc = OG ≠ *L*). Lucifer’s attestation to the recensional readings is uncertain in each individual case, but the question arises whether it should be concluded that at least in this verse Lucifer attests a fully developed Lucianic text. Or, on the contrary, should Lucifer’s testimony be counted in favour of the *L* readings and the B readings in variation units 5, 7, and 8 be judged as kaige readings after all? Looking at this verse only, one would be tempted to opt for either solution, but within ten variation units it is possible that the lack of

the readings of the pattern B Luc = OG \neq L is merely by chance. The long quotation must be treated as a unity when making final conclusions, but I wanted to bring up this verse precisely because here the patterns do not follow the general line.

- 2 Kgs 23:6 καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν τὸ ἄλσος ἐξ οἴκου κυρίου ἔξωθεν Ἱερουσαλημ εἰς τὸν χειμάρρουν Κεδρων καὶ κατέκαυσεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ χειμάρρῳ Κεδρων καὶ ἐλέπτυνεν εἰς χοῦν καὶ ἔρριψεν τὸν χοῦν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν τάφον τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ λαοῦ. (Rahlfs)
Et extulerunt de domo domini foras extra Hierusalem in riuum Cedron, et extenuauit cinerem et proiecit in monumentum filiorum plebis. Luc Parc. 7 (208,51–53)
- 2 Kgs 23:6.1 הַשֶּׁחַרְתָּהּ τὸ ἄλσος] + תְּהִי 'Ασηρώθ L 158 460; > Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:4.6 הַשֶּׁחַרְתָּהּ תְּהִי ἄλσει] תְּהִי 'Ασηρώθ L 460; asera Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:6.2 ἔξωθεν] ἔξω τῆς L 460; *foras extra* Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:4.9 ἔξω] *pr foras* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:6.3 Κεδρων 1° ∩ 2° A 55 (245) 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:6.4 רָפָה לְ עֵשׂוֹן] *pr αὐτόν* $d^{-106.125}$; (αὐτόν 125) ὡς χοῦν L 125 460;
cinerem Luc
 Cf. 23:15.7 רָפָה לְ עֵשׂוֹן] ὡς χοῦν L 460; *in puluerem* Luc
 Cf. 2 Sam 22:43, 2 Kgs 13:7, Ps 17:43 (καὶ λεπυνῶ αὐτούς) כַּעֲפָר ὡς χοῦν
- 2 Kgs 23:6.5 καὶ 4° – αὐτοῦ] > 460
- 2 Kgs 23:6.6 τὸν χοῦν αὐτοῦ] > Luc; om αὐτοῦ L 71
- 2 Kgs 23:6.7 τὸν τάφον Luc] τοὺς τάφους L 460

Lucifer probably mixes up the subjects: “[5] [Josiah] burnt **the priests** ... **who had made** incense offerings to Baal ... [6] **and [who had] brought out** [what?] from the house of the Lord outside Jerusalem.” The result makes little sense. Lucifer returns to the correct subject with the singular *extenuavit* “pulverized.” Lucifer leaves out the reference to the grove (1), and thus there are no traces of whether his text might have attested the Lucianic plus “of Aseroth.”¹⁷⁸ In variation unit 2 Lucifer may attest either Greek reading. It is unlikely that Lucifer, despite his shortening tendency, would have consciously left out the words “and burned it in Wadi Kedron” (3); the omission is likely a parablepsis error.

178. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 199, includes the case under Lucianic doublets.

In Hebrew the expression “to do something to someone so that the latter becomes like dust” is construed either with the preposition לְ or בְּ. The LXX appears to follow the Hebrew usage, not a Greek one, since neither εἰς χοῦν, nor ὡς χοῦν is found in Classical Greek. However, the latter (*L* in 23:6.4 and 23:15.7) might represent slightly better Greek: “pulverized (so that it became) as dust,” and consequently that could be a recensional reading. Alternatively, the B reading εἰς χοῦν could be a kaige correction in both instances but there are no other cases that could confirm that conclusion. In Latin the normal usage is *extenuo in*; the verb is never construed with *sicut* or *quasi* (which are the normal renderings for ὡς). Here in 23:6, Lucifer appears to treat “dust/ash” as the direct object of pulverizing (see directly below) which makes it highly uncertain which Greek reading he attests. In 15.7 he, nevertheless, follows B with the preposition *in*, although the rendering for χοῦς is different (*pulvis* “dust, powder”).

Lucifer’s text continues: “he pulverized the ash and threw [what?] out into the grave.” Lucifer does not explicate that anything was burned and thus “ash” appears to be what was pulverized, not the result of the action. Lucifer’s shortening tendency may account for the lack of “(threw) the dust of it” (6)—or the omission is motivated by the lack of “it,” that is, the object brought out from Jerusalem, in Lucifer’s formulation. The Lucianic reviser has changed “the grave” into the plural (7) since there were multiple graves “of the sons of the people.”

- 2 Kgs 23:7 καὶ καθεῖλεν τὸν οἶκον τῶν καθησμι τῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κυρίου, οὓς αἱ γυναῖκες ὑφαινον ἐκεῖ χεττιν τῷ ἄλσει. (Rahlfs)
Et extraxit filios illorum qui erant in domo domini, quorum mulieres officiabantur ibi ad stolas. Luc Parc. 7 (208,53–55)
- 2 Kgs 23:7.1 τὸν οἶκον τῶν καθησμι] *filios illorum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:7.2 οὓς] ἐν ᾧ *L 460 554^{mg}; quorum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:7.3 ὑφαινον] *officiabantur* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:7.4 מִן הָאֵשׁ χεττιν] στολὰς *L 460; ad stolas* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:7.5 τῷ ἄλσει] > Luc

Again, Lucifer departs somewhat from the Greek textual traditions: “And he dragged out **the sons of those who** were in the house of the Lord, **whose wives were occupied with**¹⁷⁹ robes there.” Whatever the reason for

179. See Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Paris: Librairie des Méridiens, 1954): “**officior**, -ari, intr., être occupé à.” Only the pres-

the first change (1), it is unlikely that it reflected a lost Greek variant. Lucifer's *quorum* (2) probably reflects a misreading *ὤν, more likely for οὖ (B) than ἐν ᾧ (L). If *officiabantur* "were occupied" (3) is really a translation for ὑφαινον "were weaving,"¹⁸⁰ it is a curious modification that does not seem to improve the text. Variation units 4 and 5 may be interdependent; Lucifer certainly attests the word στολή "robe" with L but the preposition *ad* looks like a correspondence to the article τῷ that belongs to the word "grove" that Lucifer omits. The general rule is that transliterations are likely to be kaige readings, but here it is not clear whether χεττιν is a transliteration; the Tov-Polak alignment suggests that it might also be a corruption from χιτῶνας,¹⁸¹ which, in turn, might reflect the vocalization יִתְבַּ "garments."¹⁸² There are few inner criteria to choose between the readings here.¹⁸³ But Lucifer's attestation to στολή makes it a slightly better choice for the OG reading.¹⁸⁴

2 Kgs 23:8–9 καὶ ἀνήγαγεν πάντας τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐκ πόλεων Ιουδα καὶ ἐμίανεν τὰ ὑψηλά, οὗ ἐθυμίασαν ἐκεῖ οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἀπὸ Γαβαα καὶ ἕως Βηρσαβεε. καὶ καθεῖλεν τὸν οἶκον τῶν πυλῶν ... [9] ... οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν ὑψηλῶν (Rahlfs)
Et introduxit omnes sacerdotes ex ciuitatibus Iuda et coinquinauit sancta, ubi incendebant sacerdotes a Gabae usque de Rasabe, et detraxit excelsos illorum, et infra: [10] Et coinquinauit Phem ... Luc Parc. 7 (208,55–58)

2 Kgs 23:8.1 ἀνήγαγεν A B 247 CI 121 f o 488 x 244 318 372] ἐξήγαγε(ν) L; εξηγαγων 460; *introduxit* Luc; ἀνήνεγκε(ν) (ηνεγ- V) rel

2 Kgs 23:8.2 πόλεων Luc = MT] πόλεως A 247 19' CI 46' 74-107*-125 488 527 55 244 460 707^S

ent case is given as reference. Used via *Database of Latin Dictionaries*, available at brepolis.net.

180. As suggested by Blaise, see the previous note.

181. "χεττιν {t} {c? χιτῶνας}"

182. BHS apparatus for יִתְבַּ: "dub; frt l יִתְבַּ (arab *battun* vestis)." Kloss-termann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 479, back-translates the L reading as יִתְבַּ. Differently, e.g., Gray, *I and II Kings*, 730: "Reading *kutt^onīm* ... as suggested by G^L ... and the transliteration *chettieim*."

183. Contrast Andrés Piquer, Pablo A. Torijano, and Julio Treballe Barrera, "Septuagint Versions, Greek Recensions and Hebrew Editions: The Text-Critical Evaluation of the Old Latin, Armenian and Georgian Versions in III–IV Regnorum," in *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*, ed. Hans Ausloos et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 268–69 who accept στολᾶς as the OG reading without problematizing whether χεττιν is really a transliteration of a now lost Hebrew reading (Tov-Polak: כְּתִי) or not.

184. Similarly Burney, *Notes*, 359.

- 2 Kgs 23:8.3 τὰ ὑψηλά = MT] pr πάντα L 460; *sancta* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:8.4 οὗ ἐθυμιάσαν ἐκεῖ] *ubi incendebant* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:8.5 עבֶבֶת Γαβαα A L 460 Luc] Γαιβαλ B f; Δαν rel
- 2 Kgs 23:8.6 תִּמְחִי־תִּמְחִי תֹן הֶעָלִי] > Luc
Cf. 2 Kgs 23:13.1 תִּמְחִי־תִּמְחִי תֹן הֶעָלִי] *excelsos* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:8.7 הַשְּׂרָיָה (τῶν) πυλῶν] ὑψηλῶν L 460; *excelsos*¹⁸⁵ *illorum* Luc
Cf. 23:9 תִּמְחִי־תִּמְחִי תֹן הֶעָלִי (Lucifer does not quote)

Curiously enough, Lucifer uses the verb *introduco* (1) to describe what Josiah did to the priests of the cities of Judah. If taken literally as “to bring in” it raises the question where were the priests led in to? If to the Wadi Kidron (v. 6), what for? If, on the other hand, *introduco* means here “to instruct,” it seems like too mild an action compared to what—according to Lucifer’s text—was done in verse 5 (see above): “And he **burned** the priests whom the kings of Judah had appointed to make incense offerings on the high places” (trans. mine). Regardless of the interpretation, it is more likely that Lucifer attests either the B verb ἀνάγω or the majority verb ἀναφέρω rather than the L verb ἐξάγω. The reading πόλεως in A 247 19’ et cetera (2) must be a corruption. The Lucianic reviser has added “**all** the high places” probably in conformation with “all the priests” (3). Lucifer follows the original reading although he uses an unusual rendering *sancta* “sacred (places)” for ὑψηλά, and he tidies up the following expression (4). Rahlfs already noted that Lucifer follows the probably original L reading Γαβαα (5; A L 460).¹⁸⁶ The B reading Γαιβαλ is an *alpha-lambda* corruption from that and Δαν in the majority is conformation with the expression “from Dan to Beer-sheba” elsewhere (e.g., Judg 20:1, 1 Sam 3:20, 2 Sam 3:10, 1 Kgs 4:25).¹⁸⁷

Variation units 6 and 7 are connected: it seems that the LXX translator misread בְּמִוֹת as בֵּית (or there was a copying mistake in the *Vorlage*) and translated it accordingly.¹⁸⁸ The Hexapla probably contained the correct Hebraistic reading *ὑψηλά, which the Lucianic reviser picked up but mis-

185. It should probably be read *excelsa* as in 2 Kgs 21:3 // Reg. 8 since the noun is treated as a neuter.

186. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 151.

187. Similarly Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 294.

188. Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 479, prefers בֵּית; thus also Benzinger, *Könige*, 193, with some reserve.

takenly took as a correction for πυλῶν, not for (τὸν) οἶκον,¹⁸⁹ and changed the case accordingly. Lucifer might actually attest an earlier stage of Hexaplaric correction here: *(τὰ) ὑψηλὰ τῶν πυλῶν which was corrupted to *(τὰ) ὑψηλὰ αὐτῶν (or, less likely, *ἐκείνων) in Lucifer's Greek exemplar or in his own eyes. A similar corruption is much less likely to happen in Latin (*PORTARUM → ILLORUM). Nevertheless, Lucifer attests the Hexaplaric correction with *L* against *B* and the majority.¹⁹⁰ (See also 23:13 below.)

Josiah's Actions around Jerusalem and Bethel (23:10–16)

- 2 Kgs 23:10 καὶ ἐμίανεν τὸν Ταφεθ τὸν ἐν φάραγγι υἱοῦ Εννομ τοῦ διάγειν ἄνδρα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τῷ Μολοχ ἐν πυρί. (Rahlfs)
Et coinquinavit Phem quod erat in Cepenan, quoniam perduxerunt quisque filium suum et filiam suam in igne Moloch. Luc Parc. 7
 (208,57–59)
- 2 Kgs 23:10.1 ἐμίανεν Luc (*coinquinavit*) = MT] μανεῖ τις A 247 121 488
 Cf. 23:13 ἐμίανεν] *polluit* Luc (no Greek variants)
- 2 Kgs 23:10.2 Ταφεθ] Θαφθεθ (vel sim) 247 L 121 488 71 245 460; Θεφθα A; Ταφον
 134 246; *Phem* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:10.3 (Q מִן הַבְּרִיחַ גִּבְרִי מִן הַבְּרִיחַ גִּבְרִי φάραγγι υἱοῦ Εννομ] *Cepenan* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:10.4 τοῦ διάγειν ἄνδρα] *quoniam perduxerunt quisque* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:10.5 διάγειν] pr μὴ L 106^c 158 460 (aliter Luc); cf. MT (רָחַק לְהַתְּרִיחַ)
- 2 Kgs 23:10.6 ἄνδρα 2^a] > L 460 Luc = MT
- 2 Kgs 23:10.7 τῷ Μολοχ / ἐν πυρί A B 247 121 f o 488 55 372] om ἐν πυρί 318; tr rel
 Luc = MT
- 2 Kgs 23:10.8 תְּלִיחַ מִלֹּחַח Luc ≈ MT] Μελχομ L; Μελχολ 243^{mg} 379^{mg} 460 554^{sup lin}
 Cf. 1 Kgs 11:7[5] תְּלִיחַ (καὶ τῷ) βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν B C^{lxt} 509 o x 460] pr
 Μελχόμ (vel sim) 55 318; pr μολοχ 372; Μελχόμ (vel sim) A 247 L C^{lmg}
 CII 121 d 246 s 71 158 244 554 707; μολοχ 245; + μολχομ 342
 Cf. 1 Kgs 11:33.6 מִלֹּחַח βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν Luc] Μελχόμ (V^c) L 246

Lucifer probably attests either Ταφεθ (*B* and majority) or Θαφθεθ (247 *L* etc.) although in a corrupted form *Phem* (2). Corruption is the best explanation for the reading *Cepenan* (← *Gehennam*?¹⁹¹) in variation unit 3 as

189. Similarly Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 210.

190. Thus also Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 294.

191. So in an earlier edition as reported by Diercks: “Pheth quod e. i. Gehennam Gal ex Cotelario, *Const. Apost. II, XXII*.”

well.¹⁹² The B text is probably to be understood as “he defiled Tapheth, ... **which was for a man to conduct** (τοῦ διαγχειν) his son ... to Moloch” (NETS). The Lucianic reviser, however, felt it necessary to add a negation (5) in order to avoid the possible misinterpretation as “he defiled Tapheth **for a man to conduct** his son to Moloch.”¹⁹³ Alternatively, the addition may reflect the MT negation **לֹא־יָבִיחַ**, but I do not find that supposition necessary. Lucifer changes the formulation to “since (there) everyone conducted” (4). That modification would have been less necessary if Lucifer had a text with the negation and thus he may attest the B reading in variation unit 5. The latter word “man” is omitted by *L* 460 (6), either as a Lucianic stylistic improvement or in conformation with the MT. Lucifer may follow, but taking into account his shortening tendency, the agreement is likely only coincidental.

Lucifer follows the majority word order “in fire to Moloch” (7) although doing the transposition independently would be within the limits of Lucifer’s quoting techniques. Since the majority word order conforms with the MT, it is probably a Hexaplaric alteration. Finally, Lucifer reads the name of the god as Moloch with B and the majority (8). Since the *L* text has a tendency to favour the name Milcom (cf. 1 Kgs 11:7, 33), it is best to accept the B reading as original.

In verse 11 Lucifer’s text departs from the LXX in many respects, and therefore it is instructive to give the various text forms in translation in parallel columns. Diercks cites an emendation from Cotelierius’s Latin edition of Apostolic Constitutions and Canons,¹⁹⁴ I have reproduced it from J. P. Migne’s apparatus (PG 1).

192. Similarly Ant, LII. The case is included in the examples of “singular readings without support in the Septuagintal tradition.”

193. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 294: *L* “smooth[s] over.”

194. A brief note on the editions of Apostolic Constitutions and Canons can be found in Marcel Metzger, ed., *Les constitutions apostoliques*, vol. 1, SC 320 (Paris: Cerf, 1985), 75.

195. Du Cange: “Occurrit *Pastorium*, in Gloss. Isidori, in quo esse dicitur *Alviale templi vel safurium*, ubi legendum, *Pastoforium, atriale templi, vel safurium*.” Forcellini: “atrium templi vel sacrificium. Gloss. IV. 571. 14.” Citations from DLD [brepolis.net].

196. Lewis-Short: “a little chapel in a temple where the image of a god was preserved and his servants abode”; Stelten: “room adjoining the temple, sacristy, place for sacred vessels.” DLD.

2 Kgs 23:11 NETS (MT)	Lucifer, <i>Parc.</i> 7 (my trans.)	Apos. Con. 2.57 (PG ^{APP} 1:725a; my trans.)
And he put an end to the horses that the kings of Iouda had dedicated to the sun, in the entrance of the Lord's house, by the treasury of Nathan, the king's eunuch, in pharourim (precincts), and he burned the chariot of the sun with fire. [+ in the house of On that the kings of Israel had built; a high place for Baal and all the host of heaven. <i>L</i> 328 460]	> > ... The kings of Iuda had set for the sun from the entrance of the house of the Lord to the <i>pastorium</i>, ¹⁹⁵ for (?) whom he set three horses, that were in Faradin, and the source (?) of the sun he burned in fire in the house of the house, that the kings of Israel had built on that high place for Baal and all the host of heaven.	And he put aside the horses that the kings of Juda had set for the Sun from the entrance of the house of the Lord to the <i>pastophorium</i> ¹⁹⁶ of (?) Nathan, the king's eunuch, who was in Pharurim.
2 Kgs 23:11	καὶ κατέπαυσεν τοὺς ἵππους, οὓς ἔδωκαν βασιλεῖς Ἰουδα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ οἴκου κυρίου εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον Ναθαν βασιλέως τοῦ εὐνούχου ἐν φαρουριμ, (Rahlfs) <i>Posuerant reges Iuda soli ab introitu domus domini ad pastorium, quos</i> (= Diercks; <i>quae VG</i>) <i>posuit tres equos, qui in Faradin, Luc Parc. 7</i> (208,59–61) ... loco miseris modis accepto; mutilatione, corruptione, transpositione afflicto, ... Unde hunc fere in modum possunt concinnari: <i>Et deposuit</i> (<i>combussit al</i>) <i>equos quos posuerant reges Iuda Soli ab introitu domus</i> <i>Domini ad pastophorium Nathan (quod posuit al) regis eunuchi (-chus</i> <i>al), qui in Pharurim [vel Farvadin] PG^{APP} 1:725a</i>	
2 Kgs 23:11.1	καὶ κατέπαυσεν τοὺς ἵππους οὓς] > Luc ¹⁹⁷ (cf. 11.6 below)	
2 Kgs 23:11.2	וַיִּבֶן ἔδωκαν] ἀνέθηκαν <i>L</i> 460; <i>posuerant</i> Luc Cf. 2 Kgs 23:5 וַיִּבֶן ἔδωκαν] κατέστησαν <i>L</i> 460 Luc (<i>constituerant</i>)	
2 Kgs 23:11.3	βασιλεῖς Luc = MT] βασιλεῖ 44 92; βασιλεύς A <i>CI</i> 707 ^S Cf. 2 Kgs 23:5.4 βασιλεῖς Luc = MT] βασιλεῖ B 328 44 92 55; βασιλεύς A 247 121 488 245 318	

197. Diercks: “*post Moloch Hart asteriscis lacunam indic.*” = “after the word *Moloch* Hartel indicates a lacuna with asterisks.”

- 2 Kgs 23:11.4 ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ] *ab introitu* Luc = Apos. Con. 2,57
- 2 Kgs 23:11.5 ἕξ εἰς] πρὸς *L* 460 Luc (*ad*) = Apos. Con. 2,57
- 2 Kgs 23:11.6 Ναθαν βασιλέως τοῦ εὐνούχου¹⁹⁸] *quos (quae VG) posuit tres equos*
([*a*)*equas VG*) *qui* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:11.7 מִן־פָּרָדִין פֶּאֶרְוּרִימ (vel sim)] *Faradin* Luc; Hex.: του φρουρου¹⁹⁹
παρεδωκαν οι περι σ' 554 (Brooke-McLean)

It is evident that something is missing in Lucifer's text since it appears to lack the main clause (1). The edition by Hartel placed some asterisks at the beginning to mark a lacuna, but Diercks does not explicitly state that something is missing. However, Lucifer²⁰⁰ must have read the notion of the "horses" somewhere since he introduces them later in the verse (6). There, it is unlikely that the reading originated in any regular corruption.²⁰¹ Probably the best explanation is that the curious reading "for(?)²⁰² whom he set three horses" is a slightly corrupted form from "and he put an end to the horses" at the beginning of the verse: *κατεπαυσεν τους ιππους* is read as or corrupted to **κατεστηεν τρεις ιππους* and *quos (quae* in the manuscripts) is added to provide the double accusative needed with the verb *pono*. Why the clause was moved and how the clause "Nathan, the king's

198. This is the actual word order of the B text which *L* changes to εὐνούχου τοῦ βασιλέως "Nathan, the eunuch of the king." Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 210, observes that the *L* reading is a necessary emendation for the "sinnlose" translation in B; the Hebrew name is מֶלֶךְ־נָתָן "Nathan-melech."

199. Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 480, reports this reading as φρούριον "fort."

200. In this verse the difficulties with Lucifer's text are particularly complex: they may originate more or less at any point of the textual transmission. For the sake of brevity and clarity, I proceed here from the assumption that Lucifer made the modifications during quoting and translating, but in the following "Lucifer" can be replaced with "the copyist who produced Lucifer's Greek exemplar," "a putative Latin translator whose work Lucifer used," or "a copyist of the Latin text, whether biblical or of Lucifer's works."

201. A putative Greek *Vorlage* for Lucifer's reading might be **ους κατεστηεν τρεις ιππους*, which is unlikely to be a corruption from *ναθαν βασιλεως του ευνουχου* (common elements underlined). A Latin translation from the latter could be **NATHAN REGIS EUNUCHI* and that—or **NATHAN SERVI REGIS* or **NATHANMELECH EUNUCHI*—cannot be corrupted to *QUOS POSUIT TRES EQUOS*.

202. The verb *pono* is regularly construed only with the accusative (or *in* + acc. or *in* + abl.), and thus either *quos* (with "kings" as the probable correlate) or *equos* can be the indirect object of the verb. In the latter, more unlikely, case the translation would be "whom (the kings) he set for three horses."

eunuch” was omitted remains open. The emendations for Lucifer's text in the Migne apparatus of Apostolic Constitutions and Canons are of little help since they merely rely on the Greek text.

Lucifer likely supports the *L* reading ἀνέθηκαν (2). That might be the original reading if rendering 𐤀𐤍 constantly with δίδωμι is accepted as a kaige feature (see 23:5 above). The “kings” must be the subject of the verb ἔδωκαν/ἀνέθηκαν and therefore in the nominative plural (B, majority, and Lucifer in variation unit 3); the other readings are corruptions from βασιλεῖς. In Lucifer's reading (“**from** the entrance of the house of the Lord **to the *pasto(pho)rium*/treasury**” 4, 5), the mention of the entrance belongs to Josiah's action (“he removed them from the entrance”), not to that of “the kings.” In the latter instance the Latin witnesses appear to follow the *L* reading πρὸς, which is the usual rendering for the preposition 𐤏𐤍 in Samuel-Kings (728x). The B reading εἰς, on the other hand, is used often in appropriate contexts (146x). There is only a slight difference in the usage between the nonkaige and kaige sections (nonkaige: πρὸς 337x, εἰς 80x; kaige: πρὸς 391x, εἰς 66x) and that can be attributed to the requirements of the context. Since it is unlikely that the kaige reviser produced the reading εἰς here, it is best to attribute πρὸς to the Lucianic reviser. In variation unit 7, Lucifer reads *Faradin* for φαρουριμ or the like in the Greek witnesses. I find it improbable that this went back to a *resh-dalet* confusion in Hebrew.

- 2 Kgs 23:11 καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ ἡλίου κατέκαυσεν πυρί. (Rahlfs)
et fontem solis combussit in igne in domo domus, quam aedificauerunt reges Israel excelso illi Baal et omni militiae caeli. Luc Parc. 7 (208,61–63)
Et fontem solis combussit in igne. PG^{app} 1:725a
- 2 Kgs 23:11.8 ἄρμα] *fontem* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:11.9 πυρί] pr ἐν 247 *L* 328 121 610 64^c pr m-381 130-488 x⁻⁵²⁷ 318 372 460
 Luc = MT
- 2 Kgs 23:11.10 fin] + ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἸΩν δὲ ὠκοδόμησαν βασιλεῖς Ἰσραὴλ ὑψηλὸν τῷ Βαάλ
 καὶ πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ *L* 328 460 Luc
 10.1 ἸΩν] *domus* Luc; > 82 328 460
 10.2 ὄν Luc] > 93 460
 10.3 Ἰσραήλ Luc] > 460
 10.4 ὑψηλὸν τῷ Βαάλ] *excelso* (-*sos* VG) *illi baal* Luc

Lucifer's *fontem* (*fons* “spring, source”; 8) cannot be a translation of ἄρμα “chariot”; probably the Greek word was lost, which might be taken as further evidence that Lucifer's Greek exemplar happened to be partly blurred

or broken in this verse.²⁰³ However, *fons* is probably not the word one would guess here: “sun” must be a statue or image of the sun-god that was drawn around in the chariot, and if one did not know about the chariot, one could guess something that relates to an image: base, garments, or vessels. One wonders whether *fundus* “base, foundation” or *fundamentum* is meant, but no such emendation is proposed by Diercks. In variation unit 9, the preposition ἐν is probably original; in addition to its wide attestation (including Lucifer) it is what is expected. While it could be a correction according to the Hebrew, it is more likely that it was dropped out in the B text because of haplography: κατέκαυσεν ἐν.

At the end of the verse, Lucifer attest the plus “in the house of On that the kings of Israel had built; a high place for Baal and all the host of heaven” in *L* 328 460 (10). There is an analysis on this plus by Schenker, who makes the following observations:

1. The underlying Hebrew *Vorlage* at the beginning of the plus was בְּבֵית בֵּית־אֵוֹן אֲשֶׁר.²⁰⁴ The translator did not recognize the proper noun Beth-Aven (transcribed as Βαιθων in Josh 18:12; 1 Sam 13:5, 14:23) and reproduced the text as ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ *οἴκου Ὡν ὅν. The *L* text missed the word οἴκου (attested now only by Lucifer’s *domus*; 10.1) because of a transcriptional error. Lucifer—or a Latin translator—missed the name Ὡν, either transcriptionally (as probably happened in 82 328 460) or because the name was unfamiliar to him.
2. Lucifer’s reading *excelso* (10.4) results from a corruption from ὑψηλόν to *ὑψηλῷ. The accusative is original, since the underlying Hebrew בְּמָה must be taken as an apposition to the previous expression: “in the sanctuary of Beth-On that the kings of Israel had built *as* a high place.” Schenker suggests that Lucifer’s *excelso illi Baal* should be interpreted as “the high Baal” (“höchsten Baal”), but I find it more natural that *excelso* is a locative ablative: “kings of Israel had built **on that** high place for Baal.”

203. The word *ἄρμα* can hardly be corrupted to *πηγήν, the natural Greek counterpart for Lucifer’s *fontem*.

204. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 69–70. Schenker does not produce the complete Hebrew retroversion (“ohne Schwierigkeit ins Hebräische rückübersetzbar”) but explains some of its features; what is given here is my retroversion.

3. A redactor would not have added a sentence that suggests the existence of an Israelite temple (בְּבֵית אֱלֹהִים) of Baal and heavenly deities. Accordingly, the plus must belong to the original text.²⁰⁵

If, following Schenker, we accept the plus as the original reading of both the Hebrew text and the LXX, it is easy to explain the minus as kaige correction.

- 2 Kgs 23:12 καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος τοῦ ὑπερώου Ἀχαζ, ἃ ἐποίησαν βασιλεῖς Ἰουδα, καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια, ἃ ἐποίησεν Μανασσης ἐν ταῖς δυσὶν αὐλαῖς οἴκου κυρίου, (Rahlfs)
Et sacraria erant supra aedificia superiorum Ahas quae fecerit rex Iuda et sacraria quae fecit Manasses in duobus aedificiis domus domini, (detraxit rex) Luc Parc. 7 (208,63–65)
- 2 Kgs 23:12.1 רָשָׁהּ תָּא 2°] ἃ ἦν L 460; *erant* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:12.2 τοῦ δώματος τοῦ ὑπερώου = MT] τῶν δωμαίων τῶν (> 460) ὑπερώων L 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:12.3 ἃ ἐποίησαν / βασιλεῖς Ἰουδα Luc = MT] *tr* L 460
- 2 Kgs 23:12.4 ἐποίησαν] ἐποίησεν B 242-328 56* 71 460 Luc; ἐποίησεν Ἀχάζ L
- 2 Kgs 23:12.5 βασιλεῖς = MT] βασιλεῖ 44 71; βασιλεύς B Luc; βασιλέως L 328 460
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:11.3 βασιλεῖς Luc = MT] βασιλεῖ 44 92; βασιλεύς A CI 707^S
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:5.4 βασιλεῖς Luc = MT] βασιλεῖ B 328 44 92 55; βασιλεύς A 247 121 488 245 318
- 2 Kgs 23:12.6 δυσὶν] δύο L 460; *duobus* Luc; > 342
- 2 Kgs 23:12.7 αὐλαῖς] *aedificiis* Luc
 Cf. above δώματος] δωμαίων L 460; *aedificia* Luc

It is unlikely that Lucifer followed the *L* reading ἃ ἦν (1): Lucifer needs the verb *erant* “(sanctuaries) were” because of the normal Christian Latin usage and if he attested the *L* reading he could hardly have dropped out the relative pronoun. The pronoun is actually needed; Lucifer’s sentence is somewhat clumsy since the verb “pulled down” (see 23:12.8 below) now only has the latter sanctuaries as its object: “There were sanctuaries ... that the king of Iuda had made; and sanctuaries that Manasses had made ... the

205. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 69–70. Similarly F. Crawford Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the Translation of Aquila from a MS. Formerly in the Geniza at Cairo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), 28–29. Differently Burney, *Notes*, 360; Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 295: “senseless addition.”

king pulled down.” Before turning to variation units 2–5, it is appropriate to write out the three different text forms:

Rahlfs καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος τοῦ ὑπερώου Ἀχαζ, ἃ ἐποίησαν (-σεν B etc.) βασιλεῖς (-λεὺς B) Ἰουδα,	Ant καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια ἃ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν δωμαίων τῶν ὑπερώων Ἀχάζ βασιλέως Ἰούδα, ἃ ἐποίησεν Ἀχάζ,	Lucifer, <i>Parc. 7</i> <i>Et sacraria erant</i> <i>supra aedificia</i> <i>superiorum Achas</i> <i>quae fecerit</i> <i>rex Iuda</i>
And the altars on the roof of the upper chamber of Achaz, which the kings (king B) of Iouda had made, (NETS)	And the altars that were on the roofs of the upper edifices of Achaz, king of Iouda , which Achaz had made , (my trans. following NETS)	And there were altars on the roofs of the upper chambers of Achas, which the king of Iuda had made , (my trans. following NETS)

Rahlfs follows the MT in every detail. According to it, several kings (B: one king; 5) had made altars on the roof of a specific upper chamber that was associated with the name Ahaz. In the *L* text it is king Ahaz alone (4) who had made the altars on the many roofs of his many upper chambers (2). The expression “kings of Iouda” has become an epithet for Ahaz via a transposition (3) and a switch of the number (5). Lucifer’s text is in between the two: the roofs as well as the upper chambers are in the plural in accordance with the Antiochian text (2), but Ahaz is not called a king and it is *one* (as in B) king that made all the altars (5). There are good grounds for suggesting that Lucifer attests the oldest form of the text here:²⁰⁶

1. In variation unit 2 the change is more likely to happen from the plural to the singular: only one upper chamber of Ahaz is the more natural expression and the singular corresponds to the MT (עַל־הַגֹּת עֲלִית אַחָז). The *Vorlage* might be reconstructed as עַל גֹּת עֲלִית.

206. This appears to be at least partly in agreement with Schenker, who speaks here about an “Antiochian LXX” (*Älteste Textgeschichte*, 72), probably implying that he finds the *L* form here the original one. It appears that the *L* text provides here “the Greek text form” (“die im Griechischen erhaltene Form”) that is “more original than the MT” (73).

2. Since Ahaz is one of the noteworthy idolater kings of Judah (2 Kgs 16), the Lucianic reviser naturally assumed that he is the one who erected the roof altars. This, however, is not mentioned in 2 Kings 16, although it is said that Ahaz did make some changes in the arrangements of the temple area (vv. 10–20). Schenker, referring to Barthélemy, points out that the Ahaz here may be someone else and his upper chamber was in a private house either in the temple area or in the palace.²⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the assumption of King Ahaz motivates the reviser to transpose the expressions “had made” and “king(s)” (3). This hypothesis is made more likely if we assume that the Lucianic reviser had a text with “king” in the singular as in B and Lucifer’s text: the king must be Ahaz who is mentioned just now and thus it is appropriate to combine the name and the epithet. The name is repeated after the verb “had made” (4) in order to make sure that the subject of that verb is not Josiah.
3. If we assume that the singular “king” in B and Lucifer (4, 5) is original, the change to the plural is easy to attribute to the kaige revision. That some witnesses besides B have retained the singular verb²⁰⁸ might be taken as a weak hint in favour of that. In this instance, B has escaped that revisional change.²⁰⁹ On the Hebrew level, the change is more likely to happen from the singular (the putative LXX *Vorlage*) to the plural (MT): an anonymous “king of Judah” is an odd expression and better changed to the plural.
4. To conclude, my reconstruction of the original Greek here is as follows (changes vis-à-vis Rahlfs in bold): *καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια τὰ ἐπὶ **τῶν δωμάτων τῶν ὑπερώων** Ἀχάζ, ὃ ἐποίησεν βασιλεὺς Ἰούδα. Lucifer follows that with only a minor change (see 12.1 above).

207. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 72–73; Dominique Barthélemy, *Josué, Juges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chroniques, Esdras, Néhémie, Esther*, vol. 1 *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, OBO 50.1 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 419.

208. The combinations of readings, apart from L 460 that attest the transposition, are as follows: ἐποίησαν βασιλεῖς majority; ἐποίησαν βασιλεῖ 44; ἐποίησεν βασιλεῖς (sic) 242-56*; ἐποίησεν βασιλεὺς B; ἐποίησεν βασιλεῖ 71; ἐποίησεν βασιλέως 328.

209. It must be noted, in addition, that there is the possibility of a transcriptional error between βασιλειc and βασιλεuc; B may attest the original reading secondarily. Montgomery, *Kings*, 540, suggests that corruption happened from the plural to the singular in the word “king” and that led to the change of number in the verb.

- 2 Kgs 23:12 καὶ καθεῖλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κατέσπασεν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἔρριψεν τὸν χοῦν αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν χειμάρρου Κεδρων. (Rahlf's)
detraxit rex et expulit illa inde et proiecit cineres illorum in riuo Cedron.
 Luc *Parc.* 7 (208,65–66)
- 2 Kgs 23:12.8 (ⲕⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲑⲉῖⲗⲉⲛ) ⲕⲁⲓ καθεῖλεν] et καὶ κατέσπασεν tr *L* 460; *detraxit ... et expulit* Luc
 Cf. 23:7 καθεῖλεν] *extraxit* Luc
 Cf. 23:8 καθεῖλεν] *detraxit* Luc
 Cf. 21:3.3 κατέσπασεν] κατέσκαψεν *A L* 460; *destruxerat* Luc
 Cf. 23:15.6 κατέσπασεν] καθεῖλε(ν) *L* 460; *detraxit* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:12.9 καθεῖλεν Luc] + αὐτά *L* 460
- 2 Kgs 23:12.10 κατέσπασεν] + αὐτά *L* 460 Luc ([*expulit*] *illa*)
- 2 Kgs 23:12.11 ἐκεῖθεν Luc = MT] + καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτὰ καὶ συνέτριψε(ν) *L* 328 460
- 2 Kgs 23:12.12 καὶ ἔρριψεν Luc] > 19'

In variation unit 8, the Antiochian text reads the verbs in reverse order: “the king also tore down and pulled down from there” (NETS). Lucifer regularly renders the verb *καθαίρω* (B; 8) with either *extraho* (2 Kgs 23:7 // *Parc.* 7), *detraho* (2 Kgs 23:8 // *Parc.* 7), or *destruo* (1 Macc 2:25, 45 // *Parc.* 12, 14; 2:45 // *Conv.* 9). In all the three cases where Lucifer may attest the verb *κατασπάω* in the B text, a variant is found in *L* (see the readings above). Thus, there is no conclusive evidence to determine a standard rendering for either of the Greek verbs. The verb *expello* is found in five other biblical quotations and it renders *ἐκβάλλω* (Luke 13:28 // *Athan.* 2.13), *ἐξουθενέω* (1 Sam 16:1 [B] // *Athan.* 1.13, *Parc.* 4, *Reg.* 2) or *ἀπωθέω* (1 Sam 16:1 [L]), and *ἐξωθέω* (Ps 36[35]:13 // *Athan.* 1.24). It seems likely that here in 2 Kgs 23:12.8 Lucifer chose the verb *expello* to get two suitable verbs for the two nearly synonymous Greek verbs. It is fitting that the more unusual rendering comes in the second place. It is best to leave which word order Lucifer attests open.

In Lucifer's text the “sanctuaries that Manasses had made in the two edifices of the house of the Lord” are most naturally taken as the object of the verb *detraxit* “pulled down.” Therefore Lucifer does not need a pronoun in connection with the first verb (9). In the Greek text, by contrast, καὶ καθεῖλεν begins a new clause and thus the verbs καθεῖλεν and κατέσπασεν (in whichever order) are left without an explicit object. The Lucianic reviser has avoided the clumsiness by adding αὐτά after both verbs (9, 10). Since in Lucifer's text the words *et expulit illa inde* start a new clause, an object is in order (10). Is this an agreement between *L* and Lucifer? If it is, then Lucifer must have omitted the first αὐτά (9) because

of the different division of the clauses. While this is possible, I find it more likely that Lucifer is following the B text in this respect and has added *illa* himself.

The plus “and he brought them out and pulverized” (11) is a clear Lucianic addition: since at the end of the verse it is reported that the “dust” of the altars was thrown “into the Wadi Kedron,” it is necessary that the altars are brought out of the city and pulverized.²¹⁰ The omission of καὶ ἔρριψεν in the Lucianic subgroup 19' (12) is caused by the addition: it is a parablepsis from συνέτριψεν to ἔρριψεν.

- 2 Kgs 23:13 καὶ τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον Ἱερουσαλημ τὸν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Μοσσαθ, ὃν ᾠκοδόμησεν Σαλωμων βασιλεὺς Ἰσραηλ τῇ Ἀστάρτη προσοχθίσματι Σιδωνίων καὶ τῷ Χαμῶς προσοχθίσματι Μωαβ καὶ τῷ Μολχοῦ βδελύγματι υἱῶν Ἀμμων, ἐμίανεν ὁ βασιλεὺς. (Rahlfs)
Et excelsos quae fecerant a facie Hierusalem, quod erat in dextro montis Amissa, quod aedificavit Salomon rex Astarte²¹¹ simulacro Sidoniorum et Camos idolo et Mulcro simulacro filiorum Ammon, polluit rex. Luc Parc. 7 (208,66–70)
- 2 Kgs 23:13.1 רָשָׁא תִּמְבֹּחַתָּא τὸν οἶκον τόν (> A 530)] *excelsos quae fecerant* Luc: cf. MT; *excelsa quoque quae erant* Vg.
 Hex. α' σὺν τὰ ὑψώματα ἃ Z₃²¹²
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:8.6 תִּמְבֹּחַתָּא τὸν οἶκον] > Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:8.7 רָשָׁא (τῶν) πυλών] ὑψηλῶν L 460; *excelsos illorum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:13.2 ἐπὶ πρόσωπον] ἐπὶ προσώπου L o 246 245 460; *a facie* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:13.3 τόν 3^o B L 71 158 460] *quod erat* Luc; > rel
- 2 Kgs 23:13.4 תִּהְיֶה מוֹסָאθ Μοσσαθ] Αμεσσοάθ (vel sim) L 460; *Amissa* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:13.5 Σαλωμων βασιλεὺς Luc] tr 44-107-610 55
- 2 Kgs 23:13.6 Ἰσραηλ = MT] > d⁻¹⁰⁶ 55 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:13.7 רָשָׁא προσοχθίσματι 1^o = α' Z₃] βδελύγματι L; *simulacro* Luc
 Cf. below: תְּחִיבָה ... רָשָׁא προσοχθίσματι 2^o ... βδελύγματι = α' Z₃] *idolo* ... *simulacro* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:13.8 Μωαβ] > Luc

210. Somewhat similarly Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 295. Differently Klostermann, *Samuelis und Könige*, 480, who, on the basis of the L reading, recommends reading *רָשָׁא instead of רָשָׁא of the MT.

211. altare G

212. Z₃ = Brooke-McLean siglum for the Cairo Genizah palimpsest fragments, edited by Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings*.

2 Kgs 23:13.9 מִלְּחָם [Μολχολ] Μολόχ (vel sim) L 489 460 707^S; *Mulcro* Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:10.8 מִלְּחָם [Μολοχ Luc] Μελχόμ L; Μελχόλ 243^{mg}-739^{mg} 460
 554^{sup} lin

2 Kgs 23:13.10 ἐμίανεν] *polluit* Luc
 Cf. 23:10.1 ἐμίανεν Luc (*coinquinauit*)] μιανεῖ τις A 247 121 488

Lucifer is alone in the reading “high places that they had made” against “the house that (Solomon had built for Astarte)” (1). It is noteworthy that the reading follows the MT reading “the high places that (were)”;²¹³ only a predicate *fecerant* is supplied as required by Christian Latin usage (cf. *erant* Vg.). It would be tempting to suggest that Lucifer attests a now lost Greek reading *(τὰ) ὑψηλὰ ἄ, which was the original translation of the MT-like reading of the *Vorlage*.²¹⁴ However, the reading τὸν οἶκον τὸν of all the LXX manuscripts cannot be explained as inner-Greek corruption: the change from “high places” to “house” has to take place in Hebrew: הבמות → הבית (omission of *mem* and *yod* for *vav*). Moreover, the reading *excelsos* looks conspicuous in the light of the following qualifications (τὸν ἐκ δεξιῶν ... δὲν ὠκοδόμησεν Σαλωμων *quod erat in dextro* ... *quod aedificavit Salomon*) since they presume a singular correlate. In light of what was observed above in 23:8, I cautiously suggest that here, as there, Lucifer attests Hexaplaric correction since there would be little reason for Lucifer himself to change “house” to “high places” here.²¹⁵

The general rule is that ἐπί + acc. expresses motion upon or on to something while ἐπί + gen. is a static expression. In variation unit 2, the

213. Similarly Ant, LII, where the case is included in the examples of “singular readings without support in the Septuagintal tradition”: “It is not necessary that [Lucifer] had used a different *Vorlage* as the translation corresponds to the Hebrew text and is corroborated by the translation of Aquila.”

214. Cf. Ant, which observes that Lucifer’s reading corresponds to the MT but do not offer a hypothesis about its origin: “No es preciso recurrir a *Vorlage* distinta pues dicha traducción se ajusta al texto hebreo y está corroborada por la traducción de Aquila.” Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, 295, without referring to Lucifer’s reading, raise the question, “whether the original text was not וָאֵת הַבְּמֹתָהוּ.”

215. One might ask if Lucifer had somehow disliked the notion of a temple of Astarte build by Solomon near Jerusalem. Solomon is mentioned by name 30x in Lucifer’s works but never in a particularly positive light: Solomon possesses authority as the author of Proverbs and Wisdom (see esp. *Athan.* 1.25–33), but his idolatry is not played down the least bit in *Reg.* 3–4 (see 1 Kgs 11:14 and 11:29–38 above). Thus, it seems inconceivable that Lucifer changed the “house” to “high places” in order to diminish Solomon’s guilt.

latter is attested by *L* together with a few other witnesses, probably recensionally. Lucifer's *a facie* normally corresponds to ἀπὸ προσώπου. Since *a facie* means "out/away from" rather than "in front of" or "facing" (NJB: "the high places facing Jerusalem"), it is possible that Lucifer misread ἀπὸ instead of ἐπὶ. Even so he does not need to attest the Greek genitive, since that is, regardless, the case required by ἀπό. Thus Lucifer's testimony is best dismissed. Regarding the third accusative article τόν (3), Lucifer's relative expression probably follows B *L* 71 158 460 in attesting it. Lucifer follows the form Αμεσσοάθ (vel sim) in *L* 460 (4),²¹⁶ although in a simplified or corrupted form *Amissa*. The underlying Hebrew expression מְשִׁחָה "destruction" appears three times in Samuel (1 Sam 13:17, 14:15; 2 Sam 24:16) rendered with a participle of the verb διαφθείρω. In Kings, the present case is the only instance. While the verb שחח "to destroy" was certainly familiar to the translator of Kings (rendered with διαφθείρω in 2 Kgs 8:19, 13:23, 18:25 [2x], 19:12), it is possible that here he decided that מְשִׁחָה should be treated as a proper noun, probably since the place name certainly was unfamiliar: it is not attested anywhere else.²¹⁷ In any case, the form Μωσαθ retained in B is probably the original one, as Αμεσσοάθ corresponds slightly better to the MT. Both the manuscripts of group *d* and Lucifer are known for their habit of shortening the text and therefore their agreement in omitting Ισραηλ (6) is probably coincidental. The omission of Μωαβ in Lucifer (8) witnesses the same habit.

The expressions for "abomination" are rather rare in Samuel-Kings. Outside the present case the Hebrew word קִיּוֹשׁ is found three times, rendered with εἶδωλον (*GELS*: "manually crafted object of worship") in the nonkaige section (1 Kgs 11:5, 7; no variants) and with προσόχθισμα (*GELS*: "object of intense dislike") in 2 Kgs 23:24 (kaige-section; no significant variants). This observation makes it seem that προσόχθισμα in B and the majority (7) is indeed a kaige rendering.²¹⁸ However, the putative OG rendering of the *L* text is not εἶδωλον, as one would expect, but βδέλυγμα (*GELS*: "what is abominable, loathsome"). While that word is never found as a rendering for קִיּוֹשׁ in Samuel-Kings, it is the most usual rendering in other parts of

216. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 151: "*Amissa* = Αμεσσωθ ο. ä. 62."

217. BHS^{app} mentions the suggestion that מְשִׁחָה is a corruption from מְשִׁחָה, "anointing," ostensibly a late designation for the Mount of Olives. NJB translates accordingly: "to the south of the Mount of Olives."

218. The same rendering is found here in Aquila in the Cairo Genizah palimpsest fragments (Z₃).

the LXX (e.g., Jer 4:1, 7:30, 13:27, 16:18; Ezek 5:11; 11:18, 21; 20:7, 8, 30). There is no reason why the translator of 2 Kings could not have used it too. On the other hand, βδέλυγμα is the preferred rendering in Samuel-Kings for תַּעֲבֹדָה, a more or less synonymous word with קִרְשָׁן appearing later in the same context in 2 Kgs 23:13 (no Greek variants). It is found four times elsewhere in Samuel-Kings, always rendered with βδέλυγμα (1 Kgs 14:24; 2 Kgs 16:3, 21:2, 11; no significant variants).²¹⁹ Lucifer in all likelihood attests the *L* reading in 2 Kgs 23:13.7 since later in the same verse he represents προσόχθισμα with *idolum* “image, idol” (elsewhere *religio*: 1 Kgs 11:33 // *Reg.* 4, 16:32 // *Reg.* 6) and βδέλυγμα with *simulacrum* “figure.”²²⁰ The latter rendering is found once elsewhere (2 Kgs 21:11 // *Reg.* 8), although otherwise Lucifer renders βδέλυγμα with *abominatio* (Deut 25:16 // *Athan.* 1.8, 32:16 // *Parc.* 23; 2 Kgs 21:2 // *Reg.* 8; 1 Macc 1:57[54 LXX] // *Parc.* 12; Prov 11:1 // *Athan.* 1.26, 29:27 // *Athan.* 1.30), *exterminatio* (Jer 2:7 // *Conv.* 8), or *idolum* (1 Kgs 11:33 // *Reg.* 4). The evidence is far from conclusive, but the usage קִרְשָׁן-βδέλυγμα elsewhere in the LXX and Lucifer’s quite likely support for the *L* reading lead to the cautious suggestion that קִרְשָׁן-προσόχθισμα is a kaige rendering.²²¹

Concerning the names Molech (v. 10) and Milcom (13.9), Lucifer probably follows the B text both times, although in a corrupt form in the latter instance: MULCRO for the expected *MOLCHOL or *MOLCHOM: the latter Latin reading would be the expected transliteration for the Greek *ΜΟΛΧΟΜ, which probably was the original reading: ΜΟΛΧΟΑ (B etc.) is a *mu-lambda* corruption.

2 Kgs 23:14 καὶ συνέτριψεν τὰς στήλας καὶ ἐξωλέθρευσεν τὰ ἄλση καὶ ἐπλησεν τοὺς
τόπους αὐτῶν ὅστέων ἀνθρώπων.— (Rahlfs)
Et contribulauit titulos et implebat loca illorum ossibus hominum. Luc
Parc. 7 (208,70–71)

219. The same rendering is the most frequent one in other parts of the LXX too (esp. Deuteronomy, Proverbs, and Ezekiel). Aquila uses both βδέλυγμα and προσόχθισμα for קִרְשָׁן but only βδέλυγμα for תַּעֲבֹדָה. Reider and Turner, *Index to Aquila*, 317–18.

220. Thus also Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings*, 29. I do not, however, agree with Burkitt’s note on the origin of Lucifer’s rendering *idolum* for προσόχθισμα: “The Old Latin evidently represents an earlier stage of the process by which the ‘Gods’ of the neighbouring nations became first ‘idols’ and then ‘abominations.’” Lucifer’s *idolum* is an interpretative rendering and best attributed to him (or at least a Christian Latin translator).

221. See also Kauhanen, “Lucifer of Cagliari and the Kaige Revision,” 164–65.

- 2 Kgs 23:14.1 καὶ 1° – ἀλση] > CI^{-52mg.328} (*d*⁻¹⁰⁶)²²² 707^S (homoiot.?)
- 2 Kgs 23:14.2 תִּיבַּחַן סתִּילָאס] στυλας 106 130 71; πύλας 82 460; *titulos* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:14.3 καὶ ἐξωλέθρευσεν τὰ ἀλση] > Luc

The Greek variant στυλας (106 130 71) for στήλας “perpendicular blocks” (*GELS*) in variation unit 2 may be simply orthographical, but it could be interpreted as a feminine form of the word στῦλος “pillar,” attested in demotic Greek. Whichever its meaning, the reading πύλας “gates” (82 460) is best seen as a corruption from it. Lucifer’s word *titulus* (Souter: “pillar, statue, stone”) could reflect either στήλας or στυλας (he does not use this word in any other biblical quotation). Lucifer shortens the text by omitting “and utterly destroyed the groves” (NETS)—or the clause is dropped out in a copy of Lucifer’s works by a parablepsis (homoioteleuton from *titulos* to **lucos*).

- 2 Kgs 23:15 καὶ γε τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ ἐν Βαιθηλ, τὸ ὑψηλόν, ὃ ἐποίησεν Ιεροβοαμ υἱὸς Ναβατ, ὃς ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν Ἰσραηλ, καὶ γε τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸν κατέσπασεν καὶ συνέτριψεν τοὺς λίθους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλέπτυνεν εἰς χοῦν καὶ κατέκαυσεν τὸ ἄλσος. (Rahlfs)
Et sacrarium quod in Bethel, excelsum quod fecit Hieroboam filius Natae, in quo fecit peccare Israel, et sacrarium illum excelsum detraxit et contribulavit lapides illius et adtenuavit in pulverem, et incendit lucos eorum. Luc *Parc.* 7 (208,71–209,74)
- 2 Kgs 23:15.1 בָּחַל καὶ γε 1°] *et* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:15.2 ὃς ἐξήμαρτεν] *in quo fecit peccare* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:15.3 בָּחַל καὶ γε 2°] *et* Luc; + καὶ 93-127 (cf. α' καὶ καὶ γε Z₃)
- 2 Kgs 23:15.4 τὸ θυσιαστήριον / ἐκεῖνο Luc = MT] tr L⁻¹⁹; τὸ θυσιαστήριον post ὑψηλόν 2° tr 19
- 2 Kgs 23:15.5 καὶ 3° = MT] > B 247 L 379 328 121 o 488 x⁻⁵²⁷ 244^c 245 318 342 372 460 707^S Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:15.6 κατέσπασεν] καθεῖλε(ν) L 460; *detraxit* Luc
Cf. 2 Kgs 23:12.8 καθεῖλεν ... κατέσπασεν] tr L 460; *detraxit* ... *et expulit* Luc
Cf. 2 Kgs 23:8 καθεῖλεν] *detraxit* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:15.7 εἰς χοῦν] ὡς χοῦν L 460; *in pulverem* Luc
Cf. 2 Sam 22:43, 2 Kgs 13:7, esp. Ps 17:43 καὶ λεπτονῶ αὐτοὺς ὡς χοῦν
2 Kgs 23:6.4 εἰς χοῦν] ὡς χοῦν L 125 460; *cinerem* Luc

222. In *d*⁻¹⁰⁶ the omission starts already with the words ὁ βασιλεύς in v. 13.

- 2 Kgs 23:15.8 ἡψῖ κατέκαυσεν Luc] κατέπαυσε 246*
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:5.1 תִּיבִּיָּהּ κατέπαυσεν 158] κατέσκαψεν 460; κατέκαυσε(ν)
 rel Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:6 ἡψῖ] καὶ κατέκαυσεν] > A 55 (245) 460 Luc (homoiot.)
- 2 Kgs 23:15.9 הַשִּׁטִּים τὸ ἄλσος] *lucos eorum* Luc
 Cf. 2 Kgs 23:14.3 καὶ ἐξωλέθρευσεν τὰ ἄλση] > Luc

On the rendering καὶ γε for הַשִּׁטִּים (1, 3), see 21:11 above. The pronoun ὅς refers to Jeroboam “who made Israel sin,” but Lucifer appears to have read it as ὅ and found the nearest neuter correlate in τὸ ὑψηλόν “the high place.” The notion of a high place that made Israel sin would have been odd, and Lucifer changes the formulation to “in/by which he [=Jeroboam] made (Israel) sin” (2). Lucifer follows B in the word-order issues in variation unit 4 and both B and L in not attesting καὶ in connection with τὸ ὑψηλόν, resulting in “that high altar” against “that altar *and* the high place” (5). In 23:12.8 above I noted that there is no conclusive evidence to determine Lucifer’s standard renderings for the Greek verbs καθαιρέω (L 460; 15.6) and κατασπάω (B). In variation unit 7, Lucifer follows B with the preposition *in* (see 23:6.4). In verse 14 the expression הַשִּׁטִּים is in the plural and with a definite article and, accordingly, probably means “sacred poles” (NRSV), not “Ašerahs.” Here in verse 15, by contrast, the MT has the word in the singular and without an article in the manner of a proper noun. The Greek witnesses, however, do not treat it as a proper noun and they add an article: τὸ ἄλσος “the grove.” While in verse 14 Lucifer omits the notion, in 15.9 he attests the word in the plural. This might be in order to make Jeroboam’s sin look greater—as if there was any need for that!—but it may be accidental as well.

- 2 Kgs 23:16 καὶ ἐξένευσεν Ἰωσίας καὶ εἶδεν τοὺς τάφους τοὺς ὄντας ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἀπέστειλεν καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐκ τῶν τάφων καὶ κατέκαυσεν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἐμίανεν αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου, ὃ ἐλάλησεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐστάναι Ἱεροβοάμ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον. (Rahlfs)
Et reuersus est Iosias rex et uidit monumenta quae erant ibi in montem, et sumpsit ossa de monumento et conbussit super sacrarium et pol-luit illud secundum uerbum quod locutus est homo dei, cum staret Hieroboam in die festo ad aram. Quid cognoscis, Constanti, factum esse a rege cultore dei? Luc Parc. 7 (209,75–79)
- 2 Kgs 23:16.1 הַשִּׁטִּים ἐξένευσεν] ἀπέστρεψεν L (sub obel 127)²²³ 328; ἐπέστρεψεν 460;
reuersus est Luc
 Hex. α' ἔνευσεν Z₃

223. So Ant.

- 2 Kgs 23:16.2 *Ιωσίας* Luc = MT] + *καὶ ἐξένευσε(ν)* *L*⁻⁸² 328 460
- 2 Kgs 23:16.3 τοὺς τάφους Luc = MT] > 247 488 799
- 2 Kgs 23:16.4 τοὺς ὄντας Luc] οἱ A = α' Z₃; > B: cf. MT (רַשָּׁאִים)
- 2 Kgs 23:16.5 רַחֲמֵי (ἐν) τῇ πόλει] τῷ ὄρει *L* 460 Luc = α' Z₃
- 2 Kgs 23:16.6 κατέκαυσεν Luc] + τὰ ὀστᾶ 19'-82; + αὐτὰ 460
- 2 Kgs 23:16.7 αὐτό Luc] τὸ θυσιαστήριον *L*
- 2 Kgs 23:16.8 ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ Luc] > 158; post θυσιαστήριον 2^o tr *L* (> MT)

The Hebrew verb פנה “to turn” is found in Samuel-Kings twenty times. Its most frequent rendering is ἐπιβλέπω (12x); other renderings such as ἐκνεύω “to turn one’s head in another direction” (2 Kgs 2:24 and here), ἀποστρέφω (1 Kgs 10:13), and ἐπιστρέφω (1 Sam 10:9) are isolated examples. Since Lucifer attests the *L* reading ἀπέστρεψεν (of which ἐπέστρεψεν in 460 is a corruption) here, it might be considered whether ἐκνεύω (1) was a kaige rendering (cf. Aquila’s νεύω). The situation is made more complex by the plus *καὶ ἐξένευσεν* in most of the Antiochian witnesses (2) as well as an obelos for *καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν* in 127. If the obelos is taken at face value, it suggests that in the fifth column of the Hexapla there was the reading *καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν*, and it was obelized in order to signify that it does not correspond to the MT; accordingly, the not obelized Antiochian plus *καὶ ἐξένευσεν* corresponded to יָפַן. Then, of course, the putative marking in the fifth column, as witnessed by 127, ÷ *καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν* ✓ *Ἰωσίας καὶ ἐξένευσε* should be interpreted only as denoting that the Hebrew text has no correspondence to *καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν* and the order of “Josiah” and “turned aside” should be ignored.²²⁴ Having tentatively reconstructed the fifth column, it does not follow that we should accept it as the OG form: in light of what was said above it is still possible that *καὶ ἐξένευσεν* here is a kaige rendering that has ended up in the fifth column. If that possibility is taken seriously, the form preserved in 82 and Lucifer, *καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν Ἰωσίας et reuersus est Iosias* is a good candidate for the OG: the obelized element *καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν* is preserved and the possible kaige doublet *καὶ ἐξένευσε* is removed. To sum up, I present the five different text forms in parallel columns:

224. It is not necessary to assume that the Hebrew reference text (cols. 1–2) read פנה יואשׁיהוּ*.

BHS	Rahlfs = kaige	Ant (<i>L</i> ⁻⁸² 328 460) = *ε'	82 = OG	Luc <i>Parc.</i> 7
יָצָא יְהוֹשָׁפָט	καὶ ἐξένευσεν Ἰωσίας	÷ καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν ✓ Ἰωσείας καὶ ἐξένευσε	καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν Ἰωσείας	<i>Et reuersus est Iosias</i>

Lucifer does not follow the omission of “the tombs” in 247 488 799 (3) caused by a parablepsis from τούς to τοús. In variation unit 4 too, Lucifer follows the majority; the omission in B results from corruption and the A reading is probably Hexaplaric since it corresponds to Aquila.

Whatever the origin of the B reading τῇ πόλει (5), it must reflect the Hebrew word עִיר “town” rather than הָר “mountain.” Accordingly, the Greek readings are renderings of two different Hebrew words. If the agreement between Lucifer and *L* is taken as an argument for the originality of τῷ ὄρει, then the B reading would be a kaige correction according to a Hebrew reading *עִיר. Alternatively, τῷ ὄρει may be a Hexaplaric reading corresponding to the MT (cf. Aquila), and it has by chance ended up in Lucifer’s text. As in 1 Kgs 12–13 it is frequently stated that Jeroboam built the altar in question “*in Bethel*” (12:32, 33; 13:1, 4) the reading עִיר* fits the context better, but that can be used as an argument both ways. Therefore, I regard the possibilities as equally balanced: there is no way to tell which Hebrew or Greek reading is the original one.

The readings τὰ ὀστᾶ (corrupted to αὐτά in 460) and τὸ θυσιαστήριον in variation units 6 and 7 are Lucianic explications which Lucifer does not share. The same holds true for the transposition “stood **by the altar** in the feast” (8), which is motivated by the desire to bring the location nearer to “standing.”

Conclusion: The analyses of the long quotation from 2 Kgs 22–23 are best summarized in a table that reports Lucifer’s agreement patterns vis-à-vis B and *L* and categorizes them according to whether Lucifer attests the OG (rows 1 and 3) or not (2 and 4). The readings are arranged in columns according to the factor of uncertainty: in the readings in the second column from the right it is uncertain which reading Lucifer attests, in the far-right column the uncertainty lies on the analysis of the original reading. Bold numerals report the number of cases in the cell with the totals for each line in square brackets. In addition, the VU references for 23:5 and 12 are in bold; see the comments below the table.

Table 5. Lucifer's Agreement Patterns according to the Degree of Certainty in 2 Kgs 22–23			
	<i>more or less certain</i>	<i>Luc uncertain</i>	<i>OG uncertain</i>
1. Luc B (rel) = OG ≠ L (+) [32]	28: 22:11.2, 16.5, 8; 17.2–3(L = 2Chr); 18.1, 5; 19.4, 6; 23:1.2, 2.1, 3.2, 11; 4.8; 6.1(+), 7; 8.1, 3(–); 10.8; 12.3, 4, 5, 9, 11; 15.4, 7; 16:6, 7, 8	3: 22:17.1, 18.3; 23:10.5	1: 16.2
2. Luc B (rel) ≠ L (+) = OG [1]	1: 23:13.9(crrp)		
3. Luc L (+) = OG ≠ B (+) [24]	16: 22:2.1, 13.5, 20.7, 8(A B] Luc rel), 23:2.8 (B f] Luc rel), 3.7; 4.3, 7, 10(τῷ ἐμπυρ.); 5.2, 10; 8.5, 11.9, 12.2, 13.7, 16.4		8: 22:2.3, 14.5, 19.2; 23:5.3, 7.4, 11.2, 10; 16.5(very uncert.)
4. Luc L (+) ≠ B (+) = OG [16]	3: 23:4.6, 8.7(Hex.), 13.4	11: 22:19.5, 20.6; 23:1.1, 4.5, 5.5, 7, 8; 8.7, 10.6, 7; 11.5	2: 22:13.4, 23:3.3

Of the seventy-three readings inspected here, Lucifer attests the OG reading in fifty-six cases (77 percent) with some probability (rows 1 and 3). Lucifer's attestation is more or less certain in the great majority of the cases. Counting in only the cases in which the uncertainty of either the agreement pattern or the decision for the original reading is low (column "more or less certain"), we still end up with 28 + 16 = 44 (60 percent) OG readings. Conversely, "more or less certain" secondary readings amount to only four (5 percent; rows 2 and 4). It seems that there is a far greater uncertainty in those OG readings in which Lucifer agrees with *L* against *B*: I have classified eight of the twenty-four cases as uncertain, one of them very much so. In this category the reading in *B* is either kaige or corrupted; for a full breakdown see Text-Historical Conclusions. Then again, in the perhaps most controversial category, Lucifer's agreements with *L* against *B* in secondary readings (row 4), I have found Lucifer's attestation uncertain in the majority of the cases (thirteen out of sixteen); while most of those

cases can be explained as Lucianic recensional intrusions in Lucifer's text, at least two of them might actually be OG and in as many as eleven of them it is by no means certain whether Lucifer actually attests the *L* reading.

The quality of Lucifer's text remains quite stable throughout the quotation, but two verses stand out as exceptional: in 23:5 Lucifer agrees with *L* considerably more often than on the average (6x; the average is $24 + 16$ agreements / 26 vv. = 1.5) and in 23:12 there are as many as five agreements between Lucifer and B against *L* ($32 / 26 = 1.2$ on average). To highlight the peculiar agreement patterns in 23:5, a short interim conclusion was provided after the analysis of that verse; see above.

There are a small number of other noteworthy cases: Lucifer retains the original reading against both B and *L* twice with the majority (22:14.8 B *L* = kaige; 15.1 B crrp, *L* = Hex.), once with only MS 82 (23:16.1–2). Then again, Lucifer agrees with a small number of other witnesses against B *L* (+) in a secondary reading three times (22:16.2 A 82 *pauci*, Hex.?; 23:1.3, 3.6), once with the majority (22:20.2), but in the last case it is uncertain which is the original reading. Two of Lucifer's agreements with B, *L*, and the majority against a secondary reading in A are somewhat noteworthy (23:2.5, 11.3).

As usual, Lucifer's singular readings are mostly omissions: 22:13.1, 2, 8; 14.1, 6, 7; 15.2–16.1 (Luc^{MSS}); 18.4 (= d^{-106} coinc.), 19.1, 20.4, 5; 23:2.3 (lit. crit?), 5.8 (> καί), 9; 6.1, 3 (= pc, homoiot.), 6; 7.5, 8.6 (crrp?); 11.1 (crrp?), 13.6 (= d^{-106} 55 coinc.), 8; 14.3 (crrp?); 23 cases altogether. Lucifer makes eleven additions: 22:16.7 (= 82), 18.6, 19.9, 23:2.7, 3.9 (\approx 19), 12, 16 (lit. crit?); 4.9, 12; 12.1 (\approx *L*), 10 (= *L* coinc.). There are a considerable number of other modifications: 22:12.3, 4, 13.6, 7; 14.3, 15.2 (Diercks), 16.5 (*in eum*), 6; 17.2, 19.4 (*in illum*), 20.1, 3, 9; 23:2.2, 9; 4.2, 4 (= 93); 5.6, 7.1, 2 (crrp?), 3; 8.3 (*sancta*), 4; 10.4, 11.4, 6 (crrp), 8 (crrp?); 13.1 (Hex.?), 2 (crrp?); 15.2, 9 (crrp?); 31 altogether. In addition, there is one special reading that is unlikely to be Lucifer's own modification: "Levites" = 2 Chronicles for "prophets" (23:2.4).

Part 3: Text-Historical Conclusions

In the third part of this study I will present the text-historical conclusions. I will start with the broad, overall conclusion that presents the essential outcome of the study. The overall conclusion is refined with a statistical inspection of Lucifer's relationship with the major Greek witnesses. This is followed by a short perspective on a few special issues in Lucifer's quotations. The largest part of the conclusions are formed by extensive reading lists found in appendix A. These follow the order "Greek witnesses–Lucifer's special readings–Latin witnesses." The reading lists featuring other Latin witnesses present some rough statistical considerations on Lucifer's agreements and disagreements with La¹¹⁵ and La^M.

Overall Conclusion

Lucifer's quotations from the books of Kings form a good and old textual witness. It is inconclusive whether the Latin text was translated by Lucifer himself while quoting or whether he follows an existing OL translation (or several of them). Lucifer's agreements and disagreements with the other two important pre-Vulgate Latin witnesses, La¹¹⁵ and La^M, do not support a conclusion that these Latin texts went back to a single OL translation. Only for some verses can such a claim be made (most notably for 2 Kgs 2:11–12).

The good quality of Lucifer's Greek text is evident from the fact that he follows almost none of the kaige readings found in B or the Hexaplaric readings found mainly in A. In addition, in most of the numerous Lucianic recensional readings found in *L*, Lucifer follows the OG as found in B. There are a number of Lucianic recensional readings that Lucifer may follow, but in the majority of those cases Lucifer's attestation is disputable. However, Lucifer's manner of quoting produces quite a number of small changes in the text; often these are short omissions of unnecessary words or phrases. The changes introduced by Lucifer are mostly easy to

recognize and when his text is purged of these—and of the occasional putatively Lucianic readings—what remains is a faithful witness to the OG text of Kings.

It is possible that the hypothetical OG text witnessed by Lucifer may occasionally have preserved the reading of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX against most or all of the other Greek witnesses. This may be the case with at least some probability in the following eighteen instances:

- 1 Kgs 11:34 *וְלֹא אָקַח אֶת הַמַּמְלָכָה מִיָּדוֹ בַּיָּמִי חַיִּיו לְמַעַן דּוֹד (Old Heb. according to Trebolle)] καὶ οὐ μὴ λάβω τὴν βασιλείαν (+ ἔλγην 328 Luc) ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ διὰ Δαυὶδ $L^{-19'}$ 328 246 Luc
διότι ἀντιτασσόμενος ἀντιτάξομαι αὐτοῦ] tr post ἐξελεξάμην Luc

Here Lucifer substantially attests the hypothetical OG found in *L* which, in turn, reflects the *Vorlage* as reconstructed by Trebolle. In addition, Lucifer attests a transposition of the clause διότι ἀντιτασσόμενος ἀντιτάξομαι αὐτοῦ, which may serve as corroborating evidence to the conclusion that it is a late gloss.

- 1 Kgs 12:27.8 καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσίν με] > $L^{-19'}$ 328 246 Luc (MT Mss); + καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς Ῥοβοὰμ βασιλέα Ἰουδα A 247 = MT

While Lucifer should not be considered a strong witness for any omission, here Lucifer and $L^{-19'}$ is joined by some Masoretic manuscripts. The shorter form was probably the form of the LXX *Vorlage* as well as the OG translation. In the proto-Masoretic tradition, the verse was first expanded with “they will kill me” and later with “and return to King Rehoboam of Judah.”

- 1 Kgs 13:25a.1 om v. 25a $L^{-19'}$ Luc La¹¹⁵

There was probably a parablepsis for the word נֶבֶלָה “carcass” at the end of verse 24 to the same word in verse 25a in the *Vorlage*. The half-verse 25a was not originally part of the LXX translation, but it was supplied quite early by a Hebraizing corrector and found its way in the vast majority of the witnesses. While the Greek source text of the Latin translations may have lost the half-verse accidentally, the agreement with $L^{-19'}$ suggests that their source was of the proto-Lucianic type.

- 1 Kgs 16:33.1 אֲחָאֵב וְיִרְמְיָהוּ καὶ προσέθηκεν Αχαβ] > 127^c Luc

Trebolle suggests that the minus in Lucifer preserves the reading of the OG and of the *Vorlage*, but a minus of an unnecessary or unclear expression in Lucifer’s quotation is always subject to serious doubt.

- 1 Kgs 18:32.1 ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου = MT] > $L^{-19'}$ 328 Luc; sub ast Syh

1 Kgs 21[20]:10.1 ἡὺλόγησεν (vel sim)] *maledixit* La^M = *לָלַךְ?; *maledixisti* Luc = *לָלַךְ?

2 Kgs 2:12.4 יִשְׂרָאֵל רֶכֶב ἄρμα Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἵππεὺς αὐτοῦ] *agitator Israel* La^M
 Orig Luc = *יִשְׂרָאֵל רֶכֶב?

2 Kgs 21:4 verse] > Luc

2 Kgs 21:5.3 *πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*] > Luc

2 Kgs 21:6.2 ἐκληθονίζετο καὶ οἰωνίζετο] om καὶ οἰωνίζετο 158 318; *augurabatur* Luc

2 Kgs 21:13.3 תְּהִלָּה הָאֵלֶּה αλάβαστρος] τὸ πύξιον L 460 (La^M Luc) *buxum* = *תְּהִלָּה?

2 Kgs 21:15.2 ἐποίησαν = MT] pr ἀπερρίφησαν ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν μου καὶ L 328 460 Luc =
*יַעַן אֲשֶׁר הִשְׁלִיכוּ מֵאַחֲרַי וְעָשׂוּ?

The form of the text reflected in the retroversion does not make very good sense: one would rather expect something like *שבּוּ מֵאֶרֶץ שׁוֹר* ἀπέστρεψαν ἀπὸ

ὁπισθέν μου “they have turned back from following me.” A corruption from this clause to the putative retroversion of the *L* clause would require both a *bet* → *kaph* error and an addition of two letters (שבו → השלכו). The origin of the plus remains doubtful but a Hebrew *Vorlage* should not be ruled out.

2 Kgs 23:3.3 διαθήκαγν = MT] + τὴν εὐρεθεῖσαν ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου *L* Luc

The plus is probably a Lucianic attempt to reproduce as full a text as possible. Supposing a kaige omission in the rest of the witnesses would fail to explain how the shorter Hebrew reading came about as it cannot be explained as a usual parablepsis error. If the Greek plus went back to a difficult or even erroneous reading יהוה בבית ההנמצאה* of the *Vorlage*, the plus could have been omitted because of the difficulties it causes (see the context).

2 Kgs 23:3.16 διαθήκαγν] + *quod disposuit rex ex libro* Luc

It would be tempting to suppose that Lucifer, as the only witness, has retained a now lost Greek and, ultimately, a Hebrew plus. However, considering Lucifer’s freedom of quotation in the passage, I do not dare to suggest a retroversion. A possible reason for such an addition could be the desire to emphasize the role of the righteous emperor in bringing the people back into the covenant—in Lucifer’s view, from Arianism to orthodox Christianity.

2 Kgs 23:4.10 τῷ ἐμπυρισμῷ] τῷ ἐμπυρισμῷ *L* 460 Luc (*incendio*) = שֶׁרָפָה*

2 Kgs 23:4.12 αὐτῶν] + *et sparsit in riuum et abiit* Luc

Lucifer and *L* probably retain the OG reading τῷ ἐμπυρισμῷ, a rendering of שֶׁרָפָה* in the *Vorlage*; there has been corruption between the Hebrew readings in either direction. Lucifer’s plus “and sprinkled in the stream and went (to Bethel)” might go back to a now lost Hebrew expression, in Greek probably *καὶ ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸν χειμάρρου καὶ ἐπορεύθη. I find it more likely, however, that the plus should be attributed to an OL translator or to Lucifer himself.

2 Kgs 23:11.10 fin] + ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ὧν (domus Luc) ὃν ᾠκοδόμησαν βασιλεῖς Ἰσραὴλ ὑψηλὸν τῷ Βαὰλ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ *L* 328 460 Luc = בבית* בית-און אשר בנו מלכי ישראל במה לבעל ולכל צבא השמים

There is some variation in minor details, but Lucifer attests the oldest form of the plus. The retroversion is partly based on Schenker (see the analysis for details). There is a good possibility that the reconstructed Hebrew clause is part of the oldest attainable Hebrew text.

2 Kgs 23:12.2 עָלִית אַחָז אֲשֶׁר־עָשׂוּ מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה τοῦ δώματος τοῦ ὑπερώου ἃ ἐποίησαν
 βασιλεῖς] *aedificia superiorum* Achas quae fecerit rex Iuda Luc = τῶν
 δωμάτων τῶν ὑπερώων Ἀχάζ, ἃ ἐποίησεν βασιλεὺς Ἰούδα (cf. L 460) =
 גגות עליות אחז אשר עשה מלך יהודה*

Lucifer retains the OG form to which both B and L make small changes. It reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* slightly different from the MT (differences underlined).

In at least seven of the cases listed above (1 Kgs 11:34, 12:27, 18:32; 2 Kgs 21:13, 23:4, 11, 12), it should be considered whether the hypothetical Hebrew reading witnessed by Lucifer might be the earliest attainable Hebrew reading. That such readings can be found backed up by Lucifer is a fair reminder of the complexity of the textual history of Kings: working one's way from a fourth century Latin witness through the Greek to the Hebrew proves to be worthwhile.

Statistical Inspection

Since the textual material analysed in this study contains a significant number of variation units, it is possible to present some of the conclusions in the form of statistics on the different kinds of agreement patterns. The value of statistical analysis on a large quantity of text-critical data is that it significantly refines generalizations such as “often,” “in many cases,” and “that happens.” An additional benefit of the statistical analysis of agreements and disagreements is that the numbers may provide heuristic tools by giving indications of where the most interesting data points might be found. There is a danger involved, however: presenting statistics with great precision may give a false sense of accuracy. The analytical work on which the classification of readings is based cannot be an exact science. If the analytical work is not done properly, the statistics can lead one astray; high accuracy does not help there. Moreover, it can be questioned whether the knowledge of exact statistics concerning the agreement and disagreement of the witnesses is helpful in determining what has happened in the textual history. Often a few noteworthy variation units can reveal the most important issues. I have found, however, that seeing the big picture helps, at the least, to avoid too rough generalizations and to provide a sense of proportion. The accuracy of the statistics is comparable to the level of detail in a picture: it still remains for the critic to decide whether the picture is useful or not.

In this phase of the study readings are included only if:

1. It is reasonably clear which reading Lucifer attests.
2. The Greek manuscripts are divided between the readings.
3. Variation in proper nouns is included if it cannot go back to merely itacism or a commonplace error. Moreover, those proper nouns that are included are admitted only once, for example, $\text{A}\chi(\epsilon)\iota\alpha\varsigma$ in 1 Kgs 11:29.3.

For the purposes of the statistical inspection I have occasionally simplified the presentation of the data somewhat, for example, I combined the addition of the name $\text{P}\rho\beta\omicron\acute{\alpha}\mu$, found in 554 in 1 Kgs 12:24a.4 and in *L* 106 246 in 24a.6, into one entry. It is fair to combine several entries into one if the witnesses remain the same and the textual phenomena are interdependent, for example, in 1 Kgs 19:2.1, 3, and 4 Lucifer disagrees with the singular verbs in B 460; this is counted as one disagreement. Readings from 1 Kgs 20[21]:17 are not included since there it is uncertain which verse Lucifer is actually quoting. The other putative OL witnesses, La^{115} and La^{M} , are not included in this inspection but some rough statistical considerations on Lucifer's agreements and disagreements with them can be found in the relevant reading lists in appendix A.

Agreements/Disagreements with X and/against Y

From the analyses above I have selected 503 readings in which Lucifer agrees with a Greek witness or a group of witnesses against some or most of the other witnesses with at least some certainty. The initial step is simply to inspect how often Lucifer agrees or disagrees with a certain manuscript. While this type of inspection in itself is not sufficient for any text-historical purposes, it can give a rough big picture of which witnesses are worth in-depth analyses. I have excluded most of those witnesses whose agreements and disagreements with Lucifer are near the average. In the next phase I have computed the numbers of Lucifer's agreements *with X and Y* (e.g., Luc A B \neq some other MSS) and agreements *with X against Y* (e.g., Luc A \neq B). The raw results are reported in the following six tables. Theoretically, the expected value is one-fourth of all the cases ($503:4 = 125.75$) since Lucifer can be expected to agree with a certain witness in 50 percent of the cases and that witness, in turn, should agree with another witness in 50 percent of those cases. In practice, however, in the readings under inspection an average manuscript is more in agreement than in disagreement with most of the other manuscripts. Thus the average for the agreement tables (1–3 below)

tends to be very much higher than 125.75. The average of the numbers in any pattern is not, however, a meaningful point for comparison, as the average is regulated by the choice of witnesses and chance. A practical choice is to choose the total divided by two ($503:2 = 251.5$) as the expected value for the agreement tables; any number that is sufficiently below that can be considered significant.

Table 6. Lucifer's Agreement with [row] and [column] in 1–2 Kings

	B	V	<i>L</i>	509	<i>s</i>	<i>t</i>	55	71	158	245	318	372	460	554
A	221	224	111	230	227	230	219	222	218	220	232	226	187	219
B		258	153	275	256	261	256	259	260	255	281	273	242	256
V			159	282	284	286	272	275	274	276	283	280	230	277
<i>L</i>				167	162	162	159	167	171	152	180	177	231	165
509					287	291	273	276	283	272	289	290	250	282
<i>s</i>						298	277	278	276	272	288	281	233	287
<i>t</i>							280	280	280	274	288	284	232	291
55								268	273	264	281	280	226	273
71									271	266	285	279	231	274
158										269	280	280	231	277
245											276	272	225	266
318												296	254	281
372													246	280
460														228

The table is read, for example, “Lucifer agrees with A [row] and *L* [column] 111 times”; “Lucifer agrees with *L* and 245 152 times.” The table is diagonally symmetrical (i.e., $\text{Luc A B} = \text{Luc B A}$: 221). Total = 503. **Bold**: values below 251.5 minus 1.96 times the average deviation $[33.2] \approx 187$ = the bottom 2.5 percent in the normal distribution.

The table shows that in the entire books of Kings, when Lucifer agrees with *L* the agreements with any other manuscripts are significantly lower than the expected value—with the exception of the pattern *Luc L* 460, which is more or less as common as any other pattern (231 when the arithmetic mean is 250.2). Other interesting patterns (in *italics*) are *Luc A L*, which is by far the most unusual pattern (111 instances), and *Luc A* 460, with an occurrence of 187, which is just above the bottom 2.5 percent level.

Table 7. Lucifer’s Agreement with [row] and [column] in 1 Kgs 2–21 (nonkaige section)														
	B	V	L	509	s	t	55	71	158	245	318	372	460	554
A	144	142	75	146	144	147	138	140	138	136	148	144	137	138
B		173	112	188	172	177	173	174	174	169	193	186	188	171
V			113	180	183	185	178	180	177	182	184	182	171	177
L				118	115	116	115	116	119	107	126	122	115	117
509					185	189	178	179	183	175	188	189	188	181
s						196	182	181	179	178	188	183	173	186
t							186	184	183	180	189	186	173	191
55								177	182	173	186	186	168	179
71									176	175	189	185	168	177
158										176	184	184	170	181
245											181	177	166	173
318												195	187	181
372													181	182
460														167

Total = 300. **Bold:** values below 150 minus 1.64 times the average deviation $[20.4] = 116.4 =$ the bottom 5.0 percent in the normal distribution. In the nonkaige section the difference between the *L* group and the rest of the witnesses, when either agree with Lucifer, is somewhat smaller than in the entire Kings; the bottom 2.5 percent (values below 109.9) would be very thin (only the patterns Luc A *L* [75] and Luc *L* 245 [107])—therefore a 5 percent limit is used here. In slight contrast to the previous table, three manuscripts have just enough agreements with Lucifer and *L* to be considered semi-Lucianic: 158, 318, and 372 (values: 119, 126, 122) and two more are just above the 5 percent line (509, 554). A more noteworthy contrast is that in the nonkaige section MS 460 does not stand out as especially Lucianic in its agreements with Lucifer (Luc *L* 460 = 115, which is in the general line).

Table 8. Lucifer's Agreement with [row] and [column] in 1 Kgs 22–2 Kings (kaige section)

	B	V	L	509	<i>s</i>	<i>t</i>	55	71	158	245	318	372	460	554
A	77	82	36	84	83	83	81	82	80	84	84	82	50	81
B		85	41	87	84	84	83	85	86	86	88	87	54	85
V			46	102	101	101	94	95	97	94	99	98	59	100
L				49	47	46	44	51	52	45	54	55	<i>116</i>	48
509					102	102	95	97	100	97	101	101	62	101
<i>s</i>						102	95	97	97	94	100	98	60	101
<i>t</i>							94	96	97	94	99	98	59	100
55								91	91	91	95	94	58	94
71									95	91	96	94	63	97
158										93	96	96	61	96
245											95	95	59	93
318												101	67	100
372													65	98
460														61

Total = 203. **Bold:** values below 101.5 minus 1.96 times the average deviation $[15.2] \approx 72$ = the bottom 2.5 percent in the normal distribution. *Italics:* the maximum value. The patterns change considerably between the nonkaige and kaige sections. Lucifer's agreements with *L* and other witnesses remains the most unusual pattern, but within that pattern MS 460 stands out as almost as Lucianic as the *L* group: its agreements with MSS other than *L* are only about twelve points higher than those of *L*, and the pattern Luc *L* 460 has a value as high as 116—almost outside the average deviation ($101.5 + 15.2 = 116.7$). In addition, the patterns Luc A X and Luc B X are comparatively rarer than in the nonkaige section.

When we turn to the patterns *agreements with X against Y*, the theoretical expected value (one fourth of the total: $439:4 = 109.75$) is much higher than the observed average. To single out the significant values, I use grey highlight. In the high end all values above the expected value are considered significant. Please note that the “against” tables are not diagonally symmetrical; the patterns Luc A \neq B and Luc B \neq A, while mutually exclusive, are not logically the same and the numbers for the mirror patterns can differ considerably.

Table 9. Lucifer's Agreement with [row] against [column] in 1–2 Kings															
	A	B	V	L	509	s	t	55	71	158	245	318	372	460	554
A	0	41	38	151	32	35	32	43	40	44	42	30	36	75	43
B	91	0	54	159	37	56	51	56	53	52	57	31	39	70	56
V	76	42	0	142	18	16	14	29	26	27	24	17	20	70	23
L	193	151	146	0	137	142	142	145	137	133	152	124	127	74	139
509	85	40	33	148	0	28	24	42	39	32	43	26	25	65	33
s	76	47	19	141	16	0	5	26	25	27	31	15	22	70	16
t	73	42	17	141	12	5	0	23	23	23	29	15	19	71	12
55	85	48	33	145	31	27	24	0	36	34	40	23	25	79	37
71	88	51	36	143	34	32	30	42	0	40	44	26	32	79	36
158	89	47	34	136	24	31	27	37	37	0	38	27	27	76	30
245	78	43	22	146	26	26	24	34	32	29	0	22	26	73	32
318	96	47	45	148	39	40	40	47	44	48	52	0	32	74	47
372	92	45	38	141	28	37	34	39	40	38	46	22	0	72	38
460	153	98	110	110	90	107	108	115	109	109	115	86	94	0	112
554	83	46	25	137	20	15	11	35	28	25	36	21	22	74	0

Total: 503. **Bold:** values above the expected value = 125.75. Grey highlight: values below 125.75 minus 2.88 times the average deviation [33.7] \approx 29 = the bottom 0.1 percent. In the entire Kings, Lucifer's agreements with any witness against *L* are roughly as frequent as vice versa, ranging from 136 (Luc 158 \neq *L*) to 159 (Luc B \neq *L*) and from 124 (Luc *L* \neq 318) to 193 (Luc *L* \neq A).¹ The only exceptions are Luc *L* \neq 460 and vice versa that have somewhat lower values (74 and 110). There is a considerable difference between the patterns Luc A \neq B and Luc B \neq A; the latter is 2.2 times more usual than the former (41 and 91). The ratio is roughly representative of Lucifer's agreements/disagreements with A on the whole; the average of the top row (Luc A \neq Y) is ca. 46 whereas the average of the A column (Luc X \neq A) is ca. 91.

1. This is a somewhat different finding than reported by Fernández Marcos, *Scribes and Translators*, 47–48: “Lucifer agrees with the Antiochene for 43%, with the LXX rell. for 21%”; see also Ant, LI, where the actual figures (97 and 48) are given. It appears I have admitted fewer clear agreements between Lucifer and *L*.

Table 10. Lucifer's Agreement with [row] against [column] in 1 Kgs 2–21 (nonkaige)

	A	B	V	L	509	s	t	55	71	158	245	318	372	460	554
A	0	23	25	92	21	23	20	29	27	29	31	19	23	30	29
B	71	0	42	103	27	43	38	42	41	41	46	22	29	27	44
V	56	25	0	86	18	15	13	21	19	22	16	14	16	27	21
L	103	66	66	0	60	63	62	63	62	59	71	52	56	63	61
509	64	22	30	92	0	25	21	32	31	27	35	22	21	22	29
s	56	28	17	85	15	0	4	18	19	21	22	12	17	27	14
t	54	24	16	85	12	5	0	15	17	18	21	12	15	28	10
55	66	31	27	89	26	22	18	0	27	25	31	18	19	37	31
71	59	25	20	83	20	18	15	22	0	24	24	11	15	31	22
158	65	29	27	84	20	24	20	24	28	0	27	19	19	33	22
245	58	25	12	87	19	16	14	21	19	18	0	13	17	28	21
318	71	26	35	93	31	31	30	33	31	35	38	0	24	32	38
372	66	24	28	88	21	27	24	25	26	26	33	15	0	29	28
460	69	18	35	91	18	33	33	39	38	36	40	19	25	0	39
554	61	28	22	82	18	13	8	26	22	18	26	18	17	32	0

Total: 300. **Bold:** values above the expected value = 75.0. Grey highlight: values below 75.0 minus 3.09 times the average deviation $[16.3] \approx 25 =$ the bottom 0.05 percent in the normal distribution. The first thing that can be noted in the nonkaige section is the low average deviation. This suggests that, as far as agreements with Lucifer are concerned, the vast majority of the witnesses are closer to each other than in the kaige section. Four manuscripts especially tend to agree with Lucifer against any other witness more often than they disagree: B, 509, 318, and 372. Their row averages (agreements with) are far greater than their column averages. By contrast, L and especially A have considerably fewer cases of the pattern $\text{Luc } L \neq Y$ and $\text{Luc } A \neq Y$ than the opposite patterns; the agreement/disagreement ratios are 0.46 and 0.73 respectively. Only MS 245 is anywhere near such a low ratio (0.80). In the nonkaige section MS 460 is not especially Lucianic in its agreements with Lucifer ($\text{Luc } L \neq 460$: 63, $\text{Luc } 460 \neq L$: 91; both are in the general line)—this corresponds to what was observed in table 7 above.

Table 11. Lucifer's Agreement with [row] against [column] in 1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs (kaige)															
	A	B	V	L	509	s	t	55	71	158	245	318	372	460	554
A	0	18	13	59	11	12	12	14	13	15	11	11	13	45	14
B	20	0	12	56	10	13	13	14	12	11	11	9	10	43	12
V	20	17	0	56	0	1	1	8	7	5	8	3	4	43	2
L	90	85	80	0	77	79	80	82	75	74	81	72	71	11	78
509	21	18	3	56	0	3	3	10	8	5	8	4	4	43	4
s	20	19	2	56	1	0	1	8	6	6	9	3	5	43	2
t	19	18	1	56	0	0	0	8	6	5	8	3	4	43	2
55	19	17	6	56	5	5	6	0	9	9	9	5	6	42	6
71	29	26	16	60	14	14	15	20	0	16	20	15	17	48	14
158	24	18	7	52	4	7	7	13	9	0	11	8	8	43	8
245	20	18	10	59	7	10	10	13	13	11	0	9	9	45	11
318	25	21	10	55	8	9	10	14	13	13	14	0	8	42	9
372	26	21	10	53	7	10	10	14	14	12	13	7	0	43	10
460	84	80	75	19	72	74	75	76	71	73	75	67	69	0	73
554	22	18	3	55	2	2	3	9	6	7	10	3	5	42	0

Total: 203. **Bold:** values above the expected value = 50.75. Grey highlight: values below 50.75 minus 2.33 times the average deviation [19.3] ≈ 6 = the bottom 0.5 percent. Because of the lower total number than in the non-kaige section the occurrence of some patterns is very low or zero (e.g., Luc V \neq 509). In the kaige section the differences in the agreement/disagreement patterns become drastic: the row averages range from 11.5 (Luc *t* \neq Y) to 69.0 (Luc *L* \neq Y) while the column averages remain more stable (the range is from Luc *X* \neq 509: 14.5 to Luc *X* \neq *L*: 49.9). In sharp contrast to the nonkaige section, the manuscripts that most agree with Lucifer against another MS are 460 (agreements/disagreements ratio 1.71), *L* (1.38), and 71 (1.24). Those most in disagreement with Lucifer are B and 55 (ratios 0.62 and 0.66)—in addition to A which remains in strong disagreement with Lucifer in both sections: its agreements/disagreements ratio in the kaige section is 0.59.

Already this simple inspection of the basic patterns between Lucifer and the most noteworthy Greek witnesses reveals that Lucifer's general alignment vis-à-vis B and *L* changes drastically between the nonkaige and kaige sections of Kings. A similar change can be observed in respect to several other manuscripts too. Therefore, it is instructive to see the agreement/disagreement ratios in the nonkaige and kaige sections (**bold** and *italics* in the rightmost column = furthest away from zero):

Table 12. Agreement/Disagreement Ratios between Manuscripts and Lucifer by Sections

	<i>nonkaige</i>	<i>kaige</i>	<i>difference</i>
A	0.46	0.59	−0.14
B	1.56	0.62	0.94
V	0.92	0.71	0.21
<i>L</i>	0.73	1.38	−0.65
509	1.45	0.87	0.58
<i>s</i>	0.99	0.76	0.23
<i>t</i>	1.04	0.70	0.33
55	1.14	0.66	0.48
71	0.96	1.24	−0.28
158	1.11	0.84	0.27
245	0.80	0.85	−0.05
318	2.06	1.15	0.91
372	1.47	1.07	0.40
460	1.20	1.71	−0.51
554	0.96	0.76	0.19

Those with a positive value in the difference column are more in agreement with Lucifer against other manuscripts in the nonkaige than in the kaige section, that is, they can be considered more kaige-like: since it has become clear from the qualitative analysis that Lucifer is almost free from kaige readings, the more a witness is in disagreement with Lucifer in the kaige section, the more it can be expected to contain kaige readings. The four witnesses that have a difference value nearest to zero (245, A, 554, V) are the most kaige-neutral² witnesses: their relation to Lucifer remains almost the same between the sections. The overall most neutral witnesses are those that have the values nearest to one in both ratio columns: *s*, 158, 71, and 554. They are not especially Hexaplaric, Lucianic, or kaige-like, and they do not stand out as agreeing with Lucifer significantly more or less than the other manuscripts.

On the basis of this initial inspection it seems advisable to narrow down the choice of witnesses: in addition to A, B, and *L*, those that can be expected to offer noteworthy results are MS 460, whose alignment changes drastically between the nonkaige and kaige sections, the *s*-group, which is

2. It should perhaps be pointed out here that “kaige-neutral” does not mean “least kaige-like”; it means “not especially kaige-type, nor opposed to kaige.”

perhaps the most neutral witness overall, and MS 245, which appears to be the most kaige-neutral Greek witness.

Agreements with X against Y in Original Readings

The next phase in the statistical inspection of Lucifer’s agreements/disagreements between/against A, B, *L*, *s*, 245, and 460 involves breaking down the agreements/disagreements according to their relation to the OG and the reasons for secondariness. I will first present the agreements in original readings in the entire Kings and in the nonkaige and kaige sections in a series of tables. I will sum up the most important findings at the end of the section. The readings subject to this statistical analysis will be found as lists at the end of the chapter (see appendix A below).

Table 13. Luc [row] = OG (high P) ≠ [col] = kaige in 1–2 Kings									
	A	B	<i>L</i>	<i>s</i>	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	1	0	1	1	0	6.9	TOT	26
B	0	-	0	0	0	0		Xpctd	6.5
<i>L</i>	25	26	-	18	20	4		Dev.	5.0
<i>s</i>	8	8	0	-	2	2		High	11.5
245	6	6	0	0	-	2		Low	1.5
460	21	22	0	16	18	-		P	5.0%

All the following tables are in the same format. Avg. = 6.9 is the arithmetic mean, often near the theoretical expected value (Xpctd = 6.5), which is the total number of cases (TOT = 26) divided by four. The tolerable deviation (Dev. = 5.0) is dependent on the desired Probability level (P = 5.0 percent); the lower the P level, the less probable it is that values outside Xpctd ± Dev. (> 11.5 or < 1.5) were by chance alone. Those values are in bold (> High = 11.5) and in grey highlight (< Low = 1.5).

This table includes only those kaige or kaige-type readings in which Lucifer attests the OG with a high probability. In all of those cases Lucifer attests the OG reading with *L*, often with other noteworthy witnesses as well, always against B.

Table 14. Luc [row] = OG (at least some P) \neq [col] = kaige in 1–2 Kings									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	4	2	4	3	3	13.2	TOT	53
B	2	-	3	2	1	3		Xpctd	13.25
L	44	47	-	38	40	10		Dev.	9.4
s	10	10	2	-	3	4		High	22.6
245	8	8	3	2	-	5		Low	3.9
460	35	37	0	30	32	-		P	1.0 %

Here the agreement pattern is the same, but this table includes all the cases in which Lucifer attests the original reading with at least some probability ($P > 60$ percent in my estimation). Because of the higher total number of cases, a lower P value than in the previous table can be used. The clear pattern that emerges is that in these kinds of readings Lucifer tends to agree heavily with *L*, and often with 460, against the rest of the witnesses. The pattern Luc *L* 460 = OG \neq A B *s* 245 = kaige covers about 60 percent of the cases.

Table 15. Luc [row] = OG (at least some P) \neq [col] = kaige in 1 Kgs 2–21 (nonkaige)									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	0	1	1	1	1	2.5	TOT	11
B	1	-	2	2	1	2		Xpctd	2.75
L	9	9	-	5	5	7		Dev.	3.3
s	4	4	0	-	0	2		High	6.0
245	5	4	1	1	-	3		Low	0
460	2	2	0	0	0	-		P	5.0 %

In the nonkaige section the number of probable kaige readings not attested by Lucifer is very low. The only pattern that emerges with enough statistical significance is Luc *L* = OG \neq A B 460 = kaige. While the numbers are low, it seems that in the nonkaige section MS 460 is heavily aligned with A and B, while *s* and 245 are rather neutral.

Table 16. Luc [row] = OG (at least some P) ≠ [col] = kaige in 1 Kgs 22–2 Kings (kaige)									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	4	1	3	2	2	10.7	TOT	42
B	1	-	1	0	0	1		Xpctd	10.5
L	35	38	-	33	35	3		Dev.	8.3
s	6	6	2	-	3	2		High	18.8
245	3	4	2	1	-	2		Low	2.2
460	33	35	0	30	32	-		P	1.0 %

The values in the kaige section confirm the significant difference between the sections: here MS 460 is very near the *L* group: its row average (26.0) is almost as high as for *L* (28.8), never agrees with Lucifer against *L*, and attests a kaige reading only three times against Lucifer and *L*.

Table 17. Luc [row] = OG (at least some P) ≠ [col] = Hexaplaric in 1–2 Kings									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	0	2	2	0	1	9.6	TOT	48
B	39	-	6	19	10	3		Xpctd	12
L	37	2	-	16	10	4		Dev.	7.8
s	23	1	2	-	1	1		High	19.8
245	29	0	4	9	-	1		Low	4.2
460	37	0	5	16	8	-		P	2.5 %

When Lucifer attests the probable original reading and the secondary reading is Hexaplaric, the typical pattern is Luc B *L* 460 ≠ A. The only significant difference between the nonkaige and kaige sections is that the vast majority of the readings (43) are in the former section. The patterns for the five Hexaplaric readings that Lucifer does not attest in the kaige section are Luc B *L* 245 460 ≠ A *s* (3x) and Luc B *L* *s* 245 460 ≠ A (2x).

Table 18. Luc [row] = OG (high P) ≠ [col] = Lucianic in 1–2 Kings									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	0	116	4	5	41	25.9	TOT	127
B	8	-	123	7	9	44		Xpctd	31.75
L	1	0	-	0	1	2		Dev.	21.9
s	4	0	116	-	4	40		High	53.7
245	4	0	115	3	-	39		Low	9.8
460	5	0	81	4	5	-		P	0.01 %

When any reading is classified as a Lucianic recensional reading, the competing reading can often be regarded as the original reading with great certainty. Thus, I have included here only those cases in which the OG can be established with a more than 80 percent probability. The number of readings in the pattern “Luc B (rel) = OG \neq L(+) = Lucianic” in the reading list in appendix A is slightly higher, 138; the difference is because the latter contains cases in which it is less certain—P = 60–80 percent in my estimation—that Lucifer attests an OG reading. In Lucifer’s agreements with manuscripts in the original readings against the Lucianic recensional readings, one would expect the values in the *L* row to be zero. That there are cases of Luc *L* = OG \neq A 245 460 at all, is due to *L* being divided. In this table there are no insignificant values: the values with no *statistical* significance are Lucifer’s agreements with MSS other than *L* against 460 when the latter attests a Lucianic recensional reading (39–44), but their analytical significance lies in that they demonstrate that MS 460 is between the B and the *L* texts.

Table 19. Luc [row] = OG (high P) \neq [col] = Lucianic in 1 Kgs 2–21 (nonkaige)									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	0	65	2	4	4	13.3	TOT	73
B	7	-	71	5	7	6		Xpctd	18.25
L	1	0	-	0	1	0		Dev.	14.1
s	4	0	66	-	3	4		High	32.3
245	4	0	65	1	-	3		Low	4.2
460	5	0	65	3	4	-		P	0.1 %

When the above inspection is narrowed down to the nonkaige section, the only major difference is that MS 460 is aligned with B and the other witnesses, attesting only a very low number of Lucianic readings against Lucifer. That B appears to be the least Lucianic MS (having the highest row average) may be significant, but the slightly higher values than for A s 245 460 may be due to chance alone as the absolute values are very low.

Table 20. Luc [row] = OG (high P) ≠ [col] = Lucianic in 1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs (kaige)									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	0	51	1	1	37	12.6	TOT	54
B	1	-	52	2	2	38		Xpctd	13.5
L	0	0	-	0	0	2		Dev.	12.1
s	0	0	50	-	1	36		High	25.6
245	0	0	50	1	-	36		Low	1.4
460	0	0	16	0	0	-		P	0.1 %

In the kaige section we can see the expected phenomenon: MS 460 becomes almost as Lucianic as *L* in its disagreements with Lucifer when the latter attests the OG reading against a Lucianic recensional reading.

Table 21. Luc [row] = OG (at least some P) ≠ [col] = error or other secondary reading in 1–2 Kings									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	23	15	15	26	19	24.2	TOT	162
B	38	-	17	23	31	18		Xpctd	40.5
L	47	34	-	26	37	25		Dev.	19.7
s	33	26	12	-	20	20		High	60.2
245	32	22	11	8	-	19		Low	20.8
460	39	23	13	22	33	-		P	0.2 %

This category of Lucifer’s agreements in original readings against secondary readings that result from an error or free copying includes readings in which the variant is often attested only by a very short array of witnesses. No complete list of these readings is provided in appendix A. However, most of the readings of the B column can be found in the list “Luc MSS = OG ≠ B(+) = Error.” That list is slightly more selective, containing twenty-seven readings; in the table above it is reported that there were as many as thirty-four agreements between Lucifer and *L* against B in this category but that number includes seven very dubious cases.

The first thing that can be noted is that the average (24.2) is considerably lower than the expected value; it is only just about above the 99 percent significance line (in this table, any value below 24.1 is significant with a 99 percent probability). This reveals that agreements/disagreements of this pattern can be expected to take place in more or less any witness; none of our chosen witnesses are especially free or erroneous. To bring up the

highest values, I used italics for those above or near the expected value. MS A appears to be somewhat more erroneous or free than the others in its disagreements with Lucifer when the latter retains the OG reading: it clearly has the highest column average (37.8) with 245 (29.4) and B (25.6) well behind. The *L* group is not known for its errors and thus it is not unexpected that it should have a significantly low column average (13.6). MS 460 leans somewhat more towards *L* than B in readings of this kind, considerably so in the *kaige* section, but otherwise there is no clear difference between the sections.

Summary: The following lists the typical agreement/disagreement patterns when Lucifer retains the original reading at least with some probability. The percentages are vis-à-vis the total number of Lucifer's probable original readings (403 out of 503); for example, the pattern "Luc *L* = OG ≠ A B 245 = error or other" consists of values 47, 34, and 37 in the *L* row in the table above. The average of these is 39.3 which divided by 403 is 9.8 percent ≈ 10 percent. Together the six patterns below account for roughly 55 percent of Lucifer's original readings.

17%: Luc A B s 245 460 = OG ≠ *L* = Lucianic (nonkaige section)

10%: Luc *L* = OG ≠ A B 245 = error or other

9%: Luc B *L* 460 (s 245) = OG ≠ A = Hexaplaric

9%: Luc A B s 245 = OG ≠ *L* 460 = Lucianic (*kaige* section)

8%: Luc *L* 460 = OG ≠ A B s 245 = *kaige* (mostly in the *kaige* section)

2%: Luc *L* = OG ≠ A B 460 (s 245) = *kaige* (in the nonkaige section; few cases)

Agreements with X against Y in Secondary Readings

The next step is to inspect the agreement patterns when Lucifer attests a secondary reading. As these are significantly fewer than the original readings, 100 out of 503,³ it is instructive to first see the big picture without a breakdown according to the type of secondariness.

3. Appendix A reports altogether 126 probable secondary readings by Lucifer. About a fifth of these were excluded from the statistical inspection for any of the following reasons: the variation concerns proper nouns, it is unclear which reading Lucifer actually attests or whether the reading is secondary after all, or there are complex issues involved.

Table 22. Luc [row] = secondary ≠ [col] = OG in 1–2 Kings									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	13	14	11	8	11	17.9	TOT	100
B	4	-	8	5	6	3		Xpctd	25
L	54	57	-	54	55	25		Dev.	16.5
s	4	7	7	-	2	4		High	41.5
245	4	11	11	5	-	8		Low	8.5
460	34	35	8	34	35	-		P	0.1%

The pattern Luc *L* 460 ≠ A B *s* 245 = OG accounts for roughly 45 percent of all of Lucifer’s secondary readings with the next frequent pattern, Luc A ≠ B *L* *s* 460 = OG far behind (12 percent). Again, the only significant difference between the sections concerns MS 460: in the nonkaige section (forty-nine cases) the most frequent pattern is Luc *L* ≠ A B *s* 245 460 = OG (47 percent).

When turning to the secundariness breakdown, the first thing that can be noticed is the very low number of Hebraizing readings attested by Lucifer; the total number is ten, of which seven are Hexaplaric readings in the kaige section, two are possible kaige readings in the nonkaige section (1 Kgs 13:6.1, 19.2), and one is a Hexaplaric reading in the nonkaige section (1 Kgs 18:34.5). The number is too low to warrant any kind of statistical inspection, but since some clear patterns emerge, I will show the numbers with the extreme caveat that any number shown here may be due to chance alone.

Table 23. Luc [row] = kaige or Hexaplaric ≠ [col] = OG in 1–2 Kings									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	4	4	5	4	3	2.4	TOT	10
B	0	-	2	1	1	1		Xpctd	2.5
L	4	6	-	6	6	3		Dev.	3.5
s	0	0	1	-	0	0		High	6.0
245	0	1	2	1	-	1		Low	0
460	2	4	2	4	4	-		P	2.5 %

The pattern Luc *L* (460) = Hexaplaric (or kaige) ≠ B *s* 245 (A) accounts for 40 percent of the cases and Luc A ≠ *L* (B *s*) for another 40 percent.

The inspection of Lucifer’s agreements in Lucianic recensional readings (42 out of 100) is best divided according to the sections.

Table 24. Luc [row] = Lucianic \neq [col] = OG in 1 Kgs 2–21 (nonkaige)									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	1	0	1	0	1	3.0	TOT	16
B	0	-	0	0	0	0		Xpctd	4
L	15	16	-	14	14	14		Dev.	6.6
s	2	2	0	-	1	0		High	10.6
245	1	2	0	1	-	1		Low	0
460	2	2	0	0	1	-		P	0.1 %

As expected, Lucifer never agrees with B or other manuscripts against *L* in readings of this type. Technically, the expected value (4) is too low for determining real statistical significance for the low numbers but the clarity of the pattern Luc *L* = Lucianic \neq A B (*s* 245 460) speaks for itself.

Table 25. Luc [row] = Lucianic \neq [col] = OG in 1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs (kaige)									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	0	0	0	0	0	6.7	TOT	26
B	0	-	0	0	0	0		Xpctd	6.5
L	26	26	-	25	25	2		Dev.	6.4
s	1	1	0	-	0	0		High	12.9
245	1	1	0	0	-	0		Low	0.1
460	24	24	0	23	23	-		P	1.25%

In this table, the zeros are statistically significant at a 98.75 percent probability. Again, none of the manuscripts under inspection agrees with Lucifer against *L* and the pattern Luc *L* 460 \neq A B *s* 245 accounts for 23 out of 26 cases (88 percent). The only exceptions are 2 Kgs 23:10.7, where the Lucianic reading appears to be attested by the majority against A B 247 121 *fo* 488 55 318 372, and 2:12.1 and 23:3.3, where 460 does not agree with Lucifer and *L*.

Table 26. Luc [row] = error or other \neq [col] = OG in 1–2 Kings									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	8	10	5	4	7	5.7	TOT	48
B	4	-	6	4	5	2		Xpctd	12
L	9	9	-	9	10	6		Dev.	7.8
s	1	4	6	-	1	4		High	19.8
245	2	7	9	3	-	6		Low	4.2
460	6	5	6	7	7	-		P	2.5%

In the final category, Lucifer's agreements in secondary readings that result from an error or free copying, the patterns are not very clear. The average (5.7) is significantly lower than the expected value (12), which suggests that a good number of the forty-eight cases fall under patterns other than those formed by the chosen witnesses. Unexpectedly, *L* has the highest values in both in its row and column (6–10, averages 8.6 and 7.4). There is a slight difference between the nonkaige (total = 30; *L* row 7.0, column 5.4) and kaige sections (total = 18; row 1.6, column 2.0), but as the numbers are quite low in the latter, the difference may be due to chance alone. Nevertheless, the pattern *Luc L* 460 \neq *A B s* 245 accounts for 16 percent of the cases with the pattern *Luc A* \neq *B L* (*s*) having almost the same frequency.

Summary: The following lists the typical agreement/disagreement patterns when Lucifer attests a secondary reading. The percentages are vis-à-vis the total number of Lucifer's probable secondary readings (100 out of 503). Together the six patterns account for roughly 63 percent of Lucifer's secondary readings.

23%: *Luc L* 460 = Lucianic \neq *A B s* 245 = OG (kaige section)

15%: *Luc L* = Lucianic \neq *A B* (*s* 245 460) = OG (nonkaige section)

9%: *Luc L* 460 = error or other \neq *A B s* 245 = OG

8%: *Luc A* = error or other \neq *B L* (*s*) = OG

4%: *Luc A* = Hexaplaric (or kaige) \neq *L* (*B s*) = OG

4%: *Luc L* (460) = Hexaplaric (or kaige) \neq *B s* 245 (*A*) = OG

Agreements with X against Y in Different Passages

In the qualitative analyses, occasionally it was noted that Lucifer's type of text appears to slightly change between passages. Statistics can shed light on that question only if the passages under inspection are long enough. Such an inspection cannot be restricted to the secondary readings attested by Lucifer, since it would be hard to find two passages with a sufficient (≥ 20) total number of readings. However, it can be supposed that when quoting Kings in a particular book, such as *De regibus*, Lucifer would use the same source or sources throughout, but the quality of his source might change between the writing of different books. Therefore, it may be instructive to compare Lucifer's behaviour in the recensional Lucianic readings in three different books by Lucifer: *De regibus*, *De Athanasio*, and *De non parcendo*. A comparison between *De Athanasio* (mostly nonkaige)

and *De non parcendo* (kaige) reveals the expected change in the alignment of MS 460.⁴

Table 27. Luc [row] ≠ [col] when the secondary reading is Lucianic in <i>De Athanasio</i> (nonkaige)									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	1	31	0	2	4	10.0	TOT	52
B	4	-	34	0	2	4		Xpctd	13
L	17	17	-	14	16	15		Dev.	8.1
s	6	3	34	-	3	6		High	21.1
245	5	2	33	0	-	5		Low	4.9
460	5	2	30	1	3	-		P	2.5%

Table 28. Luc [row] ≠ [col] when the secondary reading is Lucianic in <i>De non parcendo</i> (kaige)									
	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	0	29	0	1	25	12.0	TOT	48
B	1	-	30	1	2	26		Xpctd	12
L	17	17	-	16	16	2		Dev.	7.8
s	1	1	29	-	1	25		High	19.8
245	1	1	28	0	-	24		Low	4.2
460	16	16	5	15	15	-		P	2.5%

The total numbers are very near each other, which makes it easy to compare the tables. In addition to the alignment change in 460, the only other change that may have some significance is that the agreements with *s* 245 (B) against A drop to near zero.

Expectedly, in *De regibus* we find a pattern that is halfway between *De Athanasio* and *De non parcendo*; that is because there are long quotations in *De regibus* from both the nonkaige and kaige sections. The figures are scaled down to 50 to make the comparison with *De Athanasio* and *De non parcendo* easier:

4. In the quotation in *De non conveniendo*, the number of Lucianic readings happens to be only seven, which makes a statistical survey meaningless.

Table 29. Luc [row] ≠ [col] when the secondary reading is Lucianic in *De regibus* (figures scaled from 72 to 50)

	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	0	36.1	2.1	1.4	9.0	14.4	TOT	72
B	2.1	-	38.2	4.2	3.5	9.7		Xpctd	18
L	10.4	10.4	-	9.0	9.7	4.9		Dev.	9.5
s	1.4	1.4	34.0	-	1.4	7.6		High	27.5
245	0.7	0.7	34.7	1.4	-	8.3		Low	8.5
460	7.6	6.3	29.2	6.9	7.6	-		P	2.5%

Here the row and column values for 460 are considerably higher than in *De Athanasio* but lower than in *De non parcendo*.

If *De regibus* is broken down to nonkaige and kaige sections, the results are more or less the same as in *De Athanasio* and *De non parcendo* (figures scaled up to 50):

Table 30. Luc [row] ≠ [col] when the secondary reading is Lucianic in *De regibus*, nonkaige (figures scaled from 42 to 50)

	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	0	35.7	2.4	2.4	1.2	7.6	TOT	42
B	3.6	-	39.3	6.0	6.0	2.4		Xpctd	10.5
L	9.5	9.5	-	7.1	8.3	7.1		Dev.	7.3
s	2.4	2.4	33.3	-	2.4	0		High	17.8
245	1.2	1.2	33.3	1.2	-	0		Low	3.2
460	4.8	2.4	36.9	3.6	4.8	-		P	2.5%

Table 31. Luc [row] ≠ [col] when the secondary reading is Lucianic in *De regibus*, kaige (figures scaled from 30 to 50)

	A	B	L	s	245	460	Avg.		
A	-	0	36.7	1.7	0	20.0	6.8	TOT	30
B	0	-	36.7	1.7	0	20.0		Xpctd	7.5
L	11.7	11.7	-	11.7	11.7	1.7		Dev.	6.1
s	0	0	35.0	-	0	18.3		High	13.6
245	0	0	36.7	1.7	-	20.0		Low	1.4
460	11.7	11.7	18.3	11.7	11.7	-		P	2.5%

Summary: In the Lucianic recensional readings that are numerous enough to warrant a statistical inspection, Lucifer’s agreement patterns do not

change between *De Athanasio*, *De non parcendo*, and *De regibus*. The only change that can be seen concerns the alignment of MS 460, which changes between the nonkaige and kaige sections.

Conclusion

The findings of the statistical inspection can be summarized in thirteen points.

1. The MS group *L* clearly stands alone in both its agreements and disagreements with Lucifer. In the kaige section it is frequently joined by MS 460, much less so by any other semi-Lucianic manuscripts, of which 158, 318, and 372 are the most noteworthy.
2. In the nonkaige section the difference between the *L* group and the rest of the witnesses is somewhat smaller than in the entire Kings. In addition, the patterns Luc A X and Luc B X are comparatively rarer in the kaige than in the nonkaige section.
3. In the entire Kings, there is a considerable difference between the patterns Luc A \neq B and Luc B \neq A; the latter is 2.2 times more common than the former.
4. In the nonkaige section, four manuscripts especially tend to agree with Lucifer against any other witness more often than to disagree: B, 509, 318, and 372. By contrast, in the kaige section the manuscripts that most agree with Lucifer against another MS are 460, *L*, and 71 while those most in disagreement with Lucifer are B and 55. MS A remains in strong disagreement with Lucifer in both sections.
5. Four witnesses appear to be especially kaige-neutral, that is, they are not especially kaige-type, nor opposed to kaige: 245, A, 554, V. The overall most neutral witnesses are s, 158, 71, and 554: they are not especially Hexaplaric, Lucianic, or kaige-like and they do not stand out as agreeing with Lucifer significantly more or less than the other manuscripts.
6. In the kaige or kaige-type readings in which Lucifer attests the OG, he almost always agrees with *L* against B. In the kaige section, where most of these readings occur, Lucifer and *L* are joined by 460. The pattern Luc *L* 460 = OG \neq A B s 245 = kaige covers about 60 percent of the cases.
7. When Lucifer attests the probable original reading and the secondary reading is Hexaplaric, the typical pattern is Luc B *L* 460 \neq

- A. The only significant difference between the nonkaige and kaige sections in this respect is that the vast majority of the readings (43) are in the former section. The patterns for the five Hexaplaric readings that Lucifer does not attest in the kaige section are Luc B L 245 460 \neq A s (3x) and Luc B L s 245 460 \neq A (2x).
8. The picture of MS 460 being between the B and the L texts changing its alignment between the sections becomes especially clear in its behaviour in the Lucianic readings. In the nonkaige section, when Lucifer retains the OG reading against a Lucianic reading in L , 460 is aligned with B and the other witnesses. In the kaige section it becomes almost as Lucianic as L in attesting a high number of Lucianic recensional readings.
 9. MS A appears to be somewhat more erroneous or free than the others in its disagreements with Lucifer when the latter retains the OG reading, the L group the least so. MS 460 leans somewhat more towards L than B in these kinds of readings, considerably so in the kaige section, but otherwise there is no clear difference between the sections.
 10. When Lucifer attests a secondary reading, the pattern Luc L 460 \neq A B s 245 = OG accounts for roughly 45 percent of the cases with the next frequent pattern, Luc A \neq B L s 460 = OG far behind (12 percent). The only significant difference between the sections concerns MS 460: in the nonkaige section the most frequent pattern is Luc L \neq A B s 245 460 = OG (47 percent).
 11. Lucifer attests only a very low number of Hebraizing readings: eight of them Hexaplaric and two possible kaige readings in the nonkaige section.
 12. The Lucianic readings attested by Lucifer follow the pattern Luc L = Lucianic \neq A B (s 245 460). Often in these cases Lucifer's alignment is doubtful.
 13. Lucifer's agreement patterns do not change significantly between the long quotations in *De Athanasio*, *De non pariendo*, and *De regibus*. The only change that can be seen concerns the alignment of MS 460 which changes between the nonkaige (*De Athanasio*) and kaige sections (*De non pariendo*).

To sum up, the most typical agreement/disagreement patterns within the 503 readings under inspection are the following. Together these patterns cover roughly 58 percent of Lucifer's readings:

- 14%: Luc A B s 245 460 = OG \neq L = Lucianic (nonkaige section)
- 8%: Luc L = OG \neq A B 245 = error or other
- 7%: Luc B L 460 (s 245) = OG \neq A = Hexaplaric
- 7%: Luc A B s 245 = OG \neq L 460 = Lucianic (kaige section)
- 6%: Luc L 460 = OG \neq A B s 245 = kaige (mostly in the kaige section)
- 5%: Luc L 460 = Lucianic \neq A B s 245 = OG (kaige section)
- 3%: Luc L = Lucianic \neq A B (s 245 460) = OG (nonkaige section)
- 2%: Luc L 460 = error or other \neq A B s 245 = OG
- 1.6%: Luc L = OG \neq A B 460 (s 245) = kaige (in the nonkaige section)
- 1.6%: Luc A = error or other \neq B L (s) = OG
- 0.8%: Luc A = Hexaplaric (or kaige) \neq L (B s) = OG
- 0.8%: Luc L (460) = Hexaplaric (or kaige) \neq B s 245 (A) = OG

Finally, a greatly simplified list of patterns with only B and L can be given:

- 21%: Luc B = OG \neq L = Lucianic
- 16%: Luc L = OG \neq B = kaige or error
- 8%: Luc L = Lucianic \neq B = OG
- 7%: Luc B L = OG \neq Hexaplaric
- 2%: Luc L = error or other \neq B = OG
- 1%: Luc L = Hexaplaric (or kaige) \neq B = OG

Special Issues in Lucifer's Biblical Quotations

Historical Present

In Lucifer's biblical quotations there are thirty-three instances in which there is a historical present in most or all Greek manuscripts.⁵ Lucifer's treatment of the historical present is ambiguous. He retains it at least eleven times:

5. In compiling the following lists, I located the historical presents in the LXX myself searching for all the present tenses in BibleWorks and comparing this list with the index of Lucifer's biblical quotations. For the New Testament, I used the list of historical presents compiled by John A. Battle, Jr., "The Present Indicative in New Testament Exegesis" (ThD diss., Grace Theological Seminary, 1975). Theoretically, it might be possible to find an instance of Lucifer attesting a historical present when Rahlfs's text reports a past tense. Such an investigation would require, however, a thoroughgoing survey of all of Lucifer's biblical quotations. It would be beyond the scope of the present study.

1 Sam 5:8 ἀποστέλλουσιν *mittunt*, συνάγουσιν *conuocant*, λέγουσιν *dicunt*; 5:11 ἐξαποστέλλουσιν *mittunt*, συνάγουσιν *conuocant*; **Matt** 18:22 λέγει *dicit*, 32 λέγει *ait*; 21:41 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ *dicit illis*; 22:12 λέγει *ait*; 26:52 λέγει *ait*; **John** 14:22 λέγει *ait*

In addition, there are three more instances that are unclear:

1 Sam 19:18 παραγίνεται *uenit*; 26:4 ἔχει *uenit*

John 21:16 λέγει αὐτῷ· ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου.
Petro dicit beato: *Pasce agnos meos*, Luc *Parc.* 11 (216,46)

In the 1 Samuel cases, it cannot be said whether Lucifer means *venit* to be understood as a present or a perfect tense; in Latin it can be either. In John the present *dicit* “he said” is not in the citation proper but in a formula introducing the citation: “He [i.e., Jesus] says to Blessed Peter, “Tend my sheep.” One cannot tell whether this is meant to reproduce the historical present in John’s text or to actualize the meaning: this is what Jesus presently says to the followers of Peter, that is, to bishops and to Lucifer among them.

In nineteen⁶ instances Lucifer gives a perfect tense for the Greek historical present. In eleven of these there is no manuscript evidence for a Greek past tense that could be the reading that Lucifer followed. In these instances there can be little doubt that Lucifer himself changes the historical present to the perfect which produces a better Latin expression:

1 Sam 4:1 συναθροίζονται *conuenerunt*, 10 παύει *defecit*; 5:7 λέγουσιν *dixerunt*, 9 γίνεται *facta est*, 10 ἐξαποστέλλουσιν *miserunt*; 22:17 φεύγει *fugeret*; 26:7 εἰσπορεύεται *intrauerunt*; **1 Kgs** 12:24a κοιμᾶται *dormiuit*; 13:11 ἔρχονται *uenerunt*, 12 δεικνύουσιν *demonstrauerunt*; **Luke** 19:22 λέγει *dixit*

Finally, there are eight instances in which the Greek manuscript evidence is divided between the present and a past tense:

Exod 32:27 λέγει B M' O-15' 129 n 71' 68'-120' 18 55 426 646] εἶπεν^{Lat} Ambr Ep LXVI 7 Luc *Parc* 1 rell (sed hab Compl) = Ald MT; *dixit* Luc

1 Sam 4:4 αἶρουσιν] ἤραν M^{mg} L; *tulerunt* La¹¹⁵; *sustulerunt* Luc

1 Sam 5:8 λέγουσιν] εἶπαν V 29 55 71 158 245 318 Ald; εἰπόν CI 44-125; *dixerunt* Luc

6. In addition, Lucifer quotes a long passage from Dan 7 where there is a historical present (λέγει) in v. 16 in the LXX translation. Lucifer, however, knew Daniel in Theodotion’s translation which has the word εἶπε which Lucifer, as can be expected, renders as *dixit*.

1 Sam 19:12	σώζεται] σώσεται 19'; ἐσώθη O 44; <i>saluus factus est</i> Luc
1 Sam 19:18	ἀπαγγέλλει B V 93-108 CI 242 119-527 b f 29 244 318 460 ^c] ἀπαγγελεῖ (-λη 82 460; -λι 158) A O 19-82-127 799 68' 71 158 460*; ἀπήγγειλεν rel; <i>renuntiavit</i> Luc
1 Sam 26:5	εἰσπορεύεται] ἐπορεύθη L; <i>abiit</i> Luc
1 Kgs 12:24k	πορεύεται] ἐπορεύθη L ⁻¹²⁷ ; <i>abiit</i> Luc
1 Kgs 18:40	κατάγει] κατήγαγεν L; <i>deduxit</i> Luc

Should Lucifer be cited as attesting the past tense in these cases as is done by J. W. Wevers in Exod 32:27 as well as by Brooke-McLean in 1 Kgs 12:24k and 18:40?⁷ A comparison with another Latin witness, La¹¹⁵, is in order. Its translator “almost never uses the historical present.”⁸ Therefore, in the case of 1 Sam 4:4 above, La¹¹⁵ should not be cited as attesting a past tense since there is strong manuscript support for the historical present: if the translator read the historical present in the Greek exemplar, he would have changed it to a past tense. Lucifer, however, does retain the historical present in a considerable number of cases. The least that can be said is that when the Greek evidence is divided, if Lucifer has a past tense it cannot be determined that he attested the historical present. If the past tense is found in witnesses that Lucifer tends to follow now and then (such as L), I would advise citing Lucifer in favour of it with the marking “vid” = *ut videtur*. When the past tense is attested only by a few manuscripts that Lucifer is not known to follow, I would suggest not citing Lucifer at all.

Lucifer's Own Modifications

It has been noted both in the introduction and in the analyses that Lucifer's manner of quoting is somewhat inwardly conflicting. He clearly means to cite the text in the strictest sense of the word; that is, he makes a very sharp distinction between paraphrasing and citing the Bible. However, within his citations he exercises some freedom of quotation. Appendix A contains a complete set of these, divided into omissions, additions, and other changes. Here a very brief overview of typical types of modification is given.

7. J. W. Wevers, “Study in the Textual History,” 178–89.

8. So Fischer, Ulrich, and Sanderson, 44. See also Kauhanen, *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 144–45.

The most notable trait in Lucifer's quotations is the frequent omissions. Within the 176 verses quoted by Lucifer, he makes a noteworthy omission 76 times—one in almost every other verse. The most usual type of omission is omitting a short, often unnecessary clause. This happens twenty-two times (6x in nonkaige, 16x in kaige; but 2 Kgs 23:11.1, 14.3 crrp?). Omission of a relative or possessive expression or of a particle is the next most common category: twenty times (10 + 10). A subject or object is omitted when it is more or less implicit seventeen times (10 + 7; but 2 Kgs 23:8.6 crrp?). Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, omission of λέγων or another kind of formula is not a common feature; I located that only five times:

1 Kgs 13:3.2 λέγων 1^o] om – ῥῆμα Luc Or-gr; ∩ 2^o 509 245

1 Kgs 13:3.4 λέγων 2^o] sub obel Syh; > L 328 Luc (unlikely Hex.)

1 Kgs 13:20.3 και ἐγένετο 2^o La¹¹⁵ La^M] > Luc

1 Kgs 20[21]:14.3 τάδε λέγει κύριος > 125 Luc

2 Kgs 21:10.2 λέγων] > 246 Luc

The rest of the omissions, thirteen in number, either do not have a common denominator or there are complex issues involved. For instance, in 2 Kgs 22:15–16 Lucifer's manuscripts omit the words εἶπατε τάδε, but they are restored by Diercks. In the kaige section, there appear to be proportionally more omissions (44 per 61 verses = 0.72) than in the nonkaige section (33 per 115 verses = 0.29). This is probably mostly due to the fact that in the kaige section the quotations are fewer and longer, and it is especially in those long quotations that Lucifer shortens the text by omitting short clauses (see 2 Kgs 21–23 in the reading list).

Lucifer's shortening tendency is counterbalanced by frequent small additions, altogether fifty in number. These are distributed more or less evenly in the two sections (nonkaige: 36:115 = 0.31, kaige: 14:61 = 0.23). The most common type is the addition of a relative expression or a particle (14 + 6 = 20). A clear explication of a subject, an object, or an apposition takes place ten times (9 + 1) and most of the remaining cases are other explications with at least some visible motivation but without a common denominator (10 + 6 = 16). Only two of these are additions of a verb of saying: 1 Kgs 18:22.1 λαόν] + *dicens* Luc, 2 Kgs 2:12.3 πάτερ 1^o] pr *et dixit* Orig Luc. It should be noted that adding the verb "to be" cannot be considered an addition *sensu stricto*, and I have admitted only some of the instances of that in the reading list (1 Kgs 12:24h.4, 18:24.7, 46.1; 2 Kgs 23:12.1).

In the reading list I have included 114 cases of “other changes” by Lucifer. These are proportionally significantly more frequent in the kaige section (61:61 = 1.0; nonkaige: 53:115 = 0.46). This may be due to the same factor that explains the somewhat more frequent omissions in the kaige section: the quotations are long and often Lucifer feels a need to simplify or clarify the expression. In twenty-one cases (7 + 14) the change is noteworthy enough to alter the meaning somewhat:

- 1 Kgs 12:28.1** καὶ 1^o] *tunc igitur* Luc | **13:5.4** ἔδωκεν] *dixit* Luc | **20.4** τὸν προφήτην La¹¹⁵] *pseudopropheta* La^M Luc | **18:18.2** ὅτι ἀλλ’ ἦ] *sed euertis* Luc | **21.5** ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰγνύαις (+ ὑμῶν L 246 La^M)] *sensu uestro* Luc | **38.5** ἦλθον θάλαα (vel sim) *L pauci*] *θαλάσση* rel; *altare* Luc (crrp?) | **21[20]:10.1** ἠλόγησεν] *maledixit* La^M; *maledixisti* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:1.1** υἱός] *cum esset rex* Luc | **6.7** κυρίου ... αὐτόν] *animae suae ... dominum deum* Luc | **12.1** כִּי οὐχ οὕτως] *propter hoc* Luc | **13.5** καὶ καταστρέφεται La^M] *de poste* Luc | **15.3** ἐποίησαν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου] *erant de post me* Luc (crrp) | **19.1** υἱός] pr καὶ ἦν 19; *cum esset* Luc | **22:20.1** כִּי οὐχ οὕτως] *propter hoc* Luc | **23:2.4** προφήται] *Δευῖται* 2 Chr (ים הַלְוִיִּם MT) Luc (Greek source?) | **4.2** הַיָּמִין τὸν σταθμόν] *Ephod* Luc | **4** הַיָּמִין נָאוּ] οἴκου 93; *domo* Luc | **7.1** τὸν οἶκον τῶν καδησιμ] *filios illorum* Luc | **8.3** τὰ ὑψηλά] *sancta* Luc | **11.6** Ναθαν βασιλέως τοῦ εὐνούχου] *quos posuit tres equos qui* Luc (crrp) | **11.8** ἄρμα] *fontem* Luc (crrp?)

Five of the changes concern replacing a pronoun with a noun or a noun with its near synonym or apposition:

- 1 Kgs 13:4.7** αὐτοῦ 2^o] *regis* Luc
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:13.6** κύριος 2^o Luc Reg. 7 (150,41)] *deus* Luc Reg. 7 (150,53)
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:14.1** Αχααβ 1^o et 2^o] *rex* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:10.2** θεόν] *dominum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:2.9** αὐτῶν 2 Chr = MT] *populi* Luc

There are three instances, two of them parallel, in which a proper noun is changed altogether (this excludes, of course, the frequent variation in the spelling of the proper nouns):

- 1 Kgs 16:31.2** Ἰεθεβααλ] *Basan et Hela* Luc (crrp)
- 2 Kgs 22:12.3** Ασαία 2 Chr] *Ιασαι* A; *Αζαρια* L; *Ioas* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:14.3** Ασαιας] *Ησαιας* 158; *Αζαριας* L; *Εζαριας* 460; *Ioas* Luc

An example of complex phenomena is in order; here it is unclear which of the two clauses Lucifer attests:

- 1 Kgs 18:27.4 ὅτι ἀδολεσχία αὐτῷ ἐστίν] *ne forte occupatus sit* Luc (?); > La¹¹⁵ (?)
 Cf. 27.5 καὶ ἄμα μήποτε χρηματίζει αὐτός] [*ne*] | *forte sortes de[derit]*
 La¹¹⁵; > Luc (?)

Of the remaining cases, fourteen are transpositions (7 + 7). The majority (seventy cases) do not fall into clear categories. In at least four cases Lucifer's special reading may go back to him being tired or otherwise in a psychological state that enhances the possibility of errors (see the analyses above):

- 1 Kgs 12:24a.7 δώδεκα B 509 (460)] 17 rel = 14:21; *uiginti* Luc (crrp?)
 1 Kgs 18:26.5 ἕως μεσημβρίας] *usque ad uesperum* Luc
 2 Kgs 21:16/17 tr Luc
 2 Kgs 21:17.1 καὶ 3^o – ἤμαρτεν] *quemadmodum peccare fecit Israel* Luc

Finally, it can be noted that Lucifer's choice of vocabulary and prepositions concerning the sacrificial space in 1 Kgs 13 may hint that he imagined that the sanctuary resembled a fourth-century Christian church; see the excursus Lucifer's Understanding of the Israelite Sacrificial Practices in part 1.

Appendix A: A List of Lucifer's Readings

The conclusions offered in part 3 can be complemented with a list of noteworthy readings in Lucifer's quotations from Kings. Here the readings from the analysis sections are arranged according to agreement patterns or other meaningful criteria. Readings concerning minor details that have no significance from the point of view of Lucifer's text-historical position are excluded.

The lists provide the data concerning Lucifer's alignment in kaige and kaige-type readings, Hexaplaric readings, Lucianic readings, and errors and free variants. These are followed by Lucifer's special readings. The last two sections list the readings featuring other Latin witnesses (La¹¹⁵, La^M). From the point of view of Lucifer's text-historical position, the agreements between Lucifer and another witness or witnesses in secondary readings (patterns of the type Luc X ≠ OG) are the most noteworthy. However, agreements in original readings (Luc X = OG) are included for the sake of completeness.

Kaige and Kaige-Type Readings

Luc L = OG ≠ B+ = Kaige (50)

Nonkaige Section (10)

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 1 Kgs 12:20.2 | ἐξ Αἰγύπτου Luc] > A B V 247 509 460 = MT |
| 1 Kgs 12:27.8 | καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν με] > L ^{-19'} 328 246 Luc |
| 1 Kgs 13:11.2 | εἶς = MT] ἄλλος L C ^{mg} (98 ^{txt}) La ^M Luc (<i>alius</i>) (OG?) |
| 1 Kgs 13:11.4 | ἐκείνη Luc] > A B 509: cf. MT |
| 1 Kgs 13:11.5 | καὶ 4 ^o Luc] > A B 93 509 460 = MT |
| 1 Kgs 13:25a.1 | om v. 25a L ^{-19'} Luc La ¹¹⁵ |
| 1 Kgs 18:32.3 | θυσιαστήριον] + Κυρίου L 328 246 554 ^{II} Luc |

- 1 Kgs 18:37.1 ἐπάκουσόν 1^o – θεός = MT] > L 125 246 71 342 Luc
 1 Kgs 20[21]:13.3 יִמְחֶה הַחֵלֶן] ἤχον 247 L⁻⁸² 243^{mg}-379^{mg}-731^{mg} 121 488* (244) 554^c Luc (OG?)
 1 Kgs 21[20]:21.1 τάδε λέγει κύριος Luc] > A B = MT

Kaige Section (40)

- 1 Kgs 22:18.2 אִלֹּהִים] pr ὅτι A L 328 (246) o 71 Luc (OG?)
 1 Kgs 22:18.4 כִּי דִּיּוֹתִי] > L 52 328 (d⁻¹⁰⁶) 381 372 460 Luc
 2 Kgs 2:11.2 יִפְרֹדֶה דִּיעֲסַיִלָּאן] διεχώρισεν L-700 372 Luc (*separavit*) (OG?)
 2 Kgs 10:30.1 רַשָּׁאִי יַעֲזֹב אֶת הָאֵלֹהִים 1^o] om ὅσα 247 L-700 121 488 318 460; *quia* La¹¹⁵; *eapropter quod* Luc (OG?)
 2 Kgs 20:21.1 καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν πόλει Δαυιδ Luc] > A B 245 = MT
 2 Kgs 21:2.2 בְּעֵינֵי הָאֱלֹהִים] ἐνώπιον L 125 71 460 Luc (2 Chr)
 2 Kgs 21:3.5 אֲבָצִי דִּנְדָּמֵי] στρατιᾶ L 328 460 Did Tht Luc 2 Chr
 2 Kgs 21:6.3 אִיִּם בְּלִיִּיִם] ἐγγαστριμύθους L 460 Luc (*pythones*) 2 Chr
 2 Kgs 21:8.6 רַשָּׁאִי פִּלְאֶזְסִין] ἀκούσωσι L 460 Luc
 2 Kgs 21:8.7 πάντα] pr κατὰ (247) L⁻⁸² (121 488) 158 460 Luc (*per*)
 2 Kgs 21:8.11 רַשָּׁאִי דֹּוּלֹס (מוֹ)] παῖς L 460* Luc
 2 Kgs 21:9.1 καὶ ἐπλάνησεν] pr καὶ ἐβδελύχθη Μανασσῆς σφόδρα L (328) 460 Luc
 2 Kgs 21:9.4 τὰ ἔθνη = MT] pr πάντα L 318 460 Luc 2 Chr (OG?)
 2 Kgs 21:9.5 רַשָּׁאִי הָפְסִידִין] ἐξῆρε L 460 Luc (*abstulit*) 2 Chr (OG?)
 2 Kgs 21:10.1 רַשָּׁאִי דֹּוּלֹן] παίδων L 460 Luc
 2 Kgs 21:12.2 אֲבָצִי (הַנִּי) (ידֹוּ עֵגֹוּ) פֶּרֶוּ] ἐπάγω L 460; *adduco* Luc (Luc?)
 2 Kgs 21:13.3 תַּחֲלִיף הָאֱלֹהִים] τὸ πύξιον L 460 La^M Luc
 2 Kgs 21:15.1 רַשָּׁאִי יַעֲזֹב אֶת הָאֵלֹהִים 1^o] om ὅσα A L 328 71 460; *quoniam* Luc
 2 Kgs 21:15.2 ἐποίησαν] pr ἀπερρίφησαν ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν μου καὶ L 328 460 Luc (OG?)
 2 Kgs 21:16.4 εἰς] ἐπὶ L 460 Luc (OG?)
 2 Kgs 21:16.5 בְּדִלְּהֵן] ἔκτος L 460 Luc (OG?)
 2 Kgs 21:16.6 אִתְּרַשָּׁאִי תֹוֹן אֲמַרְתִּין (Luc)] pr ἀπό A B CI 244* (Luc uncertain)
 2 Kgs 22:2.3 ἡ Luc (*aut*)] καὶ B f; οὐδέ 247 121 o 488 x⁻⁵²⁷ 318 372 (OG?)
 2 Kgs 22:2.1 בְּעֵינֵי הָאֱלֹהִים] ἐνώπιον L 242-530 460 Luc

- 2 Kgs 22:19.2 κυρίου = MT] μου L^{-82} 318 460 Luc 2 Chr (OG?)
- 2 Kgs 22:20.7 מְבִיאִי אֶגְוֹ עִימִי עֲפָאָו] ἐγὼ ἐπάγω L CII⁻³²⁸ (d^{-106}) 92-314-489-762 55^c 71 318 342 460 554 707^s Luc 2 Chr
- 2 Kgs 22:20.8 τοῦτον A B = MT] + καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτόν L rel Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:3.7 יְהִי דִּכְאִימָא] προσταγματα L 460 Luc (*praecepta*)
- 2 Kgs 23:4.7 אֲבָצִי דִּנְדָּמֵי] στρατιᾶ L 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:4.10 תְּמַלֵּךְ סַדְהִמְוִת] τῷ ἐμπυρισμῷ L 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:5.2 סִפְרֵי כְּתָבִי חֹמָרִי] ἱερεῖς L 799^{mg} 56^{mg} (-246 158) 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:5.3 הִנֵּה עֲדָוָה] κατέστησαν L 460 Luc (*constituerant*) (OG?)
- 2 Kgs 23:5.10 אֲבָצִי דִּנְדָּמֵי] στρατιᾶ L 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:7.4 סִפְרֵי חֶטְיִין] στολάς L 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:11.2 הִנֵּה עֲדָוָה] ἀνέθηκαν L 460; *posuerant* Luc (OG?)
- 2 Kgs 23:11.10 fin] + ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ὧν ὁ κοδομόησαν βασιλεῖς Ἰσραὴλ ὑψηλὸν τῷ Βαάλ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ L 328 460 Luc (OG?)
- 2 Kgs 23:12.2 τοῦ δώματος τοῦ ὑπερώου = MT] τῶν δωματίων τῶν ὑπερώων L 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:13.7 קָרָא פְּרוֹסוֹחִיטְמַא 1° = α' Z₃] βδελύγματι L ; *simulacro* Luc (OG?)
- 2 Kgs 23:16.1 יָדָא עֲזֵנְעֻסֵּן] ἀπέστρεψεν L 328 (460) Luc (OG?)
- 2 Kgs 23:16.5 בְּרָא (ἐν) τῇ πόλει] τῷ ὄρει L 460 Luc = α' Z₃ (OG?)

Luc B(+) = OG ≠ L rel = Kaige (2)

- 1 Kgs 20[21]:13.2 πάντα = MT] > B 245 Luc (OG?)
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:18.1 ἰδοὺ = MT] ὅτι A B 318 Luc (OG?)

Luc MSS = OG ≠ B L rel = kaige (3)

- 1 Kgs 13:11.3 πρεσβύτης La^M = MT] > 19 CI^{mg}(98^{txt}) 707 Luc (OG?)
- 2 Kgs 21:16.9 יִנְיָ עֵן דִּפְתָּלְמוֹסִין] ἐνώπιον CI-242-530 71 244; *in conspectu* Luc (OG?)
- 2 Kgs 22:14.8 αὐτήν A B L 328 f 55 245 372 460 = MT] + κατὰ ταῦτα rel Luc 2 Chr (OG?)

Luc MSS = kaige ≠ MSS = OG (3)

In these three possible kaige or kaige-type readings retained by Lucifer, his testimony is doubtful in each case.

- 1 Kgs 13:19.2 *καὶ ἔπιεν ὕδωρ*] post αὐτοῦ tr A B 247 318 La¹¹⁵ Luc = MT (OG?)
 1 Kgs 13:6.1 *καὶ 1° – Ἱεροβοὰμ*] *κ. ἀπεκρίθη ὁ βασις. κ. εἶπε(ν)* L Luc = MT (or Hex.?)
 2 Kgs 21:19.4 *Ἰῶν* Αμων A L 328 121 = MT] Αμως rel Luc (OG?)

Hexaplaric Readings

The significant issue is that Lucifer does not attest most of the Hexaplaric readings—only occasionally could such a case be made. Most of the cases in that category (the last pattern below) are, however, dubious.

Luc B L rel = OG ≠ A(+) = Hex. (34)

Nonkaige Section (29)

- 1 Kgs 11:33.9 *ἐπορεύθη* Luc = MT] + *ἐνώπιον κυρίου* A (Hex.?)
 1 Kgs 11:33.11 *ἐμοῦ* Luc] + *καὶ διακριβείας μου καὶ κρίσεις μου* A = MT
 1 Kgs 12:27.8 *καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσίν με* (Luc)] + *καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς Ῥοβοὰμ βασιλέα Ἰούδα* A 247 = MT
 1 Kgs 13:6.4 σου Luc] + *καὶ πρόσευξαι περὶ ἐμοῦ* A 247 127(sub ast) = MT
 1 Kgs 13:15 *ἐμοῦ* Luc] + *εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν* A 247 = MT
 1 Kgs 13:19.1 αὐτόν Luc] + *σὺν ἑαυτῷ* A (247): cf. MT
 1 Kgs 13:23.5 ὄνον (Luc)] + *τῷ προφῆτῃ* A C³²⁸ 121 *d t s z* 244 554 = MT
 1 Kgs 15:3.1 ταῖς (Luc)] *πάσαις* (A) 247 CII³²⁸ 121 *d t s*⁻⁴⁸⁹ *z* 554 = MT
 1 Kgs 16:30.1 Αχασ B V 247 L (236-242-530)-328 121 (44-125)-610 246 381 *z* 318 460 Luc] + *υἱὸς Ζαμβρί* rel = MT
 1 Kgs 16:33.5 τοῦ ἐξολεθρευθῆναι Luc] > A V CII³²⁸ *d t s*⁻⁴⁸⁸ 71 245 342 707
 1 Kgs 18:19.4 *ἕξ* εἰς Luc] πρὸς A
 1 Kgs 18:19.5 Καρμῆλιον Luc] + *καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας τοῦ Βααλ τετρακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα* A C^{98'328} *d* 246 *s*⁻⁴⁸⁸ *t z* 554: cf. MT
 1 Kgs 18:21.2 πάντας Luc] πάντα τὸν λαόν A 247 L CII³²⁸ 121 246 314-489'-762 = MT
 1 Kgs 18:28.4 τὸν ἐθισμόν La¹¹⁵ Luc] τὸ κρίμα A: cf. MT
 1 Kgs 18:29.1 ἐπροφήτευον La¹¹⁵ Luc] ἐγένετο A = MT
 1 Kgs 18:29.5 ἐγένετο Luc] ἐπροφήτευον A = MT

- 1 Kgs 18:30.2 fin B L CI 328 246 o x 55 71 244 318 372 460 Luc] + και ἰάσατο τὸ
θυσιαστήριον (Κυρίου τὸ κατεσκαμμένον) A V 247 CII⁻³²⁸ 121 d s
158 245 342 554 707 = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:31.2 כִּי־יִשְׁלַח־לָהֶם τοῦ Ἰσραηλ Luc] τοῦ Ἰακωβ A: cf. MT
- 1 Kgs 18:32.2 και ἰάσατο τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ κατεσκαμμένον] > A CII⁻³²⁸ s^{-130.488} =
MT
- 1 Kgs 18:36.1 init Luc] pr και ἐγένετο κατὰ ἀνάβασιν τοῦ δώρου (A) 127*(sub ast) = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:36.3 ἐπάκουσόν 1^o – πυρί Luc] > A V = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:36.8 πᾶς ὁ λαὸς οὗτος Luc] > A 328 = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:38.3 και τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ / και τοὺς λίθους και τὸν χοῦν B L CI 246 o
244 372 460 Luc] tr rel = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:39.1 init Luc] pr και εἶδεν πᾶς ὁ λαός A 247 121 488 = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:39.4 וַיֵּרָא וַיֹּאמֶר ἔστιν ὁ θεός / αὐτός (Luc)] tr A 44: cf. MT
- 1 Kgs 18:39.7 ὁ θεός 2^o Luc] > A 44
- 1 Kgs 18:43.2 θαλάσσης B L 44 460 Luc] + και ἀνέβη rel = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:45.3 καί 2^o B 247 L 246 o 488 527 158 Luc] + ἕως rel = MT
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:13.1 βασιλεῖ B L⁻⁸² 318 Luc] pr Ἀχάβ rel = MT

Kaige Section (5)

- 1 Kgs 22:7.1 κυρίου Luc] + οὐκ ἔτι A: cf. MT
- 2 Kgs 2:11.5 ὡς Luc] > A 93 CI s⁻⁴⁸⁸ t z 71 342: cf. MT
- 2 Kgs 21:3.4 ἀνέστησεν Luc] ἀπέστρεψεν A
- 2 Kgs 21:7.1 τὸ γλυπτὸν 2 Chr Luc] τὸ κρυπτὸν A V C^{-313c.328} d⁻¹⁰⁶ s^{-488.762c}
t x⁻⁵²⁷ 71 244 318 554 707^s
- 2 Kgs 21:7.2 τοῦ ἄλσους Luc] τοῦ οἴκου ἐν τῷ ἀσσει A

Luc B L+ = OG ≠ (A) rel = Hex. (2)

- 1 Kgs 11:14b.1 καί 1^o B L CI-242' 509 d⁻¹⁰⁶ 246 x 158 244 318 372 460 Luc] – 14c
Ἰδομαῖος > A 247; + και ἡγειρεν κύριος τῷ Σαλωμων σαταν rel: cf. MT
(v. 23)
- 1 Kgs 13:26.5 fin B V L^{-19'} 328 o x 55 71 158 245 318 342 372 460 707 La¹¹⁵ Luc] +
και ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν Κύριος τῷ λέοντι και συνέτριψεν αὐτὸν και ἐθανάτωσεν
αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα Κυρίου ὃ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ. και ἐλάλησε πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς
αὐτοῦ λέγων Ἐπιστάτε μοι τὴν ὄνον. και ἐπέσαξαν rel = MT

Luc A B L+ = OG ≠ MS(S) = Hex. (4)

1 Kgs 11:33.10 יְיָ֑נִי עֲנֹ֑נִי Luc] ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου 247 = MT

1 Kgs 12:27.5 λαοῦ Luc] + τούτου 247 o Syh (sub ast α' σ' θ') = MT

1 Kgs 16:33.7 ὑπέρ] pr τὸν κύριον θεὸν Ἰσραηλ x⁻¹¹⁹ 554

1 Kgs 18:25.3 τῆς αἰσχύνης La¹¹⁵ Luc] τοῦ Βααλ 246 318 = MT

Luc A B+ = OG ≠ L(+) = Hex. (3)

1 Kgs 11:29.9 ἀμφότεροι A B V 247 x 245 Luc] + μόνοι rel La^M = MT

1 Kgs 13:28.4 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ (La¹¹⁵ La^M Luc)] > L = MT

1 Kgs 18:29.6 καὶ οὐκ ἔγν' φωνή] > B 82-93 328 318 460 La¹¹⁵ Luc; + καὶ οὐκ ἔγν' ἀκρόασις CI⁻³²⁸ s⁻⁴⁸⁸ (N.B.! L divided)

Luc B+ = OG ≠ A L(+) = Hex. (3)

1 Kgs 11:34.9 αὐτόν (Luc)] + ὃς ἐφύλαξε τὰς ἐντολάς μου καὶ τὰ δικαιώματά (ἀκριβείας A 247) μου A 247 L 328 246 = MT

1 Kgs 13:1.1 ἐξ Ἰουδα παρεγένετο B CI 509 246 55 244 318 372 460 Luc] ἀνέβη ἐξ Ἰουδα CI⁻³²⁸; tr rel = MT

1 Kgs 16:33.4 τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ B x 372 460 554 Luc] pr τὸν κύριον θεὸν Ἰσραηλ (τοῦ ποιῆσαι) 247 L 121 o 488 z 318: cf. MT; τὸν κύριον θεὸν Ἰσραηλ (vel sim) rel = MT

Luc MSS = Hex. ≠ B+ = OG (10)

1 Kgs 18:32.1 ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου = MT] > L^{-19'} 328 Luc; sub ast Syh (OG?)

1 Kgs 18:44.1 בָּרַח ׀דָּוָר A B V 245 460 707] + ἀπὸ θαλάσσης rel La^M Luc: cf. MT (doublet) (Hex.?)

1 Kgs 18:34.5 καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως] > A L 460 Luc = MT (Luc?)

2 Kgs 21:7.3 ἄλλους] + ὥς ἐποίησεν A: cf. MT; pr *quae fecit* Luc = MT

2 Kgs 21:8.5 οἵτινες] πλὴν ἐάν L 460 Luc 2 Chr = MT (בִּשְׁמֵי רָךְ) (OG? Hex.?)

2 Kgs 21:8.9 בָּרַח ׀דָּוָר ἐνετειλάμην] + αὐτοῖς καὶ φυλάσσονται L⁻⁸²; + αὐτοῖς A 460 2 Chr Luc

- 2 Kgs 21:8.10 כָּל־הַתּוֹרָה? πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντολήν, ἥν] πάντα τὸν νόμον ὃν *L* (2 Chr) = MT;
legem, quam Luc (Luc?)
- 2 Kgs 22:16.2 מְבִיא (הַנִּי) (ἰδοὺ) ἐγὼ ἐπάγω 2 Chr] om ἐγὼ A 82 92 71 245 342 (460)
 (2 Chr^{MSS}) Luc (Luc?)
- 2 Kgs 23:8.7 הַשְּׁעָרִים (τῶν) πυλῶν] ὑψηλῶν *L* 460 Luc (Hex.?)
- 1 Kgs 13:4.6 ἰδοὺ] > *L* Luc = MT

Lucianic Readings

Luc B (rel) = OG ≠ L(+) = Lucianic (138)

The list of Lucianic recensional readings not attested by Lucifer is the longest of all the lists. In order to keep the list manageable I have condensed it considerably; “Luc” is within the lemma if not otherwise noted and often the attestation for the *L* reading is simplified with “+”, “pc”, and “mlt.” This long list demonstrates beyond doubt that Lucifer is not following a fully developed recensional Lucianic text.

Nonkaige Section (81)

- 1 Kgs 11:14b.2 Εσρωμ] Ἐσρών *L* 328 246 | 4 ἐν Ραεμμαθ] ἐκ Ῥ. *L* 328 246 | c.1 συστρέμματος] -άτων *L* 246 o x 372 | c.2 Δαμασεκ] Δαμασκόν *L* 328 246 158 | 29.2 εὔρεν] εἶδεν *L* 246 (error?) | 8 ἱματίῳ καινῷ] ἱμάτιον καινόν *L* 246 527 (Luc?) | 29.10 τῷ πεδίῳ] τῇ ὁδῷ *L* | 33.3 ἐποίησεν] ἐδούλευσεν *L* 158: cf. MT | 6 וְלִכְלֶם βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν] Μελχόμ (*V*^c) *L* 246 (OG?) | 38.1 τ. ἐντ. μου / κ. / τ. προστ. μου A B 247 509 381 158 342] tr rel: cf. MT (OG?) | 38.2 τὰ προστάγματα] pr πάντα *L*
- 1 Kgs 12:24a.5 ἐκκαίδεκα] 41 *V*^c *L* 246 | 6 ἐτῶν] + Ῥοβοάμ *L* 106 246 | 7 δώδεκα B 509 (460 Luc)] 17 rel = 14:21 | 8 ἐπορεύθη] + Ῥοβοάμ *L* d 246 | b.1 τῆς μητρός] τῇ μητρί *L* d 246 | k.4 εἰς τὴν πόλιν] tr post Σηλωνίτην *L* | 1.8 τάδε] pr ὅτι *L* 246 | 14 τὸ παιδάριον / τέθηκεν] tr *L* | m.6 καταφάγονται οἱ κύνες] κατὰβρωμα τοῖς κυσί *L* 246 | 27.2 θυσίας (-αν B pc Luc)] + αὐτῶν *L* mlt | 3 ἐν οἴκῳ] εἰς οἶκον *L* 328 489 | 28.4 εἶπεν] + Ἱεροβοάμ *L* | 30.1 ἁμαρτίαν] + τῷ Ἰσραὴλ *L* 328 246 | 2 Δαν A B V pc] + καὶ πρὸ προσώπου τῆς ἄλλης εἰς Βαιθήλ *L* (328 246 762 158 La^M) | 31.1 ἐποίησεν 1^o La^M (Luc)] + Ἱεροβοάμ *L*⁻⁸² 246 | 32.1 ἐν 1^o] > *L* 509 246 372 | 33.1 ἀνέβη] + Ἱεροβοάμ *L* 328 246
- 1 Kgs 13:2.3 θυσιαστήριον 1^o] + ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ 19' 158 | 7 τοὺς ἐπιθύοντας] pr καὶ *L* | 7.2 οἶκον] + μου *L*⁻⁹³ | 9.5 ᾗ] pr ἐν *L*⁻¹²⁷ | 12.5 ἐξ] ἐκ γῆς *L* | 17.6 ᾗ] pr ἐν *L* 246 | 18.4 πρὸς σεαυτόν] μετὰ σεαυτοῦ *L* 246 | 25b.2 ἐλάλησαν] λαλοῦσιν *L* | 28.5 καὶ οὐ συνέ. / τ. ὄνον] tr *L* | 33.4 εἰς τὰ ὑψηλά] τῶν ὑψηλῶν *L*

- 1 Kgs 15:3.2 τοῦ πατρὸς 1^ο] pr οἴκου L 246 | 4 καὶ 2^ο] > L | 34.1 ἐποίησεν] + Βαασά L⁻⁸² 328 | 3 ὥς] ἐν αἷς L⁻⁸² 328 246 (pc) | 16:28b.1 ἐπορεύθη] + Ἰωσαφάτ L⁻⁸² 328 246 158 | 6 πλὴν] πάντα 19'-93 | 8 ἐξῆραν] + Ἰωσαφάτ L⁻⁸² | 10 ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς] ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν L⁻⁸² | 31.3 ἐπορεύθη] + Ἀχαάβ L 328 246 | 33.6 ἐκακοποίησεν] pr ἀνθ' ὧν L 328 246
- 1 Kgs 18:18.3 καταλιμπάνειν (ὕμᾱς)] καταλιπεῖν L | 21.3 αὐτοῖς] πρὸς αὐτοὺς L | 6 πορεύεσθε 1^ο] pr δεῦτε καὶ L 246 | 22.3 μονώτατος] pr προφήτης L^{-82.127c} | 23.1 δότωσαν] + οὖν L | 24.5 ἐπακούσῃ] + σήμερον L 246 La¹¹⁵ Iren | εἶπον] εἶπε(ν) L 246 527 318 La¹¹⁵ | 25.4 μόσχον] βοῦν L 246 La¹¹⁵ | 5 καὶ ποιήσ. pr. / ὅτι πολλοὶ ὑμεῖς] tr L 328 La¹¹⁵ | 26.1 μόσχον] βοῦν L 246 La¹¹⁵ | 28.5 σειρομάσταις] pr ἐν A L 246 ο x 460 | 29.7 ἐλάλησεν] εἶπεν L 125 246 [La¹¹⁵] | 10 καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω] καὶ ποιήσω καὶ ἐγὼ L (246) | 31.1 ἀριθμόν] + τῶν δώδεκα L 246 489 460^c | 33.1 ἐστοίβασεν 1^ο] ἐπέθηκε(ν) L 246 | 34.1 εἶπεν 1^ο] + Ἡλίας L | 2 τέσσαρας] δύο L 246 | 3 ἐπιχέετε] -τωσαν L^{-19'} 328 246 | 4 ἐπὶ 1^ο] pr ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον L 328 | 36.11 κύριος] pr μόνος L 342 | 37.8 ἔστρεψας] ἐπέστρ. A L 246 342 | 9 ὀπίσω] + σου L pc | 38.4 τὸ ὕδωρ] + τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ L⁻⁸² 328 | 42.1 ἀνέβη 1^ο] ἀνέστη L 71 | 43.5 καὶ σὺ] > L = MT | 6 σὺ ἐπίστρεψον (Luc)] + καὶ ἐπίβλεψον L 328 | 45.4 νεφέλαις] pr ἐν V L pc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:10.4 αὐτόν 1^ο] + ἔξω L 328 | 18.2 οὗτος] αὐτός L | 19.3 ὡς σὺ] > L 328 158 | 11 καὶ αἱ π.] pr ἀλλὰ L 328 246 | 21.2 ἐγὼ] > 247 19-82-93 pc | 24.3 φάγονται 1^ο] καταφ. A L pc

Kaige Section (57)

- 1 Kgs 22:5.1 πρὸς] + Ἀχαάβ L 158 | 2 ἐπερωτήσατε] -σωμεν L 328 158 | 3 σήμερον] > L^{-19'} | 6.1 ὁ βασιλεὺς 2^ο] + Ἰσραήλ L 328 158 | 8.4 ἔστιν] + ὧδε L | 18.1 πρὸς σέ] σοι L
- 2 Kgs 20:21.2 καὶ ἐτάφη] + μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ L⁻⁸² | 21:1.2 δώδεκα ἐτῶν] tr L 530 460 | 2.1 ἐποίησεν] + Μανασσῆς L 460 | 3 κυρίου A B 82 pc] + καὶ ἐπορεύθη L⁻⁸² rel | 4 τὰ βδελύγματα] pr πάντα L 460 | 3.1 καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν] + Μανασσῆς L 460 | 2 ὑψηλά] θυσιαστήρια 82-127 460 | 5.2 θυσιαστήριον] θυσιαστήρια L | 6.1 τοὺς υἱούς] τὰ τέκνα L 460 | 4 ἐπλήθυνεν] + καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν L⁻⁸² | 7.4 ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ 1^ο] + κυρίου L 246 527 | 6 καὶ ἐν Ιερ.] tr post ἐξελεξάμην L 55 460 | 9.2 Μανασσῆς] > L 460 | 11.3 ὃ] ὃς ἦν ἐν τῇ γῇ L (460) | 5 καὶ ἐξήμαρτεν καὶ γε Ιουδα] x. γε x. τ. Ἰ. ἐξήμ. L 460 | 12.6 ἡχῆσει] ἡχῆσαι L | 17.3 οὐχί] οὐκ ἰδοὺ L 71 460
- 2 Kgs 22:11.2 καὶ 2^ο] > 247 L mlt | 16.5 αὐτόν (Luc)] ἐν αὐτῷ L⁻⁸² (98' 527) 460 | 8 οὓς] οὗ L⁻⁸² | 17.1 ἐθυμίων (Luc?)] ἐθυμίασαν L⁻⁸² 2 Chr | 2 ὅπως] ἵνα L⁻⁸² 460 | 3 τοῖς ἔργοις] pr πᾶσι(ν) L⁻⁸² 460 | 18.1 καὶ πρὸς] πρὸς δέ L⁻⁸² | 3 τὰδε 1^ο (Luc?)] οὕτως L⁻⁸² 460 | 5 οἱ λόγοι οὓς ἤκουσας] ἦκ. τοὺς λόγους μου καὶ (et tr) L⁻⁸² 460 | 19.4 αὐτόν] ἐν αὐτῷ L⁻⁸² pc | 19.6 καὶ εἰς κατάραν] > L⁻⁸² 460 | 23:1.2 ἐαυτόν] αὐτόν 247 L 488 245 460 (crrp?) | 2.1 βασιλεὺς] + Ἰωσίας L⁻⁸² (460) | 3.2 πρὸς] ἐπὶ L ο 372 460 | 11 ἀναστήσαι] ποιῆσαι

1 Kgs 17:1.1 δ 1^ο – Ισραηλ] > *L* Luc
1 Kgs 18:18.1 οὐ διαστρέφω] *pr ego* Luc; + ἐγώ 247 *L CII* 121 246 *s*⁻¹³⁰
799 244 342 460
1 Kgs 18:19.1 ἀπόστειλον *A B CI pc*] + καὶ *L* *rel* Luc
1 Kgs 18:21.7 αὐτός] ἐστὶ(ν) (+ θεός 127^c) *L*⁽⁻⁸²⁾ Luc; > *B CI* 799 244 318 460 *La*^M(*Al.*)
1 Kgs 18:25.9 θεοῦ] θεῶν *L* 246 92 318 *La*¹¹⁵ Luc (ܡܬܝܬܝܡ MT)
1 Kgs 18:26.4 ἐκ πρωίθεν ἕως μεσημβρίας (Luc) = MT] > *L* *La*¹¹⁵
1 Kgs 18:27.2 καὶ εἶπεν] καὶ προσέθετο λέγων *L*; *dicens* *La*¹¹⁵ Luc
1 Kgs 18:27.3 ὅτι θεός ἐστιν = MT] ἅμα μήποτε *L* 246; *pariter* Luc; > *La*¹¹⁵
1 Kgs 18:27.8 αὐτός (2^ο) Luc (*ipse*)] > *L* 125 246 381 342 *La*¹¹⁵
1 Kgs 18:29.3 τὸ δειλινόν] τὸ μεσημβρινόν *L* *La*¹¹⁵ Luc
1 Kgs 18:43.3 ἐπέβλεψεν] ἀνέβλεψε(ν) 247 *L* 44 488; *respexit* Luc
2 Kgs 21:1.6 ܡܦܝܬܝܡ ܕܥܝܬܝܬܐ] Ἐψιβά (vel sim) *L* 460 (Luc)
2 Kgs 21:11.7 αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ *L* 610 460 Luc (*suis*)
2 Kgs 21:13.4 ܡܢ ܕܥܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ] ἀπαλειφόμενος *La*^M] > *L* 460 Luc
2 Kgs 21:17.5 τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν = MT] τῶν βασιλέων *L* 799 460 Luc
2 Kgs 22:13.4 ὑπὲρ οὗ = MT] διότι *L* 460 2 Chr Luc
2 Kgs 23:3.3 διαθήκη] + (τὴν εὐρεθεῖσαν) ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου *L* Luc

Luc L(+) = Lucianic ≠ B rel = OG (50)

Compared to the number of the Lucianic recensional readings that Lucifer does not follow, the number of his agreements with *L* in the recensional readings is rather low. Nevertheless, especially in the kaige section, it is high enough to warrant the conclusion that Lucifer cannot be considered a pure proto-Lucianic witness. It must be noted, however, that in many of the instances Lucifer's alignment is unclear—those cases are marked with “(Luc?)”.

Nonkaige Section (25)

- 1 Kgs 11:33.5 $\Upsilon\eta\lambda\lambda$ και τοῖς εἰδώλοις] εἰδῶλω *L* 246 (799 318 342) 372 (707) Luc: cf. MT (Luc?)
- 1 Kgs 11:33.12 ὥς = MT] καθὼς ἐποίησε(ν) *L* Luc (Luc?)
- 1 Kgs 12:24k.1 ἀνέστη] + ἡ γυνή 19'-93 246 158 Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24k.3 πορεύεται] ἐπορεύθη *L* Luc (Luc?)
- 1 Kgs 12:24m.7 τὸν τεθνηκότα La¹¹⁵] + αὐτοῦ *L* 246 Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:28.3 ὁ βασιλεύς] Ἱεροβοάμ *L* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:32.4 γῆ] τῷ *L* 246: cf. MT; > Luc (Luc?)
- 1 Kgs 12:33.2 τῇ] pr ἐν (A) *L* CI 71 244 318: cf. MT; in Luc (Luc?)
- 1 Kgs 13:7.1 θεοῦ = MT] + λέγων *L* 246; + *et dixit* Luc (Luc?)
- 1 Kgs 13:13.1 τὸν 1^o] τῇν A 247 *L* 731* 236-242-530 106 246 o 92-489-762 71 245 318 342 372 (*asinam* Luc)
- 1 Kgs 13:18.1 καθὼς] ὥς καὶ *L* Luc (*sicuti et*) (Luc?)
- 1 Kgs 13:25b.1 εἰσῆλθον] + ἄνδρες *L*; *ui|ri loci illius* La¹¹⁵; *uiri ciuitatis illius* Luc
- 1 Kgs 16:30.2 ἐπονηρεύσατο] pr καὶ 247 *L* CII 121 125 246 o s⁻¹³⁰ 122 244 318 372 460 Luc = MT
- 1 Kgs 16:30.3 τούς] + γενομένους *L* 328 246 Luc (Luc?)
- 1 Kgs 17:1.1 ὁ 1^o – Ἰσραηλ] > *L* Luc (Luc?)
- 1 Kgs 17:1.5 στόματος λόγου = MT] tr *L* 246 Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:22.5 τοῦ ἄλσους] τῶν ἄλσῶν *L* Luc (Luc?)
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:20.1 ἐπάταξεν A B V 121 d^{-106c.125} o 488 t x z 71 372 554] pr καὶ rel Luc
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:20.4 ἔφυγεν Συρία] ἔφυγον οἱ Σύροι *L* Luc (Luc?)
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:10.3 ἐξαγαγέτωσαν] ἐξαγάγετε *L* 328 Luc

- 1 Kgs 21[20]:19.1 λαλήσεις] ἐρεῖς *L* Luc
 1 Kgs 21[20]:19.2 λέγων] > *L* 328 Luc
 1 Kgs 21[20]:20.2 εἶπεν 2°] + Ἡλιάς *L* 246 (71) Luc (Luc?)
 1 Kgs 21[20]:22.4 περί = MT] + πάντων *L* Luc
 1 Kgs 21[20]:23.1 καταφάγονται] φάγονται *L* Luc (Luc?)

Kaige Section (25)

- 2 Kgs 2:11.1 רַבְרַבִּי הִלְהִי עֹפְרֵי עֵינָיו] καὶ ἐλάλουν] καὶ λαλούντων *L*-700 372 460 Luc
 2 Kgs 2:12.1 καὶ 2°] + αὐτός *L*-700 372 La^M Orig (Luc) = MT
 2 Kgs 10:30.3 πάντα ὅσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου / ἐποίησας = MT] tr *L*-700 460 La¹¹⁵ Luc
 2 Kgs 21:7.9 עֲשֵׂה וְלֹא תִשָּׁחַד] θεῖναι *L* 460 Luc (Luc?) (OG?)
 2 Kgs 21:8.8 ὅσα (2 Chr 158)] ἅ 247 *L*⁻⁸² 488 460 2 Chr^{Hanhart}; quae Luc
 2 Kgs 21:9.6 ἐκ (προσώπου)] ἀπό 247 *L* 489 460; a Luc (Luc?)
 2 Kgs 21:11.2 ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν] κατὰ πάντα ὅσα *L* 460 Luc
 2 Kgs 21:11.4 ἔμπροσθεν] + αὐτοῦ *L* 460 (Luc)
 2 Kgs 22:13.3 τοῦ εὐρεθέντος / τούτου = MT] tr *L* 460 Luc
 2 Kgs 22:19.5 תִּיִּהֵי עֵינָיו] γένεσθαι *L*⁻⁸² 460 Luc (Luc?)
 2 Kgs 22:20.6 ὁφθήσεται – οἷς] ὄψονται οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου πάντα τὰ κακὰ ἅ *L*⁻⁸² 460 Luc:
 cf. 2 Chr (Luc?)
 2 Kgs 23:1.1 ὁ βασιλεὺς = MT] pr Ἰωσιὰς *L*⁻⁸² 460 Luc (2 Chr^{MSS}) (Luc?)
 2 Kgs 23:3.14 רַבְרַבִּי עַל עֵינָיו] ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον] ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ *L* 46-52-236-242-530 246
 (527) 318 460 707^S Luc
 2 Kgs 23:4.1 הַנְּשִׂימִים תִּהְיֶינָה] τῆς δευτερώσεως] τοῖς δευτερεύουσι *L* 460 Luc (*secundariis*)
 2 Kgs 23:4.5 τὰ πεποιημένα] ἅ ἐποίησαν *L* 460; quae fecit Luc (Luc?)
 2 Kgs 23:4.6 הַנְּשִׂימִים תִּהְיֶינָה] τῷ ἄλλῃ] τῇ Ἀσηρώθ *L* 460 Luc
 2 Kgs 23:4.10 σαδημωθ (τῷ ἐμπυρισμῷ *L* Luc = OG)] + τοῦ χειμάρρου *L* 460 Luc
 (Luc?)
 2 Kgs 23:5.5 רַבְרַבִּי] καὶ ἐθυμίων] τοῦ θυμῶν *L* 460 Luc (Luc?)
 2 Kgs 23:5.7 יִסְרָאֵל] τοῖς περικύκλῳ B 247 328 121 488] κυκλόθεν *L* 460 Luc (Luc?)
 2 Kgs 23:5.8 καὶ τοὺς θυμίωντας] καὶ ἐθυμίων *L* 460; incendebant Luc (Luc?)
 2 Kgs 23:10.6 ἄνδρα 2°] > *L* 460 Luc = MT (Luc?)
 2 Kgs 23:10.7 τῷ Μολοχ / ἐν πυρί A B 247 121 fo 488 55 372] tr rel Luc = MT
 (Luc?)

- 2 Kgs 23:11.5 לִפְנֵי עֵינַי *πρός L 460 Luc (ad) (Luc?)*
- 2 Kgs 23:12.10 *κατέσπασεν] + αὐτά L 460 Luc*
- 2 Kgs 23:13.4 $\text{מִיָּדָאֵי מוֹסוֹאֵל}$ *Αμεσσοάθ (vel sim) L 460 (Luc)*

Errors and Free Variants

In errors and free variants, there are no clear patterns that could reveal Lucifer's alignment; most of the cases involve a small number of manuscripts. Often these include manuscripts that are known for their free or erroneous type of text (e.g., 509, *d*).

Luc B L = Error \neq rel = OG (1)

- 1 Kgs 18:39.5 $\text{וְהָיָה עִשְׂתִּין}$ *> B L 328 246 55 318 372 460 Luc (err.?)*

Luc B(+) = Error \neq L rel = OG (3)

- 1 Kgs 18:33.3 *ἐπί 2° = MT] > B x 318 372 Luc*
- 1 Kgs 18:45.6 *Ιεζραελ (vel sim)] Ἰσραήλ B 247 19 121 488 527-799^{ms} 158 318 460 Luc*
- 1 Kgs 22:8.3 וַיֵּן עִיטִּי *A 74] εἰς B Luc; εἰ 158 460; > L 372; + εἰς V 247 C' 121 d 246 o s t⁻⁷⁴ z 55 71 244 (245) 318 342 (554) 627 707*

Luc B rel = Error \neq L(+) = OG (4)

- 1 Kgs 11:34.1 *καί – αὐτοῦ 1° Luc] > L 328 o x*
- 1 Kgs 11:34.6 *διότι Luc] καί L 328 (OG?)*
- 1 Kgs 11:34.8 *αὐτοῦ 2° Luc] + καὶ οὐ μὴ λάβω τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ L^{-19'} 328 246 (o x)*
- 2 Kgs 23:13.9 $\text{מִלְכָּאֵל מוֹלֶכֶת}$ *Μολχολ (Luc)] Μολόχ (vel sim) L 489 460 707^S*

Luc L = Error \neq B rel = OG (5)

- 1 Kgs 12:26.1 *Ἰδοὺ] > L^{-19'} 509 460 Luc = MT*
- 1 Kgs 12:27.6 *κύριον καί] > L 509 246 Luc = MT*

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 1 Kgs 11:14b.3 | ⲅⲣⲧⲏⲛⲉⲗⲓⲁⲃⲁⲉ] Αλειδαθ 93; <i>Anadeth</i> Luc |
| 1 Kgs 11:34.3 | αὐτοῦ 1°] + ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ (342) 707 Luc |
| 1 Kgs 12:24a.1 | καὶ θάπτεται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ≈ 11:43(a)] > 19' 509 799 342 Luc = 11:43(b) |
| 1 Kgs 12:24l.13 | σοι εἰς συνάντησιν La ¹¹⁵] om σοι V 328 x 55 158 707 Luc |
| 1 Kgs 12:24m.1 | ἐξολοθρεύσω] ἐξολοθρεύω 93; <i>disperdo</i> La ¹¹⁵ Luc |
| 1 Kgs 13:1.5 | ⲡⲉⲣⲓⲁⲛⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ] θυσιαστήριον] + αὐτοῦ A V 247 C ⁻³²⁸ 121 d ^{-125.610} 246 o t s ⁻³¹⁴ z 55 71 158 244 245 318 342 554 627 707 Eus Luc |
| 1 Kgs 13:9.1 | ἐν λόγῳ] tr post κύριος o 527 Luc |
| 1 Kgs 13:14.6 | ἐγώ] + εἰμί 460 Luc |
| 1 Kgs 13:17.3 | ἐκεῖ 2° Luc: cf. MT (ⲡⲏⲣⲏ ⲡⲥ)] > A B L 328 246 244 460 |
| 1 Kgs 16:26.3 | καὶ 2° La ¹¹⁵] > 46 ^S 509 489 Luc |
| 1 Kgs 17:1.3 | ὅτι] > 328 x 342 460 Luc = MT |
| 1 Kgs 18:21.8 | ὁ λαός] pr αὐτῶ (A) 247 (127) 121 488 Luc |
| 1 Kgs 18:24.3 | κυρίῳ Iren] > 460 La ¹¹⁵ Luc |
| 1 Kgs 18:27.6 | μήποτε (2°)] > 44-125 246 Luc; inc La ¹¹⁵ |
| 1 Kgs 19:2.6 | ταύτην τὴν ὥραν] ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ 460; <i>in hac hora</i> Luc |
| 1 Kgs 20[21]:19.2 | ἐκ τῆς πόλεως / τὰ παιδάρια La ^M] tr A Luc |
| 1 Kgs 21[20]:19.9 | αἱ ὕες La ^M] et οἱ χύνες 1° tr A Luc |

Kaige Section (13)

- 2 Kgs 21:1.3 δώδεκα] ἕξ καὶ δέκα 342 Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:1.4 πέντε] ζ 530*; *septem* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:1.5 τῇ μητρὶ] τῆς μητρός 19' Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:4.1 verse] > 44-106 Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:7.5 ὦ] ὡς A 245 Luc (Luc?)
- 2 Kgs 21:12.5 ἀκούοντος] + αὐτὰ L 56-(246) 527 55 244^{mg}; cf. MT; + ταῦτα 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:14.2 αὐτῶν 1° αὐτοῦ 247 108* 46'-236 246 71*(c pr m); *ipsius* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:15.4 ἕξ = MT] ἐκ γῆς 245 Luc (*de terra*)
- 2 Kgs 22:20.2 (𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓) 𐤒𐤓𐤕 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ L⁻⁸² f 460] ἰδοὺ B 158 342 2 Chr; > (CII); ἐγὼ rel Luc (OG?)
- 2 Kgs 23:1.3 καὶ 3° = MT 2 Chr] εἰς CI 71 244 342 Luc (*in*)
- 2 Kgs 23:3.6 αὐτοῦ 2°] > 44-107-610 71 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:6.3 Κεδρων 1° ∩ 2° A 55 (245) 460 Luc
- 2 Kgs 23:13.6 Ἰσραηλ = MT] > d⁻¹⁰⁶ 55 Luc

Luc MSS = OG ≠ B(+) = Error (27)

Nonkaige Section (16)

- 1 Kgs 11:14c.3 fin] + καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Δαμασκῷ (Δαμασεκ pc Luc) L mlt Luc (OG?)
- 1 Kgs 11:32.2 τὸν δοῦλόν μου / Δαυιδ Luc = MT] tr B 242 71 554
- 1 Kgs 11:34.2 ὅλην / τὴν βασιλείαν A B 247 CI 55 158 244 318 372] om ὅλην 242 509 71 460; tr rel Luc
- 1 Kgs 11:36.2 ἦν Luc] ἦ B 244 245
- 1 Kgs 12:20.3 ἀπέστειλαν Luc = MT] ἀπέστειλεν B 509 488 158 372 460
- 1 Kgs 12:20.4 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓] ἐκάλεσαν Luc] ἐκάλεσεν B 509 158 372 460
- 1 Kgs 12:24b.2 Σαριρα (vel sim) Luc] σαρεισα B; *Charira* La^M
- 1 Kgs 12:24b.3 γυνή *mulier* Luc] > B
- 1 Kgs 12:29.1 ἐν 1° Luc] εἰς B CI 244
- 1 Kgs 13:2.4 καὶ εἶπεν Luc] > B 509 460
- 1 Kgs 13:4.5 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓 ὁ βασιλεὺς 2°] > 247 L d⁻¹⁰⁶ 71 Luc Vg (OG?)

- 1 Kgs 15:3.6 Δαυιδ Luc = MT] > B 71 372
 1 Kgs 18:28.3 κατὰ τὸν ἐθισμόν αὐτῶν La¹¹⁵ Luc] > B 318 460
 1 Kgs 18:29.8 ὁ Θεσβίτης La¹¹⁵ Luc] > B d⁻¹⁰⁶ 245 318 460
 1 Kgs 18:43.7 ἐπτάκι 1^o Luc] + καὶ ἀπόστρεψον ἐπτάκι B
 1 Kgs 20[21]:14.4, 17.3, 19.4 תִּינִיחֶנּוּ חֻרָוִן (La^M) Luc] חֻרָוִן B 106-125 pc

Kaige Section (11)

- 1 Kgs 22:6.3 ἐπίσχω Luc] ἐπέχω B V
 2 Kgs 6:32.4 οὗτος (Luc)] > B 530
 2 Kgs 10:30.2 καὶ Luc] > A B = MT
 2 Kgs 22:13.5 τούτου 2^o Luc = MT (2 Chr)] > B 328 f 245
 2 Kgs 22:14.5 תִּשָּׁחַן γυνάϊκα Luc] (τὴν) μητέρα B 247 121 f 488 55 71 554^{sup} lin (OG?)
 2 Kgs 22:15.1 αὐτοῖς Luc] > B
 2 Kgs 23:2.8 ἐν ὧσιν Luc 2 Chr = MT] ἐνώπιον B; ἐναντίον f
 2 Kgs 23:4.3 τοῦ 1^o Luc (*ut [eicerent]*)] > B 245
 2 Kgs 23:8.5 גָּבַל Γαβαα A L 460 Luc] Γαβαλ B f; Δαν rel
 2 Kgs 23:11.9 πυρ[pr ἐν 247 L 328 121 610 (o) 130-488 x⁻⁵²⁷ 318 372 460 Luc = MT
 2 Kgs 23:16.4 τοὺς ὄντας Luc] > B: cf. MT

Special Readings by Lucifer

Omissions (76)

Nonkaige Section (33)

- 1 Kgs 11:29.6 καὶ ἀπέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ] > Luc = MT (homoiot.?)
 1 Kgs 11:32.3 ἐν αὐτῇ] > Luc
 1 Kgs 12:24l.10 εἰς] om 328 246 Luc; in La¹¹⁵
 1 Kgs 12:26.2 εἰς οἶκον] > Luc
 1 Kgs 12:27.7 πρὸς (Ροβοαμ)] > 509 Luc
 1 Kgs 12:32.3 τὴν ἐν] > Luc; sub obel Syh
 1 Kgs 13:3.2 λέγων 1^o] om – ῥῆμα Luc Or-gr; ∩ 2^o 509 245
 1 Kgs 13:3.4 λέγων 2^o] sub obel Syr; > L 328 Luc (unlikely Hex.)
 1 Kgs 13:14.5 αὐτῷ 2^o A B 247 509 44 372 460] > rel Luc = MT (unlikely Hex.)

- 1 Kgs 13:4.1 ὁ βασιλεὺς / Ιεροβοαμ] Ιεροβοαμ βασιλεὺς 98' (245); > Luc; om ὁ βασιλεὺς 106 489 318; om Ιεροβοαμ $L^{-19'}$ = MT
- 1 Kgs 13:5.3 τὸ τέρας Luc Reg. 5] > Luc Conv. 3
- 1 Kgs 13:10.3 מִן עֵן אֹתָהּ] > 247 488 Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:13.2 τὸν ὄνον 2°] > Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:17.7 ἐν αὐτῇ] ἐκεῖ 247; > 381 Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:20.3 καὶ ἐγένετο 2° La¹¹⁵ La^M] > Luc; om καὶ L 328 d⁻¹⁰⁶ 246 71
- 1 Kgs 16:33.1 καὶ προσέθηκεν Αχχαβ] > 127^c Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:21.4 Ἡλίου 2°] > L 246 245 Luc = MT
- 1 Kgs 18:26–27 καὶ διέτρεχον – καὶ ἐμυκτήρισεν αὐτούς] > La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:29.9 τῶν προσοχισμάτων (La¹¹⁵)] > Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:29.12 μου] > Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:41.1 Ἡλίου] > 242 Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:41.3 ἀνάβηθι] > 246 Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:41.4 καὶ 2°] > 44 245 372 460 Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:43.4 καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου] > Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:43.8 κ. ἐπέστρ. τ. παιδ. ἐπτάκι] > 82 731* 92-130 318 Luc = MT: homoiot.?
- 1 Kgs 18:45.1 ἕως 1° = MT] ὡς L 246 158; > Luc
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:14.3 τάδε λέγει κύριος] > 125 Luc
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:20.5 αὐτούς] > Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:10.6 αὐτόν 2°] > 242-530 Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:18.3 מִן עֵן אֹתָהּ] > A 74 Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:18.4 ἐκεῖ = MT] > A 44 Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:22.1 καὶ 2°] > Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:24.4 οἱ κύνες – φάγονται 2°] > Luc (homoiot.?)

Kaige Section (43)

- 1 Kgs 22:7.2 δι' αὐτοῦ] > Luc
- 1 Kgs 22:8.7 δι' αὐτοῦ] > Luc
- 1 Kgs 22:27.2 καὶ ὕδωρ θλίψεως] > 19 246 Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:3.1 καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν] > Luc (2 Chr 71)
- 2 Kgs 21:5.3 πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] > Luc

2 Kgs 21:6.2	ἐκκληδονίζετο καὶ οἰωνίζετο] om καὶ οἰωνίζετο 158 318; <i>augurabatur</i> Luc
2 Kgs 21:7.10	ἐκεῖ] > B 460 Luc 2 Chr ^{Hanhart} = MT
2 Kgs 21:8.4	τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν] > Luc
2 Kgs 21:9.3	ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου] > Luc = MT
2 Kgs 21:9.7	υἱῶν] > 44 Luc
2 Kgs 21:10.2	λέγων] > 246 Luc
2 Kgs 21:11.1	ταῦτα / τὰ πονηρά] > Luc
2 Kgs 21:11.6	□λ καὶ γε] > 125 Luc
2 Kgs 21:12.4	ὥστε] > Luc
2 Kgs 21:14.1	καὶ 1° – μου] > Luc
2 Kgs 21:16.2	Μανασσης] > Luc
2 Kgs 21:16.3	στόμα εἰς στόμα] <i>super os</i> Luc
2 Kgs 21:16.7	αὐτοῦ = MT] > 379 Luc
2 Kgs 21:18.1	καὶ 2° – Οὔα (La ^M)] > Luc
2 Kgs 21:18.2	Αμων (2 Chr)] > Luc
2 Kgs 22:13.1	δεῦτε = MT] > Luc; + καὶ B 246 o 372
2 Kgs 22:13.2	καὶ περὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ] > Luc; aliter 2 Chr
2 Kgs 22:13.8	καθ' ἡμῶν] ἐν αὐτῷ L 460; > Luc 2 Chr
2 Kgs 22:14.1	καὶ Αχοβωρ] > Luc; tr post Σαφφαν L 460; aliter 2 Chr
2 Kgs 22:14.6	υἱοῦ Αραας (2 Chr)] > Luc 44 (omits a longer expression)
2 Kgs 22:14.7	ἐν τῇ μασενα (2 Chr)] > Luc 125 (omits a longer expression)
2 Kgs 22:15.2	εἴπατε] > LucVG; post με tr Luc ^{Diercks}
2 Kgs 22:16.1	τάδε] > LucVG; <i>haec</i> Luc ^{Diercks}
2 Kgs 22:18.4	πρὸς αὐτόν] > d ⁻¹⁰⁶ Luc
2 Kgs 22:19.1	ἀνθ' ὧν ὅτι ἡπαλύνθη ἡ καρδίᾳ σου] > Luc; om ὅτι L ⁻⁸² 460
2 Kgs 22:20.4	εἰς τὸν τάφον σου] > Luc
2 Kgs 22:20.5	οὐκ] > Luc [<i>sic</i>]
2 Kgs 23:2.3	καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ μετ' αὐτοῦ (2 Chr)] > Luc
2 Kgs 23:5.8	καὶ 5°] > Luc
2 Kgs 23:5.9	καὶ τοῖς μαζουρωθ] > Luc

- 2 Kgs 23:6.1 τὸ ἄλλος] > Luc
 2 Kgs 23:6.6 τὸν χοῦν αὐτοῦ] > Luc; om αὐτοῦ *L* 71
 2 Kgs 23:7.5 τῷ ἄλσει] > Luc
 2 Kgs 23:8.6 τὸν οἶκον] > Luc (crrp?)
 2 Kgs 23:11.1 καὶ κατέπαυσεν τοὺς ἵππους οὓς] > Luc (crrp? cf. 11.6)
 2 Kgs 23:13.6 Ἰσραηλ = MT] > *d*⁻¹⁰⁶ 55 Luc
 2 Kgs 23:13.8 Μωαβ] > Luc
 2 Kgs 23:14.3 καὶ ἐξωλέθρευσεν τὰ ἄλση] > Luc (crrp?)

Additions (50)

The list of Lucifer's additions does not contain all the instances in which he supplies the verb "to be," a feature required by Christian Latin.

Nonkaige Section (36)

- 1 Kgs 11:30.2 αὐτῷ] + *habebat* Luc
 1 Kgs 11:33.2 με] + *Salomon* Luc
 1 Kgs 12:24l.9 τὴν πύλῃν B *CI* 328 x 55 158 244 318 342 372 *La*¹¹⁵] εἰς τὴν πόλιν *L* 509 107-610 246 o 460 554 627 707; *portam ciuitatis* Luc (prob. not conflation)
 1 Kgs 12:24h.4 κυρίου *La*^M] + ἦν 509 460; + *erat* Luc
 1 Kgs 12:24i.3 πρεσβύτερος] + *erat ualde* Luc
 1 Kgs 12:24m.8 καταφάγεται (vel sim)] + αὐτόν *CI* 244; *comedent eos* *La*¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 13:2.5 Ἰωσίας] *et Iosias erit* Luc
 1 Kgs 13:14.2 δρῦν] *arbore ilice* *La*^M; *arbore ilicis* Luc
 1 Kgs 13:17.5 ἐν 2^o] pr ἐκεῖ A B o x 55 318 342 372 707 Luc (*inde*); pr תַּחֲתַּי MT
 1 Kgs 13:22.5 οὐ 2^o] pr *ideo* Luc
 1 Kgs 13:25b.1 εἰσῆλθον ἄνδρες *L*] + *loci illius* *La*¹¹⁵; + *ciuitatis illius* Luc
 1 Kgs 16:28b.9 ἔθυσον] pr καὶ 92 Luc
 1 Kgs 16:31.1 καὶ 2^o] pr *sed* Luc
 1 Kgs 16:33.3 παροργίσαι] + κύριον 127^c; + *deum et* Luc
 1 Kgs 18:19.7 ἐσθίοντας] + *et bibentes* Luc
 1 Kgs 18:22.1 λαόν] + *dicens* Luc

- 1 Kgs 18:22.2 προφήτης] *solus prophetarum* Luc
 1 Kgs 18:23.3 έαυτοῖς] + *illi* Luc
 1 Kgs 18:23.4 έπιθέτωσαν 1^o] + *eum* Luc
 1 Kgs 18:44.2 είπεν] + *illi Helias* Luc
 1 Kgs 18:24.4 έσται] > La¹¹⁵ Iren; *erit hic* Luc
 1 Kgs 18:24.7 οὔτος] + έστι(ν) L 246 460 La¹¹⁵ (Iren Luc)
 1 Kgs 18:24.10 έλάλησας] *locutus est Helias* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 18:26.6 ἦν 1^o La¹¹⁵] *fuit istis* Luc
 1 Kgs 18:27.1 Ηλίου] *pr addidit* La¹¹⁵; *pr apposuit* Luc: cf. L
 1 Kgs 18:29.4 έγένετο ως ό καιρός] *c[um] | hora esset* La¹¹⁵; *factum est quomodo tempus erat* Luc
 1 Kgs 18:46.1 κυρίου B 460] + έγένετο *rel = MT; + erat* Luc
 1 Kgs 19:2.4 προσθείη B (-ησαν *rel*)] *mihi adaugeant* Luc
 1 Kgs 20[21]:14.2 είπεν 2^o et 4^o] + *prophetes* Luc
 1 Kgs 20[21]:19.5 δύναμις La^M] + *qui* Luc
 1 Kgs 20[21]:20.2 τόν παρ' αὐτοῦ 1^o] *quem inuenit secus se* Luc
 1 Kgs 21[20]:18.5 κληρονομῆσαι] *pr ut* Luc
 1 Kgs 21[20]:19.4 έφόνευσας] + *Nabutheum* La^M Luc
 1 Kgs 22:6.1 ό βασιλεύς 2^o] + Ἰσραήλ L 328 158; + *Achab* Luc
 1 Kgs 22:8.1 ό 1^o] *pr Achab* Luc; Ἀχαάβ 71
 1 Kgs 22:8.2 πρὸς Ἰωσαφατ] > 381; + *regem* Luc

Kaige Section (14)

- 2 Kgs 21:8.6 φυλάξουσιν (ἀκούσωσι L 460 Luc)] + *me* Luc
 2 Kgs 2:12.3 πάτερ 1^o] *pr et dixit* Orig Luc
 2 Kgs 10:30.6 υἱοί La¹¹⁵] + *tui* Luc
 2 Kgs 22:16.7 βιβλίου (2 Chr) = MT] + τούτου 82 Luc
 2 Kgs 22:18.6 οί λόγοι = MT (2 Chr)] + *mea* Luc
 2 Kgs 22:19.9 κύριος 2 Chr] > d⁻¹⁰⁶; + *uirtutum* Luc; + *Sabaoth* Aug
 2 Kgs 23:2.7 άνέγνω 2 Chr] + *rex* Luc
 2 Kgs 23:3.9 καρδίᾳ 2 Chr = MT] + αὐτοῦ 19 Luc (*eius*)
 2 Kgs 23:3.12 τοὺς λόγους] *omnia uerba* Luc

- 2 Kgs 23:3.16 διαθήκη] + *quod disposuit rex ex libro* Luc
 2 Kgs 23:4.9 ἔξω] *pr foras* Luc
 2 Kgs 23:4.12 αὐτῶν] + *et sparsit in riuum et abiit* Luc
 2 Kgs 23:8.7 πυλῶν (ὑψηλῶν L 460)] + *illorum* Luc
 2 Kgs 23:12.1 ἦσαν τὰ 2^ο] ἦ ἦν L 460; *erant* Luc

Other Changes (115)

Nonkaige Section (53)

- 1 Kgs 11:34.4 διότι – αὐτοῦ 2^ο] *tr post ἐξελεξάμην* Luc
 1 Kgs 11:35.1 δέκα / σκήπτρα] *tr* Luc
 1 Kgs 12:24a.2 Ποβοαμ / υἱὸς αὐτοῦ] *tr* Luc
 1 Kgs 12:24a.4 υἱὸς ὧν] *et erat* Luc
 1 Kgs 12:24a.7 δώδεκα B 509 (460)] 17 rel = 14:21; *uiginti* Luc (crrp?)
 1 Kgs 12:24i.1 ἔλαβεν – μέλιτος] *fecit sicut dixit ei uir eius* Luc; cf. ἐποίησεν οὕτω 554
 1 Kgs 12:24i.2 τῷ Αχια καί] *Et Achiab* Luc
 1 Kgs 12:27.1 ἀναφέρειν θυσίας] *sacrificium offerre* Luc
 1 Kgs 12:28.1 καί 1^ο] *tunc igitur* Luc; > A
 1 Kgs 12:28.2 ἐβουλεύσατο / ὁ βασιλεύς] *om ἐβουλεύσατο A*; *tr* Luc
 1 Kgs 12:31.2 תִּמְבָּ (תִּבְּתִּבָּ) ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν] *in excelsum* Luc
 1 Kgs 12:32.5 ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον] *in sacrario* Luc Reg. 3; *in sacrificium* Luc Reg. 5
 1 Kgs 13:2.1 ἐπεκάλεσεν] *pr propheta* Luc
 1 Kgs 13:4.3 ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον] *in aram* Luc
 1 Kgs 13:4.7 αὐτοῦ 2^ο] *regis* Luc
 1 Kgs 13:4.8 ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου] *ad aram* Luc
 1 Kgs 13:5.1 θυσιαστήριον] *sacrarium* Luc Conv. 3; *sacrificium* Luc Reg. 5
 1 Kgs 13:5.4 ἔδωκεν] *dixit* Luc
 1 Kgs 13:22.1 τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ La¹¹⁵] *hoc loco* Luc
 1 Kgs 13:26.2 Ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ / οὗτός ἐστιν La¹¹⁵] *tr* Luc
 1 Kgs 13:20.4 τὸν προφήτην La¹¹⁵] *pseudoprophetam* La^M Luc
 1 Kgs 13:26.1 ἤκουσεν ... καί La¹¹⁵] *cum audissent* Luc
 1 Kgs 13:33.2 ἐπλήρου La^M-Al. (*replebat*)] *allevabat* La^M Luc

- 1 Kgs 13:34.1 τῷ οἴκῳ La^M] *in domum* Luc
- 1 Kgs 15:34.4 ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν Ἰσραηλ (La¹¹⁵)] *peccauit in Israel* Luc (misreading?)
- 1 Kgs 16:28b.2 τῇ ὁδῷ] *uias* Luc
- 1 Kgs 16:28b.4 αὐτῆς] *illis* Luc (cf. *uias* above)
- 1 Kgs 16:28b.7 τῶν ὑψηλῶν] *ab excelsis* Luc
- 1 Kgs 16:31.2 Ἰεθεβααλ] *Basan et Hela* Luc (crrp)
- 1 Kgs 18:18.2 ὅτι ἀλλ' ἤ] *sed euerit* Luc; om ὅτι 19-82 46' 44 372
- 1 Kgs 18:21.5 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ταῖς ἰγνύαις (+ ὑμῶν L 246 La^M)] *sensu uestro* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:23.7-8 ἐπιθέτωσαν 2^o ... οὐ μὴ ἐπιθῶ] *subponant ... non subponam* La¹¹⁵ Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:25.10 ἐπιθῆτε La¹¹⁵] *supponere* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:26.5 ἕως μεσημβρίας] *usque ad uesperum* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:27.4 ὅτι ἀδολεσχία αὐτῷ ἐστιν] *ne forte occupatus sit* Luc (?); > La¹¹⁵ (?)
Cf. 27.5 καὶ ἅμα μήποτε χρηματίζει αὐτός] *[ne] | forte sortes de[derit]*
La¹¹⁵; > Luc (?)
- 1 Kgs 18:32.5, 35.1 ἡγῆται θαλαα (vel sim) L (d) 246 158 554] *θάλασσαν* rel; *foueam* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:38.5 ἡγῆται θαλαα (vel sim) L pauci] *θαλάσση* rel; *altare* Luc (crrp?)
- 1 Kgs 18:44.3 κατὰβηθι] *ascende* Luc
- 1 Kgs 19:2.5 ὅτι] *si non* Luc
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:13.4 δίδωμι αὐτὸν / σήμερον] tr Luc Reg. 7 (150,40); inc Luc Reg. 7 (150,52)
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:13.6 κύριος 2^o Luc Reg. 7 (150,41)] *deus* Luc Reg. 7 (150,53)
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:14.1 Αχααβ 1^o et 2^o] *rex* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:9.1 καθίσατε τὸν Ναβουθαι] *sedeat Nabutheus* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:9.2 τοῦ λαοῦ] *populo* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:10.2 θεόν] *dominum* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:10.5 λιθοβολησάτωσαν] *lapidetur* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:20.3 μάτην πέπρασαι] tr L; *cogitasti* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:20.4 τὸ πονηρόν] *maligne* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:20.5 παροργίσαι] *exacerbares* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:22.5 ἐξήμαρτες] *peccatum dedisti in* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:24.1 τὸν τεθνηκότα 1^o] *et mortuos tuos* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:24.2 τοῦ Αχααβ] *tuos* Luc

1 Kgs 21[20]:10.1 ἠὺλόγησεν] *maledixit* La^M; *maledixisti* Luc

Kaige Section (62)

- 1 Kgs 22:8.5 ἀνὴρ εἷς τοῦ ἐπερωτῆσαι] *per quem interrogemus* Luc
- 1 Kgs 22:18.3 οὗτός μοι] tr 44 318 460 707 Luc
- 1 Kgs 22:18.5 ἀλλ' ᾗ] ἀλλά 82 130 t 707; πάντα 106; *sed magis* Luc
- 2 Kgs 6:32.3 ἀπέστειλεν] post οὗτος tr 318 Luc
- 2 Kgs 6:32.4 οὗτος] τούτου d⁻¹⁰⁶ Luc (*illius*)
- 2 Kgs 10:30.7 τέταρτοι La¹¹⁵] *quarta progenie* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:1.1 υἱός] *cum esset rex* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:6.6 ܐܢܝܢ ܐܢ ܕܫܡܝܐ] ἐνώπιον Luc] ἐνώπιον L 460 (Luc unlikely kaige)
- 2 Kgs 21:6.7 κυρίου ... αὐτόν] *animae suae ... dominum deum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:7.1–2 τὸ γλυπτὸν τοῦ ἄλσους] *sculptilia lucorum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:7.8 ᾗ] ᾗν A 46-242 2 Chr^{Hanhart}; *quam* Luc; > B L 74 246 55 372 460
- 2 Kgs 21:8.1 τοῦ σαλευῖσαι / τὸν πόδα] tr Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:8.2 Ἰσραὴλ] *in Israel* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:8.3 ᾗς] ἡ A; *quam* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:11.3 ὁ] δς ᾗν L (Luc)
- 2 Kgs 21:12.1 ܐܢܝܢ ܐܢ ܕܫܡܝܐ] *propter hoc* Luc; > 71; *propterea* Vg.
- 2 Kgs 21:12.7 ἀμφοτέρα / τὰ ὅσα αὐτοῦ] tr Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:13.5 καὶ καταστρέφεται La^M] *de poste* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:13.6 ἐπὶ πρόσωπον] *in faciem suam* La^M; *ante faciem* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:15.3 ἐποίησαν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου] *erant de post me* Luc (crrp)
- 2 Kgs 21:16/17 tr Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:16.1 ܐܢܝܢ ܐܢ ܕܫܡܝܐ] *et quemadmodum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:17.1 καὶ 3^o – ᾗμαρτεν] *quemadmodum peccare fecit Israel* Luc
- 2 Kgs 21:19.1 υἱός] pr καὶ ᾗν 19; *cum esset* Luc; > 127^{txt} 44-125; + ὢν 342
- 2 Kgs 21:19.2 εἴκοσι καὶ δύο / ἐτών] tr Luc (2 Chr A a⁻⁷¹-127 Arm¹)
- 2 Kgs 22:2.1 ܐܢܝܢ ܐܢ ܕܫܡܝܐ] ἐνώπιον L 242-530 460; *ante conspectum* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:12.3 Ἀσαι 2 Chr] Ἰασαι A; Ἀζαρια L; *Ioas* Luc
- 2 Kgs 22:12.4 δούλῳ] *filio* Luc; παιδί 2 Chr

2 Kgs 22:13.6	τοῦ ποιεῖν / κατὰ πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα] tr Luc
2 Kgs 22:13.7	τοῦ ποιεῖν] <i>ut facerent</i> Luc
2 Kgs 22:14.3	Ασαιας] Ησαιας 158; Αζαριας L; Εζαριας 460; <i>Ioas</i> Luc
2 Kgs 22:15.2	εἴπατε] post με tr Luc ^{Diercks} (> Luc ^{VG})
2 Kgs 22:16.3	ἐπάγω κακὰ Luc = MT 2 Chr] tr 19'
2 Kgs 22:16.4	יְשֻׁבִּי עֲנוֹכוֹנִים (אֹתוֹן)] κατοικοῦντας L ⁻⁸² 489 799 342 460; <i>inhabitantes</i> Luc
2 Kgs 22:16.5	αὐτόν (ἐν αὐτῷ L ⁻⁸² 460)] <i>in eum</i> Luc
2 Kgs 22:16.6	πάντας] <i>secundum omnia</i> Luc
2 Kgs 22:17.2	ὅπως] ἵνα L ⁻⁸² 460 2 Chr; <i>et</i> Luc
2 Kgs 22:18.2	וְלִדְרֹשׁ עֲלֵי עֲלִיָּה] ἐκζητῆσαι L ⁻⁸² o 372 460; <i>ut quaereretis</i> Luc
2 Kgs 22:19.4	αὐτόν (ἐν αὐτῷ L ⁻⁸² 74 460)] <i>in illum</i> Luc
2 Kgs 22:19.7	וְגַל וְגַל] καὶ γε] καὶ A 2 Chr; <i>et</i> Luc
2 Kgs 22:19.8	λέγει] φησί(ν) L ⁻⁸² 460 2 Chr; <i>dixit</i> Luc; > d ⁻¹⁰⁶
2 Kgs 22:20.1	וְלֹא עָלָה] οὐχ οὕτως] <i>propter hoc</i> Luc; > 460; absc. 313
2 Kgs 22:20.3	συναχθήσῃ] <i>adaugeris</i> Luc
2 Kgs 22:20.9	ἐπέστρεψαν] ἀπέστρεψαν 55; <i>respondit</i> Luc
2 Kgs 23:2.4	προφῆται = MT] Λευῖται 2 Chr (וְלֵוִיִּתַּי MT) Luc (Greek source?)
2 Kgs 23:2.9	αὐτῶν 2 Chr = MT] <i>populi</i> Luc
2 Kgs 23:4.2	וְהָיָה] τὸν σταθμόν] <i>Ephod</i> Luc; > A
2 Kgs 23:4.4	בֵּית הַנְּאֻם] οἴκου 93; <i>domo</i> Luc
2 Kgs 23:5.6	καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν] <i>ciuitatum</i> Luc
2 Kgs 23:7.1	τὸν οἶκον τῶν καδησιμ] <i>filios illorum</i> Luc
2 Kgs 23:7.2	οὗ] ἐν ᾧ L 460 554 ^{mg} ; <i>quorum</i> Luc (crrp?)
2 Kgs 23:7.3	ὕφαινον] <i>officiabantur</i> Luc
2 Kgs 23:8.3	τὰ ὑψηλά = MT] <i>sancta</i> Luc
2 Kgs 23:8.4	οὗ ἐθυμίσαν ἐκεῖ] <i>ubi incendebant</i> Luc
2 Kgs 23:10.4	τοῦ διάγειν ἄνδρα] <i>quoniam perduxerunt quisque</i> Luc
2 Kgs 23:11.4	ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ] <i>ab introitu</i> Luc = Apos. Con. 2,57
2 Kgs 23:11.6	Ναθαν βασιλέως τοῦ εὐνούχου] <i>quos posuit tres equos qui</i> Luc (crrp)
2 Kgs 23:11.8	ἄρμα] <i>fontem</i> Luc (crrp?)

- 2 Kgs 23:13.1 **רָשָׁעִים בְּמִצְוַת ה' תִּן** τὸν οἶκον τόν] *excelsos quae fecerant* Luc: cf. MT
 2 Kgs 23:13.2 ἐπὶ πρόσωπον] ἐπὶ προσώπου *L o 246 245 460; a facie* Luc (crpp?)
 2 Kgs 23:15.2 ὃς ἐξήμαρτεν] *in quo fecit peccare* Luc
 2 Kgs 23:15.9 **הָרָשָׁעִים** τὸ ἄλλος] *lucos eorum* Luc (crpp?)

Agreements with Latin Witnesses against Greek Witnesses

Luc La¹¹⁵ (MSS) ≠ B L rel (17)

- 1 Kgs 12:24m.6 καταφάγονται] *et comedent eos* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 12:24m.8 καταφάγεταί] *comedent eos* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 13:22.2 ὧ] pr ἐν *L 328 246 Tht; ὡς A; de quo* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 13:23.1 φαγεῖν B V 379* 328 d⁻¹⁰⁶ 158 460] + αὐτόν rel = MT; *manducauit* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 13:23.2 πιεῖν] + αὐτόν *L⁻¹⁹ 46' 245 = MT; bibit* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 13:25b.1 εἰσῆλθον (ἔρχονται ἄνδρες *L*)] + *loci illius* La¹¹⁵; + *ciuitatis illius* Luc
 1 Kgs 13:28.2 **σῶμα** 2°] + *eius* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 18:23.7 ἐπιθέτωσαν 2°] *subponant* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 18:23.8 οὐ μὴ ἐπιθῶ] *non subponam* La¹¹⁵ Luc = Vg.
 1 Kgs 18:24.3 κυρίου Iren] > 460 La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 18:24.10 ἐλάλησας] *locutus est Helias* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 18:25.7 πολλοὶ ὑμεῖς] tr *L; uos multi estis* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 18:26–27 καὶ διέτρεχον – καὶ ἐμυκτήρισεν αὐτούς] > La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 18:27.2 καὶ εἶπεν] καὶ προσέθετο λέγων *L; dicens* La¹¹⁵ Luc (= *L?*)
 1 Kgs 18:28.2 κατετέμνοντο] *secabant se* La¹¹⁵ Luc (*se pro Gk middle*)
 2 Kgs 10:30.4 πάντα] pr κατά A B L-700 460 = MT; *secundum* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 2 Kgs 10:30.5 μου (2°) = MT] + *et secundum animam meam* La¹¹⁵ Luc

Luc La^M (MSS) ≠ B L rel (10)

- 1 Kgs 11:29.10 ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ] pr *erant* La^M Luc
 1 Kgs 12:24h.3 υἱός] > 246 527 460 La^M Luc

- 1 Kgs 13:14.2 δρῦν] *arbore ilice* La^M; *arbore ilicis* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:28.4 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ] *eius* La¹¹⁵; *illius* La^M Luc; > L = MT
- 1 Kgs 13:33.2 ἐπλήρου La^M-Al. (*replebat*)] *allevabat* La^M Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:10.1 ἡυλόγησεν] *maledixit* La^M; *maledixisti* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:19.4 ἐφόνευσας] + *Nabutheum* La^M Luc
- 2 Kgs 2:11.3 ἤν[η] ἀνελήμφθη] *ascendit* La^M Luc = Vg.
- 2 Kgs 2:11.4 ἐν συσσεισμῷ] *in commotione(m)* La^M Luc Ps-Aug Bede Orig ≠ Vg.
(common OL source?)
- 2 Kgs 2:12.4 ἄρμα Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἱππεὺς αὐτοῦ] *agitator Israel* La^M Orig Luc

Luc La¹¹⁵ La^M (MSS) ≠ B L rel (2)

- 1 Kgs 13:24.5 σῶμα 2°] + *eius* La¹¹⁵; + *illius* La^M; + *ipsius* Luc (different plusses)
- 1 Kgs 13:28.4 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ] *eius* La¹¹⁵; *illius* La^M Luc

Agreements/Disagreements between the Latin Witnesses

A statistical analysis of the agreement/disagreement patterns of the Latin witnesses faces the serious limitation that it is impossible to determine a meaningful expected value; we cannot tell whether the numbers are really high or low. It was stated in the introduction that a full-scale study between each and every word in all the early Latin witnesses would be beyond the scope of the present study. What can be offered here, however, is an overall picture of Lucifer's position compared with the two other most extensive early Latin witnesses, La¹¹⁵ and La^M.

Before turning to a full list of noteworthy readings between the witnesses, the key findings can be summarized in a table that simply produces the numbers of agreements and disagreements. Please note that in the table overlapping patterns (e.g., Luc ≠ La¹¹⁵ overlaps both Luc La¹¹⁵ ≠ La^M and Luc ≠ La¹¹⁵ La^M) are not considered. These will be considered in the reading lists below. The table is read "Lucifer [and another witness] disagrees with [column]." The B, L, and manuscripts columns signify the instances in which either of the major Greek text types or other Greek manuscripts are involved in the variation between the early Latin witnesses; it does not include cases in which the Latin witnesses are alone against all the Greek witnesses.

	La ¹¹⁵	La ¹¹⁵ La ^M	La ^M	B	L	MSS
Luc	78	2	34	10	7	9
Luc La ¹¹⁵	–	–	4	6	6	6
Luc La ^M	10	–	–	4	3	3
Luc La ¹¹⁵ La ^M	–	–	–	0	2	0

Because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence, especially that of La^M, and of the very uneven amounts of text preserved in La¹¹⁵ and La^M, the figures for the patterns Luc ≠ La¹¹⁵ (78) and Luc ≠ La^M (34) are not comparable. However, those patterns can be contrasted with the patterns Luc La^M ≠ La¹¹⁵ (10) and Luc La¹¹⁵ ≠ La^M (4) respectively: in his disagreements with La¹¹⁵ Lucifer agrees with La^M in 10:78 ≈ 13 percent of the cases and in the opposite pattern roughly as often (4:34 ≈ 12 percent). There are no grounds to claim that Lucifer is somehow further away from La¹¹⁵ than La^M; the greater number of disagreements between the first two mentioned is due to the fact that they have more overlapping verses. In the disagreements with the Greek witnesses, the figures are too low to say anything conclusive; proportionally, Lucifer and La^M seem to disagree with B L MSS more often than Lucifer and La¹¹⁵ (4:34 ≈ 12 percent against 6:78 ≈ 8 percent), but such a difference could be attributed to mere chance. Earlier, I have observed that, in the cases in which there is text from all the three major Latin witnesses, “the agreements between La^M and Lucifer against La¹¹⁵ show that La^M and Lucifer are certainly closer to each other than either of them is to La¹¹⁵.”¹ This finding was in line with Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz who emphasize the closer connection between Lucifer and La^M.² They build upon Moreno who makes a similar statement perhaps more cautiously.³ Nevertheless, the conclusion does not seem to be corroborated by the entire evidence; in the light of the figures above, I would not make a claim that Lucifer’s text was closer to La^M than La¹¹⁵.

The following lists do not contain all the differences between Lucifer, La¹¹⁵, and La^M. Readings that are included either have a noteworthy

1. Kauhanen, “Septuagint in the West,” 321.
2. Ant, LI.
3. Moreno, *Glosas*, 153, 285.

agreement/disagreement pattern with the Greek witnesses or they are internally significant.

Luc La¹¹⁵ ≠ La^M (4)

- 1 Kgs 12:24k.9 αὐτῇ ei La¹¹⁵ Luc] *ad eam* La^M
 1 Kgs 12:24l.2 πρὸς La¹¹⁵ Luc] + *Achiam* La^M
 1 Kgs 12:24l.5 ἄρτους 127 (sub 14:6) La¹¹⁵ Luc] *panem* La^M
 1 Kgs 13:24.4 εἰσθήκει 2^o La¹¹⁵ Luc] > La^M

Luc La^M ≠ La¹¹⁵ (10)

- 1 Kgs 12:24k.10 ὅτι] *quia* La¹¹⁵; *quoniam* La^M Luc
 1 Kgs 12:24k.12 ἐπὶ] *super* La¹¹⁵; *in* La^M Luc
 1 Kgs 12:24l.4 μοι ἐνὶ νόχας B CI 509 244 318 460 La^M Luc] tr V L 328 mlt La¹¹⁵
 1 Kgs 13:20.4 τὸν προφήτην La¹¹⁵] *pseudopphetam* La^M Luc
 1 Kgs 13:21.1 παρεπίκρανας *exacerbasti* La^M Luc] *ad* | *iracundiam instigasti* La¹¹⁵
 1 Kgs 13:23.3 ἐπέσαξεν *stravit* La¹¹⁵] *straverunt* La^M Luc
 1 Kgs 13:23.4 αὐτῷ La^M Luc] > x⁻⁵²⁷ La¹¹⁵
 1 Kgs 13:26.4 παρεπίκρανε La^M Luc] *ad iracundiā* | *instigauerat* La¹¹⁵
 1 Kgs 13:28.6 συνέτριψεν] *confre*[git La¹¹⁵; *insiluit in* La^M Luc
 1 Kgs 13:28.4 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ] *eius* La¹¹⁵; *illius* La^M Luc; > L = MT

Luc ≠ La¹¹⁵ La^M (2)

- 1 Kgs 12:24l.6 σταφυλήν Luc (*uvam*)] σταφίδας 127 (sub 14:6); *uvas* La¹¹⁵ La^M
 1 Kgs 13:20.3 καὶ ἐγένετο 2^o La¹¹⁵ La^M] > Luc

Luc ≠ La¹¹⁵ ≠ La^M (10)

- 1 Kgs 12:24k.11 ἐπαποστελῶ] ἐπαποστέλλω B CI 55 244; ἐξαποστελῶ 246 x 372 627;
 ἀποστελῶ 158; ἀποστέλλω 245; *inmitto* La¹¹⁵; *inmittam* La^M; *mitto* Luc
 1 Kgs 12:24l.1 Ἀνω La¹¹⁵] *Anus* La^M; *Anna* Luc

- 1 Kgs 12:24l.3 Αχια (La^M)] Αχεια B 82-93; *achias* La¹¹⁵; *Achiab* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.7 κολλύρια] *collyras* La¹¹⁵; *collirida* La^M; *collyrides* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:20.5 τὸν ἐπιστρέψαντα] *qui reuoca|uit* La¹¹⁵; *qui reduxerat* La^M; *qui reduxit* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:24.2 παρ' αὐτό] *iuxta eū* La¹¹⁵; *ante eum* La^M; *ad eum* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:24.5 σῶμα 2^ο] + *eius* La¹¹⁵; + *illius* La^M; + *ipsius* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:28.3 ἔφαγεν] *manducauit* La¹¹⁵; *tetigit* La^M; *edit* Luc
- 1 Kgs 16:25.2 ἐπονηρεύσατο] *malefecit* La¹¹⁵; *malignatus est* La^M; *maligne fecit* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:28.5 σειρομάσταις] *flagellis* La¹¹⁵; *lanceis syromatis* La^M; *nouaculis* Luc

Luc ≠ La¹¹⁵ (56)

- 1 Kgs 12:24k.8 Ανω La¹¹⁵] Αων 799; Ανω(ν) 246 119-527; *Annae* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.9 τὴν πύλην B CI 328 x 55 158 244 318 342 372 La¹¹⁵] εἰς τὴν πόλιν L 509 107-610 246 o 460 554 627 707; *portam ciuitatis* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.10 εἰς] > 328 246 Luc; *in* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.12 ἐξελεύσονται *exient* Luc] *exeant* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 12:24l.13 σοι 1^ο La¹¹⁵] > V 328 x 55 158 707 Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24m.7 τὸν τεθνηκότα] *qui mortui erunt* La¹¹⁵; *mortui erunt ei* Luc; + αὐτοῦ L 246
- 1 Kgs 12:24m.8 καταφάγεται (La¹¹⁵)] *pr et* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:19.3 ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ *in domo* Luc] *in domum* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:21.2 ἐφύλαξας] *seruasti* La¹¹⁵; *custodisti* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:22.1 τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ La¹¹⁵] *hoc loco* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:22.3 λέγων Luc] *pr dñs* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:22.4 καὶ μή *et non* La¹¹⁵] μηδέ CII^{-328.530} 121 d^{-44.125} t⁻⁷⁴ s z; *neque* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:22.6 σου 2^ο Luc] > La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:23.5 ὄνον (Luc)] + τῷ προφήτῃ A C⁻³²⁸ 121 d t s z 244 554 = MT; + αὐτοῦ 158; + *sibi* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:25b.1 εἰσῆλθον (ἔρχονται ἄνδρες L)] *accesserunt ui|ri loci illius* La¹¹⁵; *uenerunt u. ciuitatis ill.* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:25b.3 ὁ προφήτης Luc] *homo* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 13:25b.4 ἐν αὐτῇ Luc] > La¹¹⁵

- 1 Kgs 13:26.1 ἤκουσεν ... καὶ La¹¹⁵] *cum audissent* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:26.2 Ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ / οὗτός ἐστιν La¹¹⁵] *tr* Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:28.1 εἰστήκεισαν *stant* La¹¹⁵] *stabat* Luc
- 1 Kgs 15:34.4 ἐξήμαρτεν τὸν Ἰσραήλ (La¹¹⁵)] *peccauit in Israel* Luc
- 1 Kgs 16:25.1 Ἀμβρι L⁻⁸² 328 106^c 246] Ζαμβρεῖ *rel* La¹¹⁵; *Iambri* (?) Luc
- 1 Kgs 16:26.1 Ἱεροβοαμ Luc] Ἱεροβααμ V 55* 372 (La¹¹⁵)
- 1 Kgs 16:26.2 Ναβατ Luc] *nadab* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 16:26.3 καὶ 2^o La¹¹⁵] > 46^S 509 489 Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:23.6 τῶν ξύλων] ξύλα L 246; *lignum* Luc; *ligna in aram* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:24.2 ἐπικαλέσομαι] *invocabo* La¹¹⁵ *Iren*; *clamabo* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:24.6 ἐν πυρί Luc] *et dederit ignē* La¹¹⁵; > *Iren*
- 1 Kgs 18:24.7 οὗτος] + ἔστι(ν) L 246 460 La¹¹⁵ (*hic est*); *ipse est* *Iren*; *hic erit* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:24.4 ἔσται] > La¹¹⁵ *Iren*; *erit hic* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:24.5 ἐπακούσῃ = MT] + σήμερον L 246 La¹¹⁵ *Iren*; + *nos* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:24.8 εἶπον *dixerunt* Luc] εἶπε(ν) L 246 527 318 La¹¹⁵ (*dixit*)
- 1 Kgs 18:25.2 τοῖς προφήταις La¹¹⁵] πρὸς τοὺς προφῆτας (93) 381 Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:25.4 μόσχον *uitulum* Luc] βοῦν L 246; *bouem* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:25.5 καὶ ποιήσατε πρῶτοι / ὅτι πολλοὶ ὑμεῖς Luc] *tr* L 328 La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:25.6 ποιήσατε πρῶτοι] *facietis sacrificiū* | *primi* La¹¹⁵; *facite priores* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:25.8 ἐπικαλέσασθε B 247 246 488 55 71 318 460] ἐπικαλείσθε *rel*; *inuocate* La¹¹⁵; *clamate* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:25.10 (πῦρ μὴ) ἐπιθήτε *inponere* La¹¹⁵] *supponere* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:26.1 μόσχον *uitulum* Luc] βοῦν L 246; *bouem* La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:26.2 ἐποίησαν 1^o Luc] + *sacrificium*] La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:26.3 ἐπεκαλοῦντο *inuocabant* Luc] ἐπεκαλέσαντο ο; *inuocauerunt*] La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:26.4 ἐκ πρωΐθεν ἕως μεσημβρίας (Luc) = MT] > L La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:26.6 ἦν 1^o *erat* La¹¹⁵] *fuit istis* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:26.7 καὶ οὐκ ἦν 2^o La¹¹⁵] οὐδέ 379; *neque* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:27.1 Ἡλίου] *pr* *addidit* La¹¹⁵; *pr* *apposuit* Luc; *cf. L*
- 1 Kgs 18:27.3 ὅτι θεός ἐστιν = MT] ἅμα μήποτε L 246; *pariter* Luc; > La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:27.4 ὅτι ἀδολεσχία αὐτῷ ἐστιν] *ne forte occupatus sit* Luc (?); > La¹¹⁵ (?)

- 1 Kgs 18:27.5 κ. ἅμα μήποτε χρημ. αὐτός] [*ne*] | *forte sortes de[derit]* La¹¹⁵; > Luc (?)
- 1 Kgs 18:27.8 αὐτός (2°) Luc (*ipse*) > L 125 246 381 342 La¹¹⁵
- 1 Kgs 18:27.9 ἐξαναστήσεται] *exc[itetur] et exsurget* La¹¹⁵; *suscitabitur* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:28.1 καὶ 1° – μεγάλη] *et [inuo]|cabant magna [uoce]* La¹¹⁵; *et illum uocabant in uocem magnam* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:29.2 ἕως οὗ παρήλθεν] *donec tr[ansit]* La¹¹⁵; *usque dum transiret* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:29.3 מִדְּיָצַח תֹּדֵיִלִּין] τὸ μεσημβρινόν L; *medius dies* La¹¹⁵; *meridies* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:29.4 ἐγένετο ὡς ὁ καιρός] *c[um]* | *hora esset* La¹¹⁵; *factum est quomodo tempus erat* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:29.7 ἐλάλησεν Luc (*locutus est*)] εἶπεν L 125 246 La¹¹⁵ (*[dixit]*)
- 1 Kgs 18:29.9 τῶν προσοχισμάτων] *offensionis* La¹¹⁵; > Luc

Luc ≠ La^M (19)

- 1 Kgs 11:29.9 ἀμφότεροι A B V 247 x 245 Luc] + μόνοι rel La^M = MT
- 1 Kgs 12:24b.2 Σαριρα (vel sim) Luc] σαρεισα B; *Charira* La^M
- 1 Kgs 12:24h.4 κυρίου La^M] + ἦν 509 460; + *erat* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:24h.5 εἰς τὴν χεῖρα La^M] ἐν τῇ χειρί L 246 ο x⁻⁷⁹⁹ 372 627; *in manu* Luc
- 1 Kgs 12:30.2 Δαν A B V 247 71 245 318 460 Luc] + καὶ πρὸ προσώπου τῆς ἄλλης εἰς Βαιθήλ (+ καὶ εἶασαν τὸν οἶκον κυρίου 328 246 762 158 La^M) L 328 246 762^{mg} 158 La^M; + καὶ εἶασαν τὸν οἶκον κυρίου rel
- 1 Kgs 13:11.1 προφήτης Luc] *pseudopropheta* (Al.: *propheta*) La^M
- 1 Kgs 13:11.3 πρεσβύτης La^M = MT] > 19 C^{mg}(98^{txt}) 707 Luc
- 1 Kgs 13:34.1 τῷ οἴκῳ La^M] *in domum* Luc; om οἴκῳ 93 x
- 1 Kgs 16:28b.11 ἐθυμίων Luc] *odorama fumigaverunt* La^M
- 1 Kgs 16:31.2 Ιεθεβααλ] Εθβααλ 246 488 x 71 342; *Ethaal* La^M; *Basan et Hela* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:21.5 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰγνύαις (La^M)] *sensu uestro* Luc
- 1 Kgs 18:21.7 αὐτός] ἐστί(ν) L⁽⁻⁸²⁾ Luc; > B CI 799 244 318 460 La^M(Al.)
- 1 Kgs 20[21]:19.5 δύναμις La^M] + *qui* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:10.2 θεόν] pr Ναβουθαί L 328 La^M; *dominum* Luc
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:19.5 καὶ ἐληγονόμησας Luc] *ut in pretium sanguinis possideres* La^M
- 1 Kgs 21[20]:19.9 αἱ ὕες La^M] *et οἱ κύνες* 1° tr A Luc

- 2 Kgs 21:13.4 ἀπαλειφόμενος La^M] > L 460 Luc
 2 Kgs 21:13.5 καὶ καταστρέφεται La^M] *de poste* Luc
 2 Kgs 21:13.6 ἐπὶ πρόσωπον] *in faciem suam* La^M; *ante faciem* Luc

Luc La¹¹⁵ B ≠ L (4)

- 1 Kgs 12:24l.14 τὸ παιδάριον / τέθνηκεν La¹¹⁵ Luc] tr L
 1 Kgs 12:24m.6 καταφάγονται οἱ κύνες] κατάβρωμα τοῖς κυσὶ L 246; *et comedent eos canes* La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 13:25b.2 ἐλάλησαν La¹¹⁵ Luc] λαλοῦσιν L
 1 Kgs 18:29.6 καὶ οὐκ ἤν φωνή] > B 82-93 328 318 460 La¹¹⁵ Luc; + καὶ οὐκ ἤν ἀκρόασις CI⁻³²⁸ s⁻⁴⁸⁸

Luc La¹¹⁵ La^M B ≠ L (2)

- 1 Kgs 12:24k.7 δῆ] > L; *nunc* La¹¹⁵ La^M Luc
 1 Kgs 13:28.5 καὶ οὐ συνέτριψεν / τὸν ὄνον La¹¹⁵ La^M Luc] tr L

Luc La¹¹⁵ B L ≠ MSS (2)

- 1 Kgs 12:24m.3 οἱ τεθνηκότες La¹¹⁵ Luc] τὸν τεθνηκότα V 328 o x 55 71 158 245 342 372 554 627 707
 1 Kgs 13:26.5 fin B V L^{-19'} 328 o x 55 71 158 245 318 342 372 460 707 La¹¹⁵ Luc] + (26b-27) καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν Κύριος ... καὶ ἐπέσαξαν rel = MT

Luc La¹¹⁵ L ≠ B (6)

- 1 Kgs 13:25a.1 om v. 25a L^{-19'} Luc La¹¹⁵
 1 Kgs 18:25.9 θεοῦ] θεῶν L 246 92 318 La¹¹⁵ Luc
 1 Kgs 18:28.3 κατὰ τὸν ἐθισμόν αὐτῶν La¹¹⁵ Luc] > B 318 460
 1 Kgs 18:29.8 ὁ Θεσβίτης La¹¹⁵ Luc] > B d⁻¹⁰⁶ 245 318 460
 2 Kgs 10:30.3 πάντα ὅσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου / ἐποίησας = MT] tr L-700 460 La¹¹⁵ Luc
 2 Kgs 10:30.5 ὅσα 2°] > (L-700 460) La¹¹⁵ Luc

Luc La^M B ≠ L (1)

1 Kgs 12:31.1 ἐποίησεν 1° La^M (Luc)] + Ἱεροβοάμ L⁻⁸² 246

Luc La^M L ≠ B (4)

1 Kgs 13:11.2 εἰς = MT] ἄλλος L C^{mg}(98^{txt}) La^M Luc

1 Kgs 18:44.1 ⲡⲏⲣ ὕδωρ A B V 245 460 707] + ἀπὸ θαλάσσης rel La^M Luc (doublet)

2 Kgs 2:12.1 καὶ 2°] + αὐτός L-700 372 La^M Orig Luc (*ipse*) = MT

2 Kgs 21:13.3 ὁ ἀλάβαστρος] τὸ πύξιον L 460; *buxum* La^M Luc

Luc La^M ≠ MSS (3)

1 Kgs 12:24b.1 τῆς μητρὸς La^M Luc] τῇ μητρί L d 246

1 Kgs 13:3.6 ἐπ' αὐτῷ] ἐν αὐτῷ A 328; *in eo* La^M Luc

1 Kgs 13:19.2 καὶ ἔπιεν ὕδωρ] post αὐτοῦ tr A B 247 318 La¹¹⁵ Luc = MT

Luc La¹¹⁵ ≠ MSS (4)

1 Kgs 18:24.9 καλὸν τὸ ῥῆμα δ] ἀγαθὸς ὁ λόγος ὅν L 246; *bonum uerbum quod* La¹¹⁵ Luc (= B rel?)

2 Kgs 10:30.1 ἀνθ' ὧν ὅσα 1°] om ὅσα 247 L-700 121 488 318 460; *quia* La¹¹⁵; *eaprop-ter quod* Luc

2 Kgs 10:30.6 υἱοί La¹¹⁵] + *tui* Luc

2 Kgs 10:30.7 τέταρτοι La¹¹⁵] *quarta progenie* Luc

Appendix B: Lucifer's Text of Kings in Latin and English

In this appendix, Lucifer's entire text of Kings is reproduced along with an English translation that follows NETS with the appropriate modifications.¹ In the translations, readings that may go back to Greek variants, either found in the witnesses or preserved only via Lucifer's text, are printed in **bold**. Readings that differ from the Greek witnesses and that likely go back to Lucifer's own modification or corruption are in *italics*. The most noteworthy omissions are reported in square brackets with the word "omits."

1 Kgs 11:14, 23–25 (*Reg.* 3)

14	Et suscitauit dominus satan Salomoni Ader Idumaeum	And the Lord raised up a satan against Salomon, Ader the Idumean
[23]	et Esrom filium Anadeth in Remathad, Adragas regem Saba dominum eius.	and Esrom son of <i>Anadeth</i> in <i>Remathad</i> , <i>Adragas</i> , king of Saba , his master.
[24]	Et congregati sunt super eum uiri, et erat princeps congregationis, et praeoccupauit Damasic ciuitatem et sedit in ea et regnauit in Damasic,	And men were gathered around him, and he was leader of a band, and he first captured the city of Damasic, and he resided in it and reigned in Damasic,
[25aα]	et erant satanae Salomoni et Israel omnibus diebus Salomonis.	and they were <i>satans</i> to <i>Salomon</i> and Israel all the days of Salomon.

1. Thanks are due to Paavo Huotari for assistance in compiling this appendix and with the English translations.

1 Kgs 11:29–38 (*Reg. 3*)

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 29 | Et factum est, inquit, in tempore illo, et Hieroboas exiit de Hierusalem, et inuenit eum Achias Silonites propheta in uia, et Achias opertus erat uestimento nouo, et ambo erant in campo. | And it happened, it is said, at that time that <i>Hieroboas</i> went out of Hierusalem, and the prophet Achias the Silonite found him on the way [<i>omits: and took him aside out of the way</i>], and Achias was clothed in a new garment, and the both were in the field. |
| 30 | et adprehendit Achias uestimentum suum nouum quod super se habebat et dirupit illud duodecim scissuris | And <i>Achias</i> laid hold of his new garment that <i>he had</i> upon him and tore it into twelve pieces. |
| 31 | et dixit ad Hieroboam: accipe tibi decem scissuras, quoniam haec dicit dominus deus Israel: ecce ego dirumpo regnum de manu Salomonis, et dabo tibi decem sceptris; | And he said to Hieroboam: Take for yourself ten pieces, for thus says the Lord, God of Israel: “Behold, I am tearing the kingdom from the hand of Salomon, and I will give you ten sceptres; |
| 32 | et duo sceptris erunt illi propter seruum meum Dauid et propter Hierusalem ciuitatem, quam elegi ex omnibus tribubus Israel, | and two sceptres will be his for the sake of my slave Dauid and for the sake of the city of Hierusalem, which I chose [<i>omits: it</i>] out of all the tribes of Israel, |
| 33 | pro quibus dereliquit me Salomon, et fecit Astarte idolo inmundo Sidoniorum et Cama idolo Moab et regi eorum religioni filiorum Ammon, et non abiit in uias meas, ut faceret quod rectum est coram me, sicut fecit Dauid pater eius. | because of which <i>Salomon</i> forsook me and acted for Astarte, the <i>impure idol</i> of the Sidonians, and for <i>Cama</i> , the <i>idol of Moab</i> and their king, the <i>holy one</i> of the sons of Ammon, and he did not go in my ways, to do what is right before me, like his father Dauid <i>had done</i> . |
| 34 | Et non accipiam regnum totum de manu eius in diebus uitae eius propter Dauid seruum meum quem elegi, quoniam contra faciam illi per omnes dies uitae eius. | And I will [omits: certainly] not take the whole kingdom out of his hand during the days of his life, for the sake of my slave Dauid , him whom I chose, <i>because, I will resist him all the days of his life</i> . |
| 35 | Et accipiam regnum de manu filii eius, et dabo tibi sceptris decem, | And I will take the kingdom out of the hand of his son, and I will give you ten sceptres, |
| 36 | filio autem eius dabo duo sceptris, ut sit positio seruo meo Dauid omnibus diebus coram me in Hierusalem ciuitate, quam elegi mihi, ut ponerem nomen meum ibi. | but to his son I will give the two sceptres in order that there be a position for my slave Dauid all the days before me in the city of Hierusalem, which I chose for myself, to put my name there. |

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|----|--|--|
| 37 | Et accipiam te et regnabis
in quibus concupiscit anima tua, et
tu eris rex in Israel. | And I will accept you, and you shall
reign in what your soul desires, and you
shall be king in Israel. |
| 38 | Et erit si custodieris omnia
quaecumque praecepero tibi et ieris
in uias meas et feceris quod rectum
est in conspectu meo et custodieris
praecepta mea et mandata mea,
sicut fecit Dauid seruus meus, et ero
te cum et aedificabo tibi domum
fidelem, sicut aedificaui Dauid. | And it will be, if you keep all
that I command you and go
in my ways and do what is right
in my sight and keep
my commandments and my ordinances,
as Dauid, my slave, did, and
I will be with you and will build you a
sure house, as I built for Dauid." |

1 Kgs 12:24a–b, 20 (12:25–28, 20 Ant) (*Reg.* 3)

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 24a | Et rex Salomon dormiuit cum
patribus suis
in ciuitate Dauid; et
regnauit filius eius Roboam pro eo
in Hierusalem, et erat sedecim
annorum cum regnaret, et uiginti
annis regnauit in Hierusalem. (Et
infra:) Et fecit malignum ante
conspectum domini et non abiit in
uia Dauid patris sui. | And King Salomon slept with his
fathers [<i>omits: and was buried with his
fathers</i>] in the city of Dauid. And his
son Roboam ruled in his stead in
<i>Hierusalem</i> , and he was sixteen years
when he began to reign, and he reigned
twelve years in <i>Hierusalem</i> . (<i>And
below:</i>) And he did evil before
<i>the sight of</i> the Lord and did not go in
the way of Dauid his father. |
| 24b | Et erat homo ex monte
Ephraem seruus Salomonis, et
nomen ei erat Hieroboam, et
nomen matris eius erat Sariram,
mulier fornicaria, | And there was a person of Mount
<i>Ephraem</i> , a slave of Salomon, and his
name was <i>Hieroboam</i> , and
his mother's name was <i>Sariram</i> , a
prostitute. [<i>quotation ends</i>] |
| 20 | Et factum est ut audiuit omnis
Israel, quoniam reuersus est
Hieroboas ex Aegypto, et miserunt
et uocauerunt eum in synagoga et
regnificauerunt eum in Israel, | And it happened, when all
Israel heard that <i>Hieroboas</i> had
returned from Egypt and they sent and
called him <i>in</i> the gathering and made
him king <i>in</i> Israel. [<i>quotation ends</i>] |

1 Kgs 12:24g–m (13:1–11 Ant) (Reg. 5)

24g	Vade ad dei hominem et discite an moriturus sit filius noster.	Go to the man of god and learn if our son will be dying. ²
24h	Et homo erat ex Silo et nomen ei Achiab, et hic erat sexaginta annorum et uerbum domini erat cum illo. Et dixit Hieroboam ad uxorem suam: surge et accipe in manu tua homini dei panes et collyrides filiis eius et uuas et uas mellis.	And there was a person <i>from Silo</i> , and his name was <i>Achiab</i> , and <i>this</i> was [<i>omits: a son of</i>] sixty years, and the word of the Lord was with him. And <i>Hieroboam</i> said to his wife, “Arise, and take <i>in</i> your hand for the man of God loaves and cakes for his children and grapes and a jar of honey.”
24i	Et surrexit mulier et fecit sicut dixit ei uir eius. Et Achiab homo senex erat ualde et oculi eius caliginabantur uidere.	And the woman arose <i>and she did as his husband had said to her</i> . ³ And <i>Achiab</i> was a very old person, and his eyes were dim-sighted to see.
24k	et surrexit mulier ex Baria et abiit. Et factum est, cum intrasset ipsa in ciuitate ad Achiab Selonitem, et dixit Achiab puero suo: exi nunc in obuam Annae, uxori Hieroboam, et dices ei: intra et noli stare, quoniam haec dicit dominus: dura ego mitto in te.	And the <i>woman</i> arose from <i>Baria</i> and went . And it happened, after she entered into the city to <i>Achiab</i> the Selonite, and <i>Achiab</i> said to his lad: <i>now</i> go out to meet <i>Anna</i> the wife of <i>Hieroboam</i> and you will say to her, “Come in and do not stand, for this is what the Lord says, ‘I will send hard things <i>in</i> you.’”
24l	Et intrauit Anna ad hominem dei, et dixit ei Achiab: ut quid mihi adtulisti panes et uuam et collyrides et uas mellis? Haec dicit dominus: ecce tu ibis a me, et erit cum intraueris portam ciuitatis Arira, et puellae tuae exient in obuam et dicent tibi: puer mortuus est.	And <i>Anna</i> entered to the man of God, and <i>Achiab</i> said to her, “Why have you brought me loaves and grapes and cakes and a jar of honey? Thus says the Lord: ‘Behold, you will depart from me, and it will be when you enter the gate of <i>the city of</i> ⁴ <i>Arira</i> that your girls will come out to meet [omits: you] and will say to you, ‘The lad has died.’”

2. This short and free quotation of v. 24g was very likely made from memory.

3. Lucifer shortens the text in v. 24i.

4. Lucifer had a reason to add the word *civitas* to inform the readers that the following unfamiliar word *Arira* is the name of a city. As there is no Greek evidence for a combined reading containing both the words *πύλη* and *πόλις*, it is best to accept Lucifer as a witness to the B-reading *τὴν πύλην*.

- 24m Quoniam haec dicit dominus: ecce ego disperdo huius Hieroboam min-gentem ad parietem; et erunt mortui eius Hieroboam in ciuitatem et comedent eos canes, et mortui erunt ei in agro et comedent eos uolucres caeli.
- For this is what the Lord says, 'Behold, I *destroy* of *Hieroboam* one that urinates against a wall, and it will be that the dead of *his, Hieroboam*, in the city, the dogs *devour* them; and *those who will be dead for him* in the field, the birds of the air *devour* them.

1 Kgs 12:26–33 (*Reg.* 3, 5)

- 26 Et dixit Hieroboas in corde suo: nunc reuertetur regnum Dauid.
- And Ieroboam said in his heart, [**omits: Behold**], now the kingdom will revert to [*omits: the house of*] Dauid.
- 27 Si ascenderit populus hic sacrificium offerre in domo domini in Hierusalem et conuertetur cor populi ad dominum suum Roboam regem Iuda.
- If these people go up to offer sacrifices in the house of the Lord *in* Hierusalem, and the heart of the people will also turn [*omits: to the Lord and*] to their lord, Roboam, king of Iuda [*omits: and they will kill me*]
- 28 Tunc igitur Hieroboas cogitauit et abiit. Et fecit duas uitulas aureas et dixit ad populum: sufficiat uobis ascendisse in Hierusalem. Ecce sunt dii tui Israel qui reduxerunt te de terra Aegypti.
- So then *Hieroboas*⁵ *thought*, and went. And he made two golden calves and said to the people: Let it suffice for you to go up *in* Hierusalem. Behold, these are your gods, Israel, who *brought* you out of the land of Egypt.
- 29 Et posuit unam in Bethel et unam dedit in Dan.
- And he set the one in **Bethel**, and the one he gave in Dan.
- 30 Et factum est hoc uerbum in peccatum, et antecedeat populus ante faciem unius uitulae usque Dan.
- And this thing became a sin and the people *went* before the one calf as far as Dan.
- 31 Et fecerunt domos in excelsum, et fecit sacerdotes partem aliquam populi, qui non erant ex filiis Leui.
- And *they* made houses in a high *place*, and made priests of a part of the people who were not of the sons of Leui.
- 32 *Reg.* 3: Et fecit Hieroboas diem festum in mense octauo in quinta decima mensis secundum diem festum Iuda,
- Reg.* 3: And Hieroboam made a *festival day* in the eighth month in the fifteenth [*omits: day*] of the month like *the festival day of* [*omits: that was in the*]

5. To replace "the king" with the proper noun Jeroboam might be part of Lucifer's special formulation and thus the agreement between Lucifer and *L* here is not striking.

et ascendit in
sacrario quod fecit in Bethel, ut
sacrificaret ante uitulas quas fecit,
et constituit in Bethel sacerdotes
excelsorum quos fecit.

Reg. 5: Et fecit Hieroboam diem
festum in mense octauo in die
festo quinto decimo mensis
secundum diem festum Iuda, et
ascendit in sacrificium quod
fecit in Bethel, ut sacrificarent
uitulis quas fecit,
et constituit in Bethel sacerdotes
excelsorum quos fecit.

33 *Reg. 3:* Et ascendit in sacrarium
quod fecit in quinto decimo die
mense octauo in die festo
quem finxit a corde suo, et
fecit diem festum filiis
Israel.

Reg. 5: Et ascendit in sacrarium
quod fecit in quinto decimo die
mense octauo in die festo
quem finxit a corde suo, et
fecit diem festum filiis
Israel et ascendit in sacrarium ut
sacrificaret.

the land of Iuda, and he went up *in*
sanctuary that he made in **Bethel**, *to*
sacrifice before the calves, that he had
made, and he placed in **Bethel** the
priests of the high places that he made.

Reg. 5: And Hieroboam made a *festival*
day in the eighth month in *feast* the
fifteenth day of the month like *the*
festival day of Iuda, and
he went up *in the sacrificial space* that
he made in **Bethel**, *so that they would*
sacrifice to the calves, that he had made,
and he placed in **Bethel** the priests of
the high places that he made.

Reg. 3: And he went up in the sanctuary
which he made **in** the fi
the eighth month, in the festival day
which he fashioned from his heart, and
made the festival day for the sons of
Israel.

Reg. 5: And he went up in the sanctuary
which he made *in* the fifteenth day of
the eighth month, in the festival day
which he fashioned from his heart, and
made the festival day for the sons of
Israel and went up *in the sanctuary to*
sacrifice.

1 Kgs 13:1–6 (*Reg. 5, Conv. 3*)

1 Et ecce homo dei ex Iuda aduenit
in uerbo domini in Bethel, et
Hieroboam stabat super aram suam
sacrificare;

2 et propheta inuocauit ad
aram in uerbo domini dicens: o
sacrarium, sacrarium, haec dicit
dominus: ecce filius nascetur
in domo Dauid, et Iosias erit
nomen illi, et sacrificabit in
te sacerdotes excelsorum qui
sacrificant in te, et ossa hominum
conburet in te.

And behold, a man of God came out of
Iuda *in* **Bethel** in word of the Lord, and
Hieroboam was standing *upon* **his** altar
to sacrifice,

and *the prophet* called *towards the*
altar in a word of the Lord, **saying**, *O*
sanctuary, sanctuary, this is what the
Lord says: Behold a son shall be born
in the house of Dauid *and* Josias *shall*
be his name and he shall sacrifice *in*
you the priests of the high places who
sacrifice *in* you, and shall burn human
bones *in* you.

- 3 Et dabit in illa die prodigium
quod
locutus est dominus: ecce sacrarium
dirumpetur et effundetur pinguedo
quae est in eo.
- 4 *Reg. 5:* Et factum est, ut
audiuit uerba hominis dei
inuocantis in aram quae in Bethel
erat, et extendit manum suam ad
aram dicens: adprehendite eum. Et
arida facta est manus regis quam
extendit in eum, et non potuit
reducere eam ad se.
- Conv. 3:* Et factum est,
uerbum
hominis dei:
- Et extendit manum suam
ad aram dicens: adprehendite eum,
et arida facta est manus regis,
quam extendit in eum,
et non potuit reducere eam ad se.
- 5 *Reg. 5:* Et sacrificium ruptum est, et
effusa est pinguedo eius a
sacrario secundum prodigium quod
dixit homo dei in uerbo
domini.
- Conv. 3:* Et sacrarium ruptum est,
et effusa est pinguedo eius a
sacrario secundum
quod dixit homo dei
in uerbo domini.
- 6 *Reg. 5:* Et respondit rex et
dixit homini
dei: roga faciem domini dei
tui, ut reuertatur manus mea ad me.
Et rogauit homo dei faciem
domini, et reuersa est manus regis
ad eum, et facta est quemadmodum
primum.
- And he **will give** a sign in that day,
[omits: saying: this is the word] that the
Lord spoke. Behold the sanctuary shall
be torn down and the fatness that is in it
shall be poured out.
- Reg. 5:* And it happened, when *he*
heard the words of the man of God who
called *in* the altar which was in **Bethel**,
and *he* stretched out his hand *towards*
the altar, saying, "Seize him!" And
[omits: behold], *the king's* hand that he
stretched out *in* him withered, and he
could not return it to himself.
- Conv. 3:* And it happened, [omits: when
King Ieroboam heard] the word of the
man of God [omits: who called out
against the altar which was at Baithel]:
and *he* stretched out his hand *towards*
the altar, saying, "Seize him!" And
[omits: behold], *the king's* hand that he
stretched out *in* him withered, and he
could not return it to himself.
- Reg. 5:* and the *sacrifice* was torn
down, and its fatness poured out from
the *sanctuary* according to the sign that
the man of God had **said** in a word of
the Lord.
- Conv. 3:* and the *sanctuary* was torn
down, and its fatness poured out from
the *sanctuary* according [omits: to the
sign], what the man of God had **said** in
a word of the Lord.
- Reg. 5:* And the king **answered and
said** [omits: *Ieroboam*] to the man of
God, "Entreat the face of the Lord your
God, *that my hand may return* to me.
And the man of God entreated the face
of the Lord, and the king's hand returned
to him, and it became as it was
before.

Conv. 3: Et respondit rex et dixit homini dei: roga a facie domini dei tui, ut reuertatur manus mea ad me. Et rogauit homo dei faciem domini, et reuersa est manus regis ad eum, et facta est quemadmodum primum.

Conv. 3: And the king **answered and said** [*omits: Ieroboam*] to the man of God, “Entreat *on* (?) the face of the Lord your God, *that my hand may return* to me. And the man of God entreated the face of the Lord, and the king’s hand returned to him, and it became as it was before.

1 Kgs 13:7–28 (*Conv. 3*)

- 7 Et locutus est rex ad hominem dei et dixit: intra me cum in domum et prande, et dabo tibi munera.
- 8 Et dixit homo dei ad regem: nec si mihi dimidiam domum tuam, non intrabo te cum nec manducabo panem nec bibam aquam in hoc loco,
- 9 quoniam sic praecepit mihi dominus in uerbo dicens: non manducabis panem et non bibes aquam, et non reuerteris in uia qua iueris in ea.
- 10 Et abiit [...] per aliam uiam et non est reuersus per uiam quam uenerat in Bethel.
- 11 Et propheta alius habitabat in Bethel, et uenerunt filii eius et nuntiauerunt ei omnia opera quae fecerit homo dei in die illo in Bethel et uerba quae locutus est regi, et auerterunt faciem patris sui.
- 12 Et locutus est ad eos pater eorum dicens: qua uia abiit? Et demonstraerunt filii eius uiam per quam ierat homo dei qui uenerat ex Iuda.
- 13 Et dixit filiis suis: sternite mihi asinam; et strauerunt ei, et ascendit super illam

And the king spoke to the man of God **and said**, “Come home with me, and dine, and I will give you a gift.”

And the man of God said to the king, “If you give me half your house, I will not go in with you, nor will I eat food or drink water in this place,

for thus the Lord commanded me by a word, saying: Do not eat food, and do not drink water, and do not return by the way that you came on it.”

And he went another way and did not return by the way that he had come *in Bethel*.

And **another** [*omits: old*] prophet lived in **Bethel** and his sons came and told him all the deeds that the man of God did on that day in **Bethel**, and the words that he spoke to the king, and they turned the face of their father.

And their father spoke to them, saying, “Which way has he gone?” And his sons showed him the way on which the man of God who came from Iuda returned.

And he said to his sons, “Saddle me a donkey,” and they saddled [*omits: the donkey*] for him, and he mounted it

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 14 | et abiit post hominem dei et inuenit eum sedentem sub arbore ilicis et dixit ei: si tu es homo dei qui uenisti ex Iuda? Et dixit: ego sum. | and went after the man of God and found him sitting under an oak tree , and he said to him, "Are you the man of God who came from Iuda?" And he said [<i>omits: to him</i>], " I am. " |
| 15 | Et dixit ei: ueni me cum et manduca panem; | And he said to him, "Come with me, and eat food." |
| 16 | et dixit: non possum reuerti te cum neque manducare panem neque bibere aquam in hoc loco, | And he said, "I am not able to return with you neither <i>to eat</i> food nor <i>to drink</i> water in this place, |
| 17 | quoniam sic praecepit mihi in uerbo dominus dicens: non manducabis panem ibi et non bibes aquam ibi et non reuerteris inde per uiam quam ieris. | for thus the Lord has commanded me by a word, saying: Do not eat food there, and do not drink water there, and do not return <i>from there</i> the way that you came [<i>omits: on it</i>]." |
| 18 | Et dixit ad eum: et ego propheta sum sicuti et tu, et angelus locutus est ad me in uerbo domini dicens: reduc eum ad te in domum tuam, et manducet panem et bibat aquam. Et mentitus est illi | And he said to him, "I also am a prophet as you are, and an angel has spoken to me by a word of the Lord, saying: Bring him back to yourself into your house, and let him eat food and drink water." And he lied to him |
| 19 | et reduxit eum, et manducauit panem in domo eius et bibit aquam. | and he brought him back, and he ate food in his house and drank water. |
| 20 | Et factum est sedentibus illis ad mensam uerbum domini ad pseudopropheta qui reduxit eum, | And it happened, as they were sitting at the table, that a word of the Lord [<i>omits: came</i>] to the <i>false prophet</i> ⁵ who had brought him back, |
| 21 | et dixit ad hominem dei qui uenerat ex Iuda dicens: haec dicit dominus propter quod exacerbasti uerbum domini et non custodisti praeceptum quod praecepit tibi dominus deus tuus, | and he said to the man of God who came from Iuda, saying, "This is what the Lord says: Because you embittered the word of the Lord and did not keep the commandment that the Lord your God commanded you |
| 22 | et redisti et manducasti panem et bibisti aquam in hoc loco, de quo locutus est ad te dicens: non manducabis panem neque bibes aquam; ideo non intrabit corpus tuum in monumentum patrum tuorum. | and came back and ate food and drank water in this place about which he spoke to you, saying, 'Do not eat food, <i>and also do not drink water</i> , <i>therefore</i> your body shall not come to the tomb of your fathers." |

6. The word *pseudopropheta* is attested by La^M as well as by Lucifer, but the question is likely of a contextual adaptation.

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| 23 | Et factum est, postquam manducauit panem et bibit aquam, et strauerunt ei asinam et reuersus est. | And it happened, after he ate food and drank water, that they saddled for him the donkey, and he turned back. |
| 24 | Et abiit, et inuenit eum leo in uia et occidit eum, et erat corpus eius proiectum in uia, et asina stabat ad eum et leo stabat ad corpus ipsius. | And he departed, and a lion found him on the road and put him to death, and his body was thrown in the road, and the donkey stood <i>by</i> it, and the lion stood <i>by</i> the body of <i>the same</i> . |
| 25 | Et uenerunt uiri ciuitatis illius et locuti sunt in ciuitate ubi propheta senior habitabat in illa. | [omits: And behold, men were passing by and saw the carcass thrown in the road, and the lion was standing by the carcass] ⁷ and the men of that city came in and spoke in the city where the old prophet lived in it. |
| 26 | Et cum audissent qui reducerant eum de uia, dixit: hic est homo dei qui exacerbauit uerbum domini. | And when they heard the ones who had brought ⁸ him back from the way, [omits: and] he said, "This is the man of God who embittered the word of the Lord." |
| 28 | Et abiit et inuenit corpus eius proiectum in uia. Et asina et leo stabat super corpus eius et leo non edit corpus illius neque insiluit in asinam. | And he went and found his body thrown in the road, and the donkey and the lion stood <i>on</i> the body, and the lion did not eat the body of <i>that one</i> [omits: of the man of God] and did not crush the donkey. |

1 Kgs 13:33–34 (*Conv.* 3)

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| 33 | Et post hoc non est reuersus Hieroboas a malitia sua, sed reuersus est et fecit ex parte populi sacerdotes excelsorum. Qui enim uolebat, adleuabat manum suam et fiebat sacerdos in excelsis. | And after this Hieroboas did not turn from his evil, and he turned and made priests for the high places from part of the people; anyone who wanted to, raised his hand, and became a priest for the high places. |
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7. The OG probably did not contain the first half of the v. 25; the original minus is attested only by *L*⁻¹⁹, *La*¹¹⁵, and Lucifer.

8. The subject in the Greek text changes suddenly from the plural "men" to the singular prophet of Bethel and either Lucifer or a copyist fails to keep up and gives both the verbs "heard" and "brought him back" in the plural.

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| 34 | Et factum est hoc uerbum in peccatum in domum Hieroboam et in interitum et in exterminium a facie terrae. | And this thing became sin <i>in</i> the house of <i>Hieroboam</i> and ruin and desolation from the face of the earth. |
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1 Kgs 15:3, 34; 16:25–26, 28b, 30–33 (*Conv.* 3)

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| 15:3 | Et abiit in peccatis patris sui, quae fecit in conspectu eius, et non erat cor eius consummatum cum domino deo suo, sicut erat cor Dauid patris eius, | And he went in the sins of his father that he did <i>in his sight</i> , and his heart was not perfect with the Lord, his God, <i>as was</i> the heart of his father Dauid, |
| 15:34 | Et fecit malignum coram domino et abiit in uiam Hieroboam filii Nabath et in peccatis eius, quemadmodum peccauit in Israel. | And he did what was evil before the Lord and went in the way of <i>Hieroboam</i> son of Nabat and in his sins <i>as he sinned in Israel</i> . |
| 16:25 | Et fecit malignum in conspectu domini, et maligne fecit super omnes qui fuerunt ante eum | And <i>he</i> did what was evil <i>in sight</i> of the Lord and did more evil than all who were before him |
| 26 | et abiit in omnem uiam Hieroboam, filii Nabath, in peccatis eius; | and he went in every way of <i>Hieroboam</i> son of Nabath [<i>omits: and</i>] in his sins; |
| 28b | Abiit in uias Asab patris sui, et non declinauit ab illis, ut faceret quod rectum erat in conspectu domini, sed ab excelsis non abstinerunt et sacrificabant in excelsis et incendebant. | He went in the <i>ways</i> of his father <i>Asab</i> , and he did not turn aside from <i>them</i> to do what was right <i>in the sight</i> of the Lord; except that they did not abstain from the high places <i>and</i> they kept sacrificing and offering incense. |
| 30 | Et fecit Achab malignum in conspectu domini, et maligne fecit super omnes qui fuerunt ante eum. | And Achab did what was evil <i>in the sight</i> of the Lord <i>and</i> did more evil than all who <i>had been</i> before him. |
| 31 | Et non fuit illi satis ut ambularet in peccatis Hieroboam, filii Nabath, sed et accepit uxorem Iezabel, filiam Basan et Hela, regis Sidoniorum. Et abiit et seruiuit Baali et adorauit eum | And it was not enough for him to walk in the sins of <i>Hieroboam</i> son of Nabath, but he <i>also</i> took a wife, Iezabel, daughter of <i>Basan and Hela</i> , king of the Sidonians. And he went and served Baal and did obeisance to him |
| 32 | et statuit sacrarium Baali in domo religionum suarum, quam aedificauit in Samaria; | and he set a <i>sanctuary</i> for Baal in the house of his <i>holy ones</i> which he built in Samaria; |

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| 33 | et fecit Achab lucum,
ut faceret exacerbationem,
ut exacerbaret deum et animam
suam disperderet, et malignum fecit
super omnes reges Israel
qui fuerunt ante eum. | and Achaab made a grove, [<i>omits: and Achaab added</i>] to do a <i>provocation</i> , to provoke <i>God and</i> his life (so that it) might be destroyed; <i>and</i> he did more evil than all the kings of Israel who were before him. |
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1 Kgs 17:1; 18:17–46; 19:2 (*Athan.* 1.16–18)

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| 17:1 | Viuit dominus,
cui adsisto conspectum,
ante si erit annis istis ros et pluuiā,
nisi per uerbum oris mei. | “ <i>The Lord</i> [<i>omits: the God of hosts, the God of Israel</i>] <i>lives</i> , before whom I stand, if there shall be dew and rain these years, except by the word of my mouth.” |
| 18:17 | Si tu es ipse, qui euertis Israel? | “Are you he who perverts Israel?” |
| 18 | Non nos euertimus dei domum,
sed euertis tu et domus patris tui.
Et dixit Helias: ego non uerto Israel,
sed euertis tu et domus patris
tui, dum relinquitis uos dominum
deum nostrum et itis post Baal. | “We are not perverting the house of God but you and your father’s house pervert (it).” And Helias said, “I am not perverting Israel, but you and your father’s house pervert (it), when you forsook the Lord, your God, and went after Baal. |
| 19 | Et nunc mitte et congrega ad me
omnem Israel in montem Carmeli et
prophetas confusionis quadringentos
quingenta et prophetas lucorum
quadringentos, manducantes et
bibentes in mensa Iezabel. | And now send <i>and</i> assemble all Israel for me at Mount Carmel, and the four hundred and fifty prophets of <i>disorder</i> and the four hundred prophets of the groves, who eat <i>and drink</i> at Iezabel’s table.” |
| 20 | Et misit rex Achab ad omnem
Israel et collegit omnes prophetas
in montem Carmeli. | And <i>king</i> Achaab sent to all Israel and gathered all the prophets at Mount Carmel. |
| 21 | Et accessit Helias ad omnes et
dixit eis: usquequo
uos claudicatis sensu uestro? Si
est dominus deus, ite post ipsum. Si
autem Baal est, ite post illum. Et non
respondit illi populus uerbum. | And Helias came near to all, and [<i>omits: Eliou</i>] said to them, “How long will you go limping <i>in your minds</i> ? If the Lord is God, go after him, but if Baal is , go after that one.” And the people did not answer him a word. |

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| 22 | Et dixit Helias ad populum dicens: ego superavi solus prophetarum domini unus, et prophetae huius Baal quadringenti quinquaginta uiri et prophetae lucorum quadringenti; | And Helias said to the people <i>saying</i> , "I alone am left as <i>the one</i> of the <i>prophets</i> of the Lord, and the prophets of <i>this</i> Baal are four hundred and fifty men, and the prophets of the groves are four hundred. |
| 23 | dentur ergo nobis duo boues, et eligant sibi illi unum et demembrent, et inponant eum super lignum et ignem non subponant; et ego faciam bouem alterum, et ignem non supponam. | Let us then be given two bulls, and let them choose one for themselves and cut it in pieces and lay it on the wood, and let them not <i>put under</i> a fire; and I will do the other bull and will not <i>put under</i> a fire. |
| 24 | Et clamate in nomine deorum uestrorum, et ego clamabo in nomine dei mei, et erit hic deus quicumque exaudierit nos in igne, hic erit deus. Et respondit omnis populus, et dixerunt: bonum uerbum quod locutus est Helias. | And shout in the name of your gods, and I will call in the name of [omits: the Lord] my God, and <i>this one</i> will be god who will hear <i>us</i> in fire, this one <i>will be</i> God." And all the people answered and said, "The word which <i>Helias</i> spoke is good!" |
| 25 | Et dixit Helias ad prophetas confusionis: eligite uobis uitulum unum et facite priores, quoniam uos multi estis, et clamate in nomine deorum uestrorum, et ignem nolite supponere. | And Helias said to the prophets of <i>disorder</i> : Choose for yourselves the one bull calf, and do it first, for you are many, and call in the name of your gods and do not <i>put under</i> a fire." |
| 26 | Et acceperunt uitulum et fecerunt, et inuocabant in nomine Baal a mane usque ad uesperum, et dicebant: exaudi nos, Baal, exaudi nos. Et non fuit istis uox neque auditio. | And they took the bull calf and did it and were calling in the name of Baal from morning until <i>evening</i> and said, "Hear us, O Baal, hear us!" And there was no voice <i>or</i> hearing. <i>[omits: and they ran about on the altar that they made].</i> ⁹ |
| 27 | Et apposuit Helias Thesbites dicens: inuocate in uoce magna pariter, ne forte occupatus sit uel dormiat ipse, et suscitabitur. | <i>[omits: And it happened at noon]</i> and Helias the Thesbite <i>added saying</i> : call in a loud voice <i>in the same manner</i> [omits: for he is a god] , <i>perhaps he is busy</i> <i>[omits: and at the same time he is perhaps giving an oracle]</i> ¹⁰ or [omits: perhaps] he is asleep and will get up. |

9. The omission of 26b and the first words in 27 is attested only by La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer. It is probably a transcriptional error shared accidentally by the two witnesses.

10. Both La¹¹⁵ and Lucifer attest only one mocking, Lucifer likely the former,

- 28 et illum uocabant in uocem magnam, et secabant se secundum consuetudinem suam gladiis et nouaculis usque ad effusionem sanguinis super se,
- 29 et prophetabant usque dum transiret meridies. Et factum est quomodo tempus erat ut ascenderet sacrificium, et locutus est Helias Thesbites ad prophetas dicens: discedite amodo, et ego faciam holocaustomata. Et discesserunt et abierunt.
- 30 Et dixit Helias ad populum: accedite ad me. Et accesserunt omnes populi ad eum.
- 31 Et accepit Helias duodecim lapides secundum numerum tribus Israel, sicut locutus est dominus ad eum dicens: Israel erit nomen tuum.
- 32 Et aedificauit lapides et restituit altare domini, quod dissipatum fuerat, et fecit foueam, quae caperet duas metretas seminis in gyro altaris
- 33 et constipauit scizas super altare quod fecit, et demembrauit holocaustum et inposuit scizam et stipauit super altare,
- 34 et dixit: accipite mihi quattuor hydrias aquae et effundite super holocaustum et super scizam. Et dixit: iterum adferte. Et iterum adtulerunt. Et dixit: repetite tertio. Et repetierunt tertio,
- 35 et manabat aqua in circuitu sacrarii, et foueam impleuerunt aqua.
- And they were calling in a loud voice and they were cutting themselves, as was their custom, with daggers and sharp knives until the blood gushed out over them,
- and they were acting the prophet as **midday** passed. And it happened, as it was the time for the sacrifice to ascend [**omits: and there was no voice**] and Helias the Thesbite spoke to the prophets [*omits: of the offenses*] saying, “Stand aside for the present, and I will do whole burnt offerings.” And they stood aside and departed.
- And Helias said to the people, “Come close to me.” And all the people came close to him.
- And Helias took twelve stones according to the number of the tribes of Israel, as the Lord had spoken to him, saying, “Israel shall be your name.”
- and he built the stones [**omits: in the name of the Lord**] and repaired the altar **of the Lord** that had been thrown down and made a small pit, that held two measures of seed, around the altar
- and he piled up the firewood on the altar that he made and cut the whole burnt offering in pieces and laid [**omits: on**] the firewood and piled it on the altar,
- and said, “Take for me four jars of water, and pour it on the whole burnt offering and on the firewood,” [**omits: and they did so**] And he said, “Do it a second time,” and they did it a second time. And he said, “Do it a third time,” and they did it a third time,
- and the water ran all around the *sanctuary* and filled the small pit with water.

La¹¹⁵ the latter (“drawing lots”). The point of the mockery is Baal being occupied by unimportant activities; Lucifer’s “being busy” might be coined by himself to reproduce the basic idea.

- 36 Et clamauit Helias in caelum et dixit: dominus deus Abraham et Isaac et Israel, exaudi me, domine, exaudi me hodie in igne, ut sciant omnis populus hic quoniam tu es dominus deus Israel et ego seruus tuus, et propter te feci hoc opera,
- 37 et tu uersasti cor populi huius retro.
- 38 Et cecidit ignis a domino de caelo, et comedit holocausta et scizas et aquam quae erat in altare, et lapides et terram linxit ignis.
- 39 Et cecidit totus populus super faciem suam et dixit: uere dominus deus ipse est deus.
- 40 Et dixit Helias ad populum: suscipe prophetas Baal, nemo sit saluus ex illis. Et susceperunt illos, et deduxit illos Helias ad torrentem Cison et occidit illos ibi,
- 41 et dixit ad Achab: manduca et bibe, quoniam uox est pedum pluuiarum.
- 42 Et ascendit Achab, ut manducaret et biberet. Et Helias ascendit in Carmelum, et inclinauit se in terram et posuit faciem suam inter genua
- 43 et dixit puero suo: ascende et prospice uiam maris. Et respexit puer, et dixit puer: non est nihil. Circumage te septies.
- And Helias cried aloud to heaven and said, "O Lord, God of Abraham and Isaac and Israel, heed me, O Lord, heed me today with fire, and let all this people know that you are Lord, God of Israel, and I am your slave, and I have done these works on your account,
- [omits: Heed me, O Lord, heed me with fire, and let this people know that you are Lord God]** and you turned back the heart of this people."
- And fire from the Lord fell from heaven and consumed *the whole burnt offerings* and the firewood and the water that was in the *altar* and the stones, and the soil the fire licked up.
- And all the people fell on their face and said, "Truly the Lord **[omits: is]** God; he is God."
- And Helias said to the people, "Seize the prophets of Baal; let there be no survivor among them." And they seized them, and Helias brought them down to the wadi *Cison* and killed them there,
- and **[omits: Eliou]** said to Achaab, "**[omits: go up and]** Eat and drink, for there is a sound of the feet of the rain."
- And Achaab went up to eat and drink. And Helias went up *in* Carmel and bowed down *in* the earth and put his face between knees
- and said to his lad, "Go up, and look the way of the sea." And the lad looked and *the lad* said, "There is nothing." **[omits: And Eliou said and]** "Now get yourself around seven times." **[omits: And the lad returned seven times]**.

- 44 Et factum est in septimo, et
ecce nubs pusilla quasi uestigium
hominis adducens aquam de
mari. Et dixit illi Helias: ascende
et dic ad Achab: iunge currum
tuum et ascende, ne comprehendat
te pluuiā.
- 45 Et factum est hinc et inde, et
caelum contenebricauit nubibus et
uentis, et facta est pluuiā magna. Et
plorabat et ibat Achab in Israel,
- 46 et manus domini erat in Heliam.
- 19:2 Haec mihi faciant dii et haec mihi
adaugeant, si non in hac hora cras
posureo animam tuam, quemad-
modum animam unius ex illis.
- And it happened at the seventh time,
and behold, a little cloud—like the sole
of a person's foot— bringing water
from the sea. And *Helias* he said *to*
him, “Go up, and say to Achab,
‘Harness your chariot, and go up, so that
the rain would not overtake you.’”
- And it happened [*omits: until*] thus and
thus, and heaven grew black with clouds
and *winds*, and there was a heavy rain,
and Achaab wept and went to **Israel**,
and the hand of the Lord *was in* Helias.
- “This is what **gods** may do to me, and
this is what they may add *to me*, if not
in this hour tomorrow I will make your
life like the life of one of them.”

1 Kgs 20 (21 LXX):13–14, 17, 19–20 (Reg. 7)

- 13 Reg. 7 (149,38–150,41): et ecce,
prophetes unus accessit ad regem
Israel et dixit: haec dicit dominus,
si uidisti sonum magnum
istum? Ecce ego hodie tradam eum
in manus tuas, et scies quoniam
ego sum dominus.
- Reg. 7 (150,52–3): Trado eum in
manus tuas, ut scias quoniam ego
sum deus[.]
- 14 Et dixit rex: in quo? Et dixit
prophetes:
in pueris principum
regionum. Et dixit rex: quis
committet pugnam? Et dixit
prophetes: tu.
- 17 [Et exierunt pueri de ciuitate
(?) principum regionum]
- 19 et exierunt pueri de ciuitate
principum regionum et
exercitus qui post illos
- Reg. 7 (149,38–150,41): And behold,
a prophet came up to the king of Israel
and said, “This is what the Lord says,
‘Have you seen [*omits: all*] this great
sound? Behold, I *today* will give it
into your hands, and you shall know that
I am the Lord.”
- Reg. 7 (150,52–3): “I *am giving* it
into your hands [*omits: today*], *that* you
may know that I am *God*.”
- And *the king* said, “By whom?” and *the*
prophet said, [*omits: “This is what the*
Lord says] By the lads of the district
governors.” And *the king* said, “Who
shall begin the battle?” And *the prophet*
said, “You.”
- [And the lads went out *of the city*
of the district governors]
- and [*omits: do not let*] the lads went out
of the city of the district governors, and
the force that was behind them,

- 20 et percussit unusquisque quem
inuenit secus se,
et fugerunt Syri,
et persecutus est Israel. *and each one smote the one he found
beside him, [omits: and he repeated
each the one beside him], and the
Syrians fled, and Israel pursued [omits:
them].*

1 Kgs 21(20 LXX):9–10, 17–24 (*Athan.* 1.18–19)

- 9 Ieiunate ieiunium, et sedeat
Nabutheus in primo populo, *“Fast a fast, and let Nabutheus
sit at the head of the people,*
- 10 et conlocate duos uiros filios
iniquorum contra eum, et testentur
aduersus eum dicentes: maledixisti
dominum et regem, et deducite
eum, et lapidetur et moriatur. *and place two men, sons of transgres-
sors, opposite him and have them testify
against him, saying, ‘You have cursed the
Lord and the king,’ and bring him out
and let him be stoned, and let him die.”*
- 17 Et dixit dominus ad Heliam
Thesbitem dicens: *And the Lord spoke to Helias the
Thesbite, saying,*
- 18 surge et descende in obuiam Achab
regi Israel, qui est in Samariam,
quia hic in uineam Nabuthei
descendit, ut possideat eam. *“Arise and go down to meet Achab, king
of Israel, who is in Samaria, because this
one has gone down in the vineyard of
Nabutheus that he may possess it.*
- 19 Propter hoc haec dicit dominus:
in loco in quo
linxerunt canes et sues sanguinem
Nabuthei, ibi lingent canes
sanguinem tuum, et fornicariae
lauabunt in sanguine tuo. *Because of this, this is what the Lord
says: ‘In [omits: every] place where
dogs and swine licked up the blood of
Nabutheus, there dogs will lick up your
blood, and prostitutes
will wash themselves in your blood.”*
- 20 Et dixit Achab ad Heliam: si inue-
nisti me, inimicus meus? Et dixit
Helias: inueni, quoniam cogitasti
facere maligne ante conspectum do-
mini, ut exacerbares eum. *And Achab said to Helias, “Have you
found me, my enemy?” And Helias said,
“I have found because you have thought
to do what is evil before the sight of the
Lord, to provoke him.*
- 21 Haec dicit dominus: ecce ego
induco super te mala, *This is what the Lord says, ‘Behold I am
bringing evil on you,*
- 22 et dabo domum tuam sicut domum
Hieroboam filii Nabath, sicut
domum Saba filii Acia, pro omni-
bus exacerbationibus quibus exacer-
basti et peccatum dedisti in Israel. *and I will render your house like the
house of Hieroboam son of Nabath,
[omits: and] like the house of Saba son of
Acia for all the provocations which you
provoked, and you set up sin in Israel.’*
- 23 Et ad Iezabel locutus est dominus
dicens: canes manducabunt eam
ante murum Iezrahel, *And to Iezabel the Lord spoke,
saying, “The dogs shall eat her
before the wall of Iezrahel,*

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| 24 | et mortuos tuos in ciuitate

manducabunt uolucres caeli. | and <i>your dead</i> in the city [<i>omits: the dogs shall eat, and his dead on the plain</i>]
the birds of the air shall eat.” |
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1 Kgs 22:5–6, 7–8, 18, 27 (*Reg.* 8)

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| 5 | Et dixit Iosafat rex Iuda ad regem Israel: interrogate nunc hodie dominum. | And <i>Iosafat</i> king of <i>Iuda</i> , said to the king of Israel, “Do inquire of the Lord today.” |
| 6 | Et conuocauit rex Israel omnes prophetas quasi quadringentos uiros, et dixit illis rex Achab: si ibo in Remma ad Galaath in pugnam aut cessabo? Et dixerunt: ascende. | And the king of Israel gathered all the prophets together, about four hundred men, and King <i>Achab</i> said to them, “Shall I go <i>in battle</i> in <i>Remma</i> to <i>Galaath</i> , or shall I refrain?” And they said, “Go up!” |
| 7 | Et dixit Iosafat ad regem Israel: non est hic propheta domini, et interrogabimus dominum? | And <i>Iosafat</i> said to the king of Israel, “Is there not a prophet of the Lord here, and we will inquire of the Lord [<i>omits: through him</i>]?” |
| 8 | Et dixit Achab rex Israel ad Iosafat regem: unus est per quem interrogemus dominum, sed ego odi illum, quoniam non loquitur de me bona. | And <i>Achab</i> king of Israel said to <i>King Iosafat</i> : “There is still <i>one through whom we can inquire</i> of the Lord, but I hate him, for he does not speak <i>good</i> about me.” |
| 18 | Dixit rex Israel ad Iosafat regem Iuda: nonne dixi ad te quoniam prophetat mihi hic non bona, sed magis mala? | And the king of Israel said to <i>Iosafat</i> , king of <i>Iuda</i> : “Did I not tell you that this one does not prophesy good to me but, rather, evil?” |
| 27 | Manducet panem doloris donec redeam; | “ <i>Let him eat bread of affliction</i> [<i>omits: and water of affliction</i>] until I return.” |

2 Kgs 2:11–12 (*Athan.* 1.20)

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| 11 | Euntibus autem illis et loquentibus ecce currus igneus et equi ignei, et separauit inter utrosque. Et ascendit Helias in commotionem quasi in caelum. | As they were walking [<i>omits: they were walking</i>] and talking , behold a chariot of fire and horses of fire, and they separated between both, and Helias <i>went up</i> in a commotion as into heaven. |
| 12 | Et Helisaeus uidebat, et ipse clamabat et dixit: pater, pater, agitator Israel. Et non uidit eum amplius. | And Helisaeus saw and he cried out <i>and said</i> : “Father, Father, <i>the driver</i> of Israel [<i>omits: and its horseman</i>]!” And he saw him no longer. |

2 Kgs 6:32b, 10:30 (*Parc.* 4–5)

6:32b Si uidistis quoniam filius homi-
cidae illius misit ad auferendum
caput meum?
10:30 Eapropter quod
fecisti bona
coram me et fecisti
secundum cor meum et secundum
animam meam domui Achab, filii
tui quarta progenie sedebunt tibi
in throno Israel.

“Have you **seen** that the son of *this* murderer sent for my head to be taken off?”

“*For the reason that* [omits: **as long as**] you did good [omits: *in doing what is right*] in my sight, and **did** [omits: **all**] according to my heart and according to **my mind** to the house of *Achab*, your sons of the fourth **generation** shall sit for you *on* the throne of Israel.”

2 Kgs 20:21–21:19 (*Reg.* 8)

20:21 Et dormiuit Ezechias cum patribus
suis, et sepultus est in ciuitate
Dauid, et regnauit Manasses filius
eius pro eo,
21:1 cum esset rex sedecim annorum
Manasses cum regnaret, et
quingenta septem annis
regnauit in Hierusalem, et nomen
erat matris eius Ebsibas.
2 Et fecit quod malignum est ante
consectum domini secundum
abominationes gentium, quos eiecit
dominus a facie filiorum Israel.
3 Et
aedificauit excelsa quae destrux-
erat Ezechias pater ipsius, et
aedificauit sacrarium Baal et fecit
lucos sicut fecit Achab rex Israel,
et adorauit
omnem militiam caeli et
seruiuit illis.

And Ezechias slept with his fathers and was buried in the city of Dauid, and Manasses his son reigned in his stead,

Manasses *being a sixteen-year-old king* when he began to rule, and he reigned *fifty-seven* years in *Hierusalem*, and his mother's name was **Ebsibas**.

And he did what is evil before the sight of the Lord, according to the abominations of the nations whom the Lord drove out from before the sons of Israel.

[omits: *And he turned back*] And he built the high places that Ezechias his father had *destroyed*, and he *built* an altar to Baal and made groves, just as *Achab*, king of Israel [omits: *had done*], and did obeisance to all the **army** of heaven and was subject to them.

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[omits: *And he built an altar in the Lord's house, as he had said, "In Ierousalem I will put my name."*]¹¹

11. Lucifer does not attest verse 4, likely attributable to a transcriptional error.

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| 5 | Et aedificauit sacrarium
in duobus aedibus
domus domini | And he built a sanctuary [<i>omits: to all the host of heaven</i>] in the two courts of the Lord's house |
| 6 | et induxit filios suos in ignem et
augurabatur et fecit pythones et
diuinos multos, ut faceret quod
malignum est in oculis animae suae,
ut exacerbaret dominum deum. | and he conducted his sons into fire, and <i>he practiced divination</i> and he made <i>pythons</i> and <i>many</i> divine things <i>so that he did</i> what is evil in the eyes of his <i>soul so that he provoked</i> the Lord God. |
| 7 | Et fecit sculptilia
lucorum quae fecit in domo, quam
dixit dominus ad Dauid et ad
Salomonem filium eius: in domo
ista et in Hierusalem, quam elegi
ex omnibus tribubus Israel, ponere
nomen meum in aeternum, | And he <i>made carved images of the groves</i> which he had made in the house of which the Lord had said to Dauid and to Salomon his son: "In this house and in <i>Hierusalem</i> , which I chose out of all the tribes of Israel, to put my name [<i>omits: there</i>] forever, |
| 8 | et non adponam pedem in Israel
mouere a terra quam dedi
[hae] sed si
audierint me per omnia, quae
mandaui eis, et secundum
legem, quam mandauit eis puer
meus Moyses. | And I will not add to shake the foot <i>in</i> Israel from the land that I gave to [these] [<i>omits: their fathers</i>] but if they will listen to me in everything that I commanded them <i>and</i> according to [<i>omits: all</i>] the law that my lad Moyses commanded them." |
| 9 | Et non audierunt. Et quoniam
ualide adspersatus est Manasses et
seduxit eos Manasses, ut facerent
quod malignum est
super omnes gentes quas abstulit
dominus a facie
Israel. | And they did not listen. And <i>since</i> Manasses acted most abominably and Manasses misled them <i>to do</i> what is evil [<i>omits: in the sight of the Lord</i>] more than all the nations that the Lord had annihilated from before [<i>omits: the sons of</i>] Israel. |
| 10 | Et locutus est dominus in manu
puerorum suorum prophetarum: | And the Lord spoke by the hand of his lads the prophets, [<i>omits: saying</i>] |
| 11 | quia fecit Manasses rex Iuda
simulacra, secundum omnia quae
fecit Amorrhaeus qui erat ante
faciem eius, et peccare fecit Iuda
in idolis suis, | "Since Manasses, the king of <i>Iuda</i> , made images [<i>omits: these evil things</i>] according to all that <i>Amorrhaeus</i> , who was before him , did and made Iuda sin in their idols, |
| 12 | propter hoc haec dicit dominus
deus Israel: ecce ego adduco
mala in Hierusalem et in Iuda;
omnes qui audierint haec, tinnibunt
aures eorum utraeque. | <i>because of this</i> , this is what the Lord, the God of Israel, says, Behold, I am bringing evil in Hierusalem and in <i>Iuda</i> [<i>omits: so that</i>]; everyone who hears, both his ears will echo. |

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| 13 | Et deleam Hierusalem
quemadmodum deletur buxum
de poste ante
faciem eius. | And I will wipe Hierusalem as the
tablet of box-wood is wiped, [omits:
when it is wiped, and] over before its
face. |
| 14 | Et dabo eos
in manus inimicorum ipsius, et
erunt in direptionem et combusti-
onem omnibus inimicis eorum, | [omits: <i>And I will cast off the remnant
of my heritage</i>] And I will give them
into the hands of <i>his</i> enemies, and they
shall become rapine and plunder to all
their enemies, |
| 15 | quoniam proiecti sunt
de post me, et erant de post
me et erant exacerbantes me,
ex qua die exierunt patres eorum
de terra Aegypti
usque in hunc diem. | because they were thrown away
behind me and they were from <i>behind
me</i> and were provoking me to anger,
from the day that their fathers went out
from the land of Aegyptus [<i>omits: and</i>]
even to this day.” |
| 17 ¹² | Et cetera uerborum Manasse et
omnia quae fecit, quemadmodum
peccare fecit Israel, nonne haec
scripta sunt in libro uerborum
dierum regum Iuda, | And the rest of the things of Manasses
and all that he did, <i>how he made Israel
sin</i> , are these things not
written in the book of the things
of the days of the kings of Iuda, |
| 16 | et quemadmodum
sanguinem innocentium fudit mult-
um ualde, usque dum inpleret Hie-
rusalem super os, extra peccatum,
quae peccare fecit Iuda, ut faceret
quod malignum est in conspectu
domini dei? | and <i>how</i> [<i>omits: Manasseh</i>] he shed
very much innocent blood until he had
filled Hierusalem <i>over</i> (its) [<i>omits:
mouth to</i>] mouth, apart from [<i>omits:
his</i>] <i>the sin</i> that he made <i>Iuda</i> sin so
that they did what was evil in the sight
of the Lord God? |
| 18–19 | Et dormiuit Manasses cum patribus
suis,
et
regnauit filius eius pro eo, cum
esset annorum uiginti duo Amos. | And Manasses slept with his fathers
[<i>omits: and was buried in the garden of
his house, in the garden of Oza</i>], and
[<i>omits: Amon</i>] his son reigned in his
stead <i>when Amos</i> was twenty-two years. |

2 Kgs 22:2, 11–23:8, 10–16 (*Parc.* 7)

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|------|---|---|
| 22:2 | Fecit, quod rectum est ante
conspectum domini et ambulauit
in uia patris sui Dauid, et non
declinauit dextra aut sinistra, ... | And he did what was right <i>before</i> the
sight of the Lord and walked in [<i>omits:
all</i>] the way of Dauid his father <i>and</i> he
did not depart to the right or to the left. |
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12. Lucifer quotes vv. 16–17 in reverse order, probably accidentally.

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| 11 | Et factum est, cum audisset rex uerba libri legis, et conscidit uestimenta sua. | And it happened, when the king heard the words of the book of the law, that he tore his clothes. |
| 12 | Et mandauit rex Chelchiaie sacerdoti et Alchinae filio Iosafan et Achiliae filio Melchiaie et Safan scribae et Ioas filio regis dicens: | And the king commanded <i>Chelchiaie</i> the priest and <i>Alchinae</i> son of <i>Iosafan</i> , and <i>Achiliae</i> son of <i>Melchiaie</i> and <i>Safan</i> the secretary and <i>Ioas</i> the king's son, saying, |
| 13 | quaerite a domino pro me et pro omnibus Iuda de uerbis libri huius inuenti, quoniam magna ira domini accensa est in nobis, quoniam non audierunt patres nostri uerba libri huius secundum omnia scripta ut facerent. | “[omits: Go] Seek out the Lord for me [omits: and for all of the people] and for all of Iuda concerning the words of this book that was found, for great is the wrath of the Lord that has kindled among us, because our fathers did not obey the words of this book according to all that is written [omits: against us] so that they would do it. |
| 14 | Et abiit Chelchias sacerdos et Acican et Safan et Ioas ad Oldam prophetissam, uxorem Selle, filii Tacuelarum, uestis custodem, et ipsa habitabat in Hierusalem. Et locuti sunt ad eam secundum haec. | And <i>Chelchias</i> the priest and <i>Acican</i> [omits: and <i>Achobor</i>] and <i>Safan</i> and <i>Ioas</i> went to <i>Oldam</i> the prophetess, wife of <i>Selle</i> son of <i>Tacuelarum</i> [omits: son of <i>Haraas</i>], keeper of the wardrobe, and she was residing in Hierusalem [omits: in the <i>masena</i>], and they spoke to her according to these (words). |
| 15 | Et dixit eis: haec dicit dominus deus Israel: uiro qui misit uos ad me dicite: | And she said to them: “This is what the Lord, the God of Israel, says: to the man who sent you to me, say: |
| 16 | haec dicit dominus: ecce adducam mala super hunc locum et super inhabitantes in eum secundum omnia uerba libri huius quae legit rex Iuda | This is what the Lord says, ‘Behold, I will bring evil on this place and on those who dwell in it according to all the words of this book that the king of Iuda read |
| 17 | pro quibus dereliquerunt me et intenderunt dis alienis et exacerbauerunt me in operibus manuum suarum. Et incensa est ira mea in hoc loco et non extinguetur. | because they abandoned me and <i>turned towards</i> ¹³ other gods and they provoked me to anger with the works of their hands. And my wrath will burn in this place, and it will not be quenched.’ |

13. The MSS read *intenderunt* “they stretched out to,” probably a corruption from *incenderunt* “they burned.”

18	Et ad regem Iuda, qui misit uos, ut quaereretis a domino, haec dicetis: haec dicit dominus deus Israel: uerba mea quae audisti	And to the king of Iuda who sent you so that you sought after the Lord, this is what you shall say [<i>omits: to him</i>]: This is what the Lord, the God of Israel, says: 'My words that you heard
19	et reueritus es a facie mea, quia audisti quae locutus sum in locum istum et inhabitantes in illum, fieri in heremo et in maledictionem, et scidisti uestimenta tua et plorasti ante conspectum meum, et ego audiui, dixit dominus uirtutum.	[<i>omits: because your heart was softened</i>] and you were respectful before me when you heard how I spoke against this place and against those who dwell in it , to become a desolation and a curse, and you tore your clothes and wept before my sight, and I heard, says the Lord of Hosts.
20	Propter hoc ego abduco te apud patres tuos, et adaugeris in pace, et uidebunt oculi tui omnia mala quae ego induco in loco isto et super inhabitantes in illum. Et respondit regi uerbum	[<i>omits: Behold</i>] Because of this, I am leading you among your fathers, and <i>you will thrive</i> ¹⁴ [<i>omits: to your grave</i>] in peace and your eyes will [<i>omits: not</i>] see all the evils that [<i>omits: I am –</i>] I am bringing <i>in</i> this place and on those who inhabit in it. " And he <i>responded</i> the message to the king
23:1	et misit rex Iosias et collegit ad se omnes presbyteros Iuda in Hierusalem.	and King Iosias sent and gathered to himself all the elders of Iuda <i>in</i> Hierusalem.
2	Et ascendit rex ad dominum et omnes uiri Iuda et sacerdotes et leuitae et omnis populus a pusillo usque ad maiorem. Et legit rex in auribus populi omnia uerba libri testamenti, qui inuentus est in domo domini.	And the king went up to [<i>omits: the house of</i>] the Lord, and every man of Iuda [<i>omits: and all those who dwelt in Ierusalem with him</i>], ¹⁵ and the priests and the Levites ¹⁶ and all the people from small <i>as far as</i> to great. And the <i>king</i> read in the ears of the people all the words of the book of the covenant that had been found in the Lord's house.

14. The verb *adaugeo* "increase," here perhaps "thrive," may reflect a form of συναυξάνω "increase with or together" as a corruption or a misreading from συναχθήσῃ.

15. The omission is probably a parablepsis from καί to καί or *et* to *et* (**et omnes inhabitantes in Hierusalem cum eo** *et sacerdotes et leuitae*).

16. The reading "Levites" instead of "prophets" agrees with the Chronicles parallel.

- 3 Et stetit rex ad columnam et disposuit testamentum quod inuentum est in domo domini ante conspectum domini, ire post dominum et obseruare mandata eius et testificationes et praecepta eius in toto corde eius et tota anima, statuere omnia uerba testamenti istius scripta in libro isto. Et transiuit omnis populus in testamentum quod disposuit rex ex libro.
- 4 Et mandauit rex Chelchiaie sacerdoti magno et sacerdotibus secundariis et custodientibus Ephod, ut eicerent de domo domini omnia uasa quae fecit ad Baal et Asera et omni militiae caeli. Et combussit illa foras extra Hierusalem in incendio riui Cedron. Et sumpsit cineres illorum et sparsit in riuum et abiit in Bethel.
- 5 Et combussit sacerdotes quos constituerant reges Iudae, ut incenderent excelsis ciuitatum Iuda et circa Hierusalem; incendebant Baali et soli et lunae et omni militiae caeli.
- 6 Et extulerunt de domo domini foras extra Hierusalem in riuum Cedron, et extenuauit cinerem et proiecit in monumentum filiorum plebis.
- 7 Et extraxit filios illorum qui erant in domo domini, quorum mulieres officiabantur ibi ad stolas.
- And the king stood by the pillar and made the covenant, **that was found in the house of the Lord**, before *the sight* of the Lord, to walk behind the Lord and to keep his commandments and [**omits: his**] testimonies and his **ordinances** with all *his* heart and with all soul, to uphold *all* the words of this covenant that were written *in* this book. And all the people passed over in the covenant *that the king made from the book*.
- And the king commanded *Chelchiaie* the great priest and the priests of the second order and those who guard the *Ephod* *that they brought* out of the Lord's house all the vessels *that he made* for Baal and for **Asera** and for all the army of heaven. And he burned them outside Hierusalem in **the burning of the stream Cedron** and took their dust *and sprinkled in the stream and went* in Bethel.
- And he *burnt* the **priests** whom kings of *Iuda* had **appointed to make** incense offerings in the high places *of the cities* of Iuda and **around Hierusalem**; [**omits: and**] *they made* incense offerings to Baal and to the sun and to the moon and [**omits: to the mazouroth**] and to all the **army** of heaven.
- And they brought out [**omits: the grove**] from the Lord's house, outside Hierusalem, to the Wadi *Cedron*, [**omits: and burned it in Wadi Kedron**] and he pulverized the ash and threw out [**omits: the dust of it**] into the grave of the sons of the people.
- And he dragged out *the sons of those who* were in the house of the Lord, whose wives were occupied with **robes** there [**omits: for the grove**].

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| 8 | Et introduxit omnes sacerdotes ex ciuitatibus Iuda et coinquinauit sancta, ubi incendebant sacerdotes a Gabae usque de Rasabe, et detraxit excelsos illorum, ... | And he brought up all the priests out of the towns of Iuda and defiled the sacred places , there where the priests had made incense offerings from Gaba and as far as <i>Rasabe</i> , and he tore down [<i>omits: the house of</i>] their high places . |
| 10 | Et coinquinauit Phem quod erat in Cepenan, quoniam perduxerunt quisque filium suum et filiam suam in igne Moloch. | And he defiled <i>Phem</i> , which was in <i>Cepenan</i> , since everyone conducted his son and [<i>omits: a man</i>] his daughter in fire to <i>Moloch</i> . |
| 11 | Posuerant reges Iuda soli ab introitu domus domini ad pastorium, quos posuit tres equos, qui in Faradin, et fontem solis conbussit in igne in domo domus, quam aedificauerunt reges Israel excelso illi Baal et omni militiae caeli. | [<i>omits: And he put an end to the horses that</i>] ¹⁷ The kings of <i>Iuda</i> had set for the sun from the entrance of the house of the Lord to the pastorium, for whom he set three horses, that were ¹⁸ in <i>Faradin</i> and the source ¹⁹ of the sun he burned in fire in the house of the house, that the kings of Israel had built on that high place for Baal and all the army of heaven. ²⁰ |
| 12 | Et sacraria erant supra aedificia superiorum Achas quae fecerit rex Iuda et sacraria quae fecit Manasses in duobus aedificiis domus domini, detraxit rex et expulit illa inde et proiecit cineres illorum in riuo Cedron. | And <i>there were</i> altars on the upper chambers of <i>Achas</i> , which the king of <i>Iuda</i> had made , and the sanctuaries that Manasses had made in the two courts of the Lord's house, the king also tore down and pulled <i>it</i> down from there and threw their dust into the <i>Wadi Cedron</i> . |
| 13 | Et excelsos quae fecerant a facie Hierusalem, quod erat in dextro montis Amissa, quod aedificauit Salomon rex Astarte simulacro Sidoniorum et Camos idolo et Mulcro simulacro filiorum Ammon, polluit rex. | The high places that they had made away from Hierusalem that was on the right of the Mount of Amissa which Salomon the king [<i>omits: of Israel</i>] had built for Astarte, figure of the Sidonians, and for Camos the idol [<i>omits: of Moab</i>] and for <i>Mulcro</i> , figure of the sons of Ammon, the king defiled. |

17. Something is missing in Lucifer's text since the main clause is lacking.

18. Most of the verse is heavily corrupted either in the manuscripts or already in Lucifer's base text. The curious reading "for(?) whom he set three horses" is a corrupted form from "and he put an end to the horses" at the beginning of the verse.

18. Lucifer's *fons* "spring, source" cannot be a translation of *ἄρμα* "chariot"—further evidence that it was already Lucifer's Greek exemplar that was partly corrupt.

19. The plus "in the house of [Beth-]On that the kings of Israel had built; a high place for Baal and all the host of heaven" is found in *L* 328 460.

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| 14 | Et contribulauit titulos
et implebat
loca illorum ossibus hominum. | And he smashed the steles [<i>omits: and utterly destroyed the groves</i>] and filled their sites with human bones. |
| 15 | Et sacrarium quod in Bethel,
excelsum quod fecit Hieroboam
filius Natae, in quo fecit peccare
Israel, et sacrarium illum excelsum
detraxit et contribulauit lapides illius
et adtenuauit in puluerem, et
incendit lucos eorum. | And the altar in Bethel, the high place that <i>Hieroboam</i> son of <i>Natae</i> had made, <i>in which he made Israel sin</i> and that sanctuary he pulled down and smashed its stones and pulverized them into dust and burned <i>their groves</i> . |
| 16 | Et reuersus est Iosias rex et uidit
monumenta quae erant ibi in mon-
tem, et sumpsit ossa de monumento
et conbussit super sacrarium et
polluit illud secundum uerbum
quod locutus est homo dei,
cum staret Hieroboam in die festo
ad aram. | And Iosias turned and saw the tombs that were <i>there</i> in the mountain , and he took the bones out of the tombs and burned them on the sanctuary and defiled it, according to the word [<i>omits: of the Lord</i>] that the man of God spoke, when <i>Hieroboam</i> stood in the festival day by the altar. |

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Ancient Sources Index

This index does not contain references to verses in 1–2 Kings for which a full analysis is provided; see the table of contents for them. In addition, verses mentioned only in lists (e.g., instances of translation-technical phenomena) are not indexed. Finally, the index of Greco-Roman literature does not contain those references to Lucifer that appear in section headings (e.g., “1 Kgs 11:14, 23–25 [*Reg.* 3]”).

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